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ENGLAND IN 1835:

BEING A SERIES OF

LETTERS WRITTEN TO FRIENDS IN GERMANY,

DURING A

RESIDENCE IN LONDON AND EXCURSIONS INTO THE PROVINCES:

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BY

FREDERICK VON RAUMER,

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

By SARAH AUSTIN and H. E. LLOYD.

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PREFACE

TO THE

AMERICAN EDITION.

THE following work is probably the most valuable addition to the stock of information which America possesses concerning England and English institutions, or which she has hitherto received, or, in the ordinary course of things, is likely to receive.

Professor von Raumer's profound acquaintance with the history of other ages and nations; his early study of moral and political science; his cultivated judgment of art; and his sense of its important influences on the character of a people, (a matter little understood in England, and less in America;) lastly, his high and approved integrity and impartiality, form a combination of qualities not often to be found in a traveller; a combination which justly entitle him to the confidence of enlightened Americans in his representations of England.

Enough, and more than enough, has been written to excite national contempt and hatred on either side the Atlantic. It is time to put an end to this cowardly and most pernicious warfare, which lays waste, not the works, but the heart of man. The sword may cut off one generation, but this prepares the evils and horrors of strife for generations unborn and uncounted. These acts of hostility are not the less criminal, that they are done in the enjoyment of a base and indolent security. The fierce and ruthless invaders of a country, who peril their lives for conquest, are respectable, compared to these sowers of the noxious seeds of national antipathy; for who shall venture to say

what will be the harvest of crime and misery their children's children will have to gather in?

Let us hope that the time is not distant, when such appeals to the worst passions of nations will be received with the neglect which will form their only appropriate and effective punishment.

Every enlightened American will doubtless receive with satisfaction a picture, of the land of the fathers and founders of his race, traced by so able and honourable a hand. He will recognise the elements of the mingled heritage of good and evil which he has derived from the mother country. And as, on the one hand, it ill becomes England to taunt America with faults, which are but the exaggeration of her own; with bad institutions which she implanted, or sordid tastes, which she bequeathed with her own commercial spirit: so, on the other, it will be graceful in America to correct her hereditary defects, without forgetting the good she has received, and is daily receiving, from her full participation in the results of all the labours of the mind of England. It is, indeed, the high and glorious privilege of Englishmen, that in working for their country, they work for America. They have the double incentive, and the double reward, of thinking that no jealousy, no hostility, no obstructions to mutual intercourse, can prevent the rich freight of wisdom and humanity from being borne on the stream of a common language to the farthest corners of the western world.

On the other hand, the sagacious American will detect those circumstances of the old country which may impede her career, and which do not present themselves in the youthful state. If the advantages which America possesses, are subjects for her own exultation, they also furnish reasonable grounds for enhancing the expectations that may be conceived of her by others. She will have little cause to triumph in her exemption from the obstacles which other forms of society are supposed to throw in the way of improvement, if her progress is not commensurate with her freedom.

The time will, perhaps, come, when men will turn with satiety, if not with disgust, from those contests about forms of government which have hitherto absorbed their attention, to the exclusion, or neglect, of

those improvements in the condition of mankind which are practicable under different forms, and without which none are of much value.

I venture to think, that this book will suggest very useful reflections to the mind of every intelligent and dispassionate reader on this point. He will, doubtless, be struck with Herr v. Raumer's remarks on the wide differences existing in the institutions of England and France, and will see how little effect the common name of constitutional monarchy has had in assimilating them. If, pursuing this train of thought, he asks himself, how many of the institutions, on which the welfare and dignity of society depends, actually exist, or are possible to be introduced into the absolute monarchy (as it is called) of Prussia, the constitutional monarchy of England, and the republic of America, he might perhaps be led to transfer his solicitude from forms, to causes which are more accessible to his influence. Perhaps, however, this suggestion is least of all needed in America, where the lessons of Prussia, on the great subject of national education, have been received with an ardour and alacrity which put England to shame.

The causes of the great social defects of England and of America, are, as it seems to me, not to be sought in monarchy or in republicanism, but in various others; the chief of which, is the eager pursuit of gain, and the consideration universally granted to money. From such sources, I cannot see what, but a sordid, selfish, tasteless, and material existence can arise. If these defects are more striking in America than in England, it is because the commercial element meets with fewer counteracting causes.

Self-appreciation is no less the interest than the duty of nations, as well as of individuals. An angry and boastful nationality blinds nobody but ourselves to our defects.

It is, perhaps, one cause of the intellectual superiority of Germany, that she is, of all nations, the freest from this—the most quick to perceive, exact to appreciate, and willing to admit the merits of others.

But I am intruding much too far on the indulgence of my American readers. Some expressions of approbation of very humble, but, I hope, not useless labours of mine, which have come to me across the

Atlantic, seemed to warrant, if not to demand, a few words of recognition.

I am fully sensible, that I owe these very gratifying expressions to the character and merits of the author whose interpreter I have been, and still more, to the infinite importance of the subject he treats; but this is far from lessening their value.

On the contrary, no personal applause could give me half the satisfaction I have felt in learning that America appreciated the value of a work, of whose utility I have so profound a persuasion.

If what I now submit to her judgment, be the means of removing a single prejudice, of softening a single antipathy, of suggesting a single useful reflection, I shall esteem myself doubly rewarded for the toilsome, though not ungrateful task of a translator.

Fortunately for America and for England, they need no such mediators. The spirit of peace and love, of humility, and of justice, is the only interpreter wanted between them.

S. A.

London, March 14, 1836.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

As Herr von Raumer mentions in one of the following letters, that, when he did me the honour to request me to translate them, he gave me full powers to omit, abridge, and alter, it seems necessary that I should say whether I have used this permission, and to what extent.

At first it appeared to me expedient to omit a good deal; particularly the author's statements of the past history, and actual state, of certain English institutions, with which it seemed fair to presume English readers to be familiar. But, on looking nearer into the matter, I saw that his arguments and conclusions rested immediately on these statements; and that if I omitted the latter, I took upon myself the responsibility of the question, whether Herr v. Raumer's conclusions followed from his premises; and, if not, whether it was the statement that was incorrect, or the inference unsound. And this I did not feel myself justified in doing. I have therefore given them all.

I have omitted (as I have carefully noted in the several places) certain summaries of debates in Parliament. These debates are quite recent, and references are given by the author to Hansard's reports of them; so that those who desire it can easily refresh their memory.

I have also omitted one or two personal allusions. There is, however, little of this kind for the translator to do. Herr v. Raumer's objects were certainly far removed from the vulgar and discreditable one of collecting and retailing personal anecdotes; and I think the reader will perceive a general feeling of good will, respect, and gratitude towards England and Englishmen, which would naturally preserve him from all inclination to disparage or calumniate persons with whom he came in contact; as his high integrity would make him recoil from the idea of betraying confidence reposed in him.

I think it right to mention more particularly one instance in which I have used my discretionary power, because it may be liable to misinterpretation; though, as it is of a personal nature, I do so with extreme

reluctance. The name of Mr. Bentham occurs not unfrequently in the work, as the supposed representative of the opinions of an existing party, and always accompanied with expressions of disapprobation or of contempt. I have constantly omitted it, when used in this manner, and have only inserted it in one place, where some remarks on Mr. Bentham's opinions occur. Allusions and insinuations, founded on what I believe to be an entire misapprehension of the character and sentiments of Mr. Bentham, were, as I thought, neither instructive nor convincing; and to me, who had much cause to know the warmth, singleness and kindness of heart of the venerable man of whom Herr v. Raumer has conceived such erroneous impressions, would have been, I confess, most painful to write. I am anxious, however, that this unfairness, if such it be, should be understood to be the effect of grateful and affectionate regard for the memory of a revered friend, and to have no relation to speculative systems of politics and ethics, which it is quite beyond my objects and my province to affect to judge.

With regard to the opinions generally contained in the work, it would be presumptuous in me to attempt either to advocate or to criticise them; nor should I have alluded to them had I not seen that the author's politeness has led him to express a wish that they might coincide with mine.

I am far from undervaluing any expression of Herr v. Raumer's respect; and there are many subjects, among those within my reach, on which I entirely agree with him; but I must protest against being made a party to the opinions of any author whatever. It is the peculiar and invaluable privilege of a translator, as such, to have no opinions; and this is precisely what renders the somewhat toilsome business of translating attractive to one who has a profound sense of the difficulty of forming mature and coherent opinions, and of the presumption of putting forth crude and incongruous ones; not to mention the more individual feeling of the unsuitableness of any prominent and independent station in the field of moral and political discussion, to a person naturally withdrawn from it.

The remark which I have just made as to the opinions of an author, also applies to his statements. In three volumes* containing so large a variety of subjects, treated as they arose day by day under public discussion, even a native might be expected to commit occasional errors with regard to matters of fact. I have, however, abstained from veri-

* The London edition was published in three volumes.

fying his statements, or from suggesting any corrections of assertions, as to the accuracy of which a doubt might occur to me: inasmuch as I wished to exhibit a faithful portraiture of the author's views, and of the amount of knowledge which he possessed on each subject, so as to enable an impartial estimate to be formed of the weight due to his opinions.

The Memoir of the Author, translated from the 'Conversations Lexicon,' I have prefixed, because the lives and writings of the eminent men of Germany are not in general familiar to English readers; because it would be worth while to insert it, if it were merely to show the transition of the man of business into the man of letters—so utterly unknown in this country; and because the history of Herr v. Raumer's political life affords the best commentary on his political opinions regarding England. They appear to be such as a loyal subject of Prussia, where reform has so long been the exclusive business of the government, would naturally fall into.

The extreme haste with which this work has been translated is, I trust, sufficiently obvious to disarm all criticism. This plea is, in ordinary cases, quite inadmissible; but, in my own defence I must say, that when I acceded to Herr v. Raumer's request, I had no idea of the length of the book, nor of the extreme expedition with which it was to appear in Germany: two circumstances which have not only compelled me to write with the greatest rapidity, but to request the publisher to put a considerable portion of the work into other hands. By this I am sure the author and the public will lose nothing; but it is fair to the gentleman who has translated the third volume, and to myself, to say, that I have not so much as seen it; and that, as far as translation goes, it is an entirely distinct work.

It would be unreasonable to look at a work executed under such circumstances as in any degree a work of art, or amenable to the tribunals of art. Whatever defects may be visible in the style, they cannot be so obvious or so offensive to any eye as they are to mine.

Fortunately, the nature of the subjects of which Herr v. Raumer chiefly treats, renders *form* comparatively unimportant, and the *matter* is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, faithfully rendered.

As the greater part of the translation was done at a distance from works of reference on English affairs, the quotations and extracts have been re-translated from the German, which will account for their not appearing in the precise words of the original.

Disclaiming, as I do, all idea of affecting to sanction the opinions of

such a man as Herr v. Raumer, I may yet venture to say that I have gone through my work with the satisfactory persuasion, that I was helping to give utterance to the sentiments of an honest, courageous, faithful, and enlightened friend to the highest interests of humanity. Of the fitness of the means he advocates, I do not presume to judge; but it is permitted to every one to share his earnest and hopeful zeal for the end towards which his wishes and his labours are directed.

S. A.

London, March 18, 1836.

MEMOIR

OF

PROFESSOR VON RAUMER.

(*From the* 'Conversation's Lexicon.')

Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer, the eldest son of the Kammerdirector Georg Friedrich von Raumer, born at Worlitz, near Dessau, on the 14th of May, 1781, went in his twelfth year to the Joachimsthal Gymnasium at Berlin, where his residence in the house of the Kammerpresident von Gerlach exercised a beneficial influence on his education. In his seventeenth year Raumer entered the university, in order to study law and economical science. After three years' residence at Halle and Gottingen, he passed a considerable time at Dessau, in order to obtain a practical knowledge of rural economy. In 1801 he was appointed Referendary in the Chamber of the Kurmark,* and in the next year attended the Oberpresident von Bassewitz to Eichsfeld, recently annexed to Prussia, where he obtained much experience in business, and was appointed assessor. But notwithstanding these occupations, he never, from the time of quitting the univer-

* The Mark of Brandenburg was formerly divided into the *Kurmark*, or the Electoral Mark; the *Altmark*, or the Old Mark; and the *Neumark*, or the New Mark. The *Kammer*, or Chamber, was a financial board, which had the management of the public domains, and the quartering and provision of the troops; it also exercised a superintendence over the police. The branches of knowledge requisite for a member of one of these chambers were termed *Cameralwissenschaften* (translated "economical science" in the last page,) and a man who devoted himself to them was termed a *Cameralist*. The old triple division of the Mark of Brandenburg has now been abolished, and the Chambers have been supplanted by the *Regierungen*, or Administrative Boards: (see the English translation of Cousin's Report on Instruction in Prussia, Explanatory Notes, p. xxix.) The term *Cameralwissenschaften* is likewise now nearly abandoned, and has been supplanted by the more general term of *Staatswissenschaften*, or "political sciences."—*Translator*.

sity, lost sight of historical studies, and in 1803 he began at Berlin to collect materials for his work on the emperors of the house of Hohenstaufen. During the first French war (1806–8), he was at the head of a department of the board for administering the royal domains at Wusterhausen, near Berlin; he nevertheless found time to make considerable advances in his historical labours, and for the first time gave lectures on history. In 1809 he was appointed to the situation of a councillor at Potsdam under the newly organized government, and in 1810 he was called to Berlin, where he was employed in the office of the Minister of Finance. At this period, Prince von Hardenberg, the Chancellor of State, not only intrusted him with the transaction of important business, but received him into his house, and admitted him to familiar intercourse. However improving and advantageous this connexion might appear, yet Raumer soon perceived that business of such importance engrossed his entire attention, and that he must either give up this employment, or completely abandon his historical career. Three years before, he had almost resolved, on the recommendation of Johann von Muller, to become a professor in a university of Southern Germany: this idea now recurred, and he himself drew the Cabinet order, by which the king appointed him a professor at Breslau in 1811. Here he lived devoted to science and his friends, until, in 1815, a journey to Venice served still more to convince him of the necessity of undertaking a longer tour in quest of historical information. At the recommendation of the ministry, and especially of Prince v. Hardenberg, the king gave him leave of absence, and furnished him with the means of travelling. He was absent from the summer of 1816 until the autumn of 1817, and found in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy valuable materials for his history of the Hohenstaufen. In 1819 he was called to Berlin as professor of political science; but, with the exception of a course on statistics and public law, delivered after the death of Professor Ruhs, he has chiefly confined himself to historical lectures.

Within the last few years Herr von Raumer has established fresh claims to the attention and respect of the public, both by his constant industry in the world of letters, and, in that of politics, by the firmness and courage with which he has expressed his opinions in times of excitement, and amid the agitations of party. His great historical work, 'The History of the Hohenstaufen,' spite of the honest criticisms of erudition, or the cavils of mortified pedantry, had established his reputation for ever in the field of science. It has already become national property; as the various reprints of the work, and the attempts made, with greater or less success, to adapt Raumer's representations of this, the Heroic Age of Germany, to the stage, sufficiently prove. Since that time his historical inquiries, no longer concentrated upon one large and well defined field, but diffused over various interests—branching out into different veins—like modern history itself, have not so completely engrossed all his mental faculties, as that story of the early times of Germany; which in its beginning, its catastrophe, and its single tragical issue, seems to embrace the personal relations and interests of one vast and varied human life.

As he had formerly abandoned a brilliant political career, in order to devote his entire strength to science, so when he had attained this object, and had completed his great work, he again turned his labours to the living intercourse of the present. Raumer is one of a class of German *Gelehrten* (men of letters and science), till lately very few in number, who have been able to reconcile the most rigorous demands of science with the cultivation of those lighter and more graceful tastes which fit a man for society.

He has proved that it is possible for a German *Gelehrten* to be also a man and statesman, a political writer, and a lover and a judge of Art, without detracting from the profoundness of his learning, or impairing his power of application. Although this is a truth which daily becomes more and more evident, and must at last succeed in overturning the old aristocracy of pedantry which ruled in Germany, yet a man must be endowed with singular ardour and vivacity, and be placed in very favourable circumstances, to be able to labour with effect in such varied departments as Raumer has done.

The part he has taken in politics has given rise to many misconstructions,—as must happen when party rage can see only party opinions. Raumer is a truly free man, who opposes absolutism in every shape; but most strenuously when it assumes that of the despotism of exclusive political creeds, given out as the only means of political salvation. As the absolute principle in government changed with the disturbed times and the agitations of his country, his opposition changed likewise. He has remained perfectly steadfast and consistent; but the objects of his opposition have altered with time. Never having sworn implicit allegiance to any party; praised up to the skies one day by those who persecuted him the next: he is no political weathercock, but a truly independent man, whose vote thrown into the scale gives it a weight which, in Germany at least, no party man can add to the cause he espouses. Being a steady and zealous royalist upon principle, and a faithful adherent of the Prussian government, as the representative of that progressive civilization which marked its course up to the time of the congress of Carlsbad, he opposed the boyish chimeras of the disciples of Jahn, and thus incurred the hatred of the liberals, who denounced him as a feudalist, a papist, &c. When, on the other hand, the idea of legitimacy degenerated from a useful fiction into an idolatry destructive of all intellectual life and progress; when, amid the incense offered at the foot of the throne and the altar, the spirit of feudal aristocracy began to rise from its long slumber, Raumer's sound and acute understanding immediately perceived whence the greatest danger was likely to arise. The historian raised a warning, the Prussian patriot a strong, and, at last, an indignant, voice. He who had strenuously laboured with Prince v. Hardenberg (whose greatest merit was, that he rapidly detected ability, and immediately employed it in the service of the country) at the regeneration of the Prussian monarchy could not but protest, in the name of the principles which had guided that great statesman, against those now acted upon, which threatened to destroy that glorious work. His voice was raised alone. His former fellow-labourers were grown old, or spiritless, or were elevated

to posts in which they found it convenient to be silent. Raumer's name was now hailed with acclamation by the liberals; they extolled him to the skies, and exulted in the accession to their party, of a man who was as far from sharing in their dreams of freedom, as in the short-sighted obstinacy which had driven him (apparently, and for a moment) into their ranks.

There may, perhaps, come a time when the latter will again turn from him with no less indignation, than the old Prussian *employes*—who cannot understand how a servant of government can presume to exercise his judgment on the acts of his superiors—now regard him with alarm and horror.

If the much-talked-of *juste milieu* consists in endless tacking between two opposite principles, Raumer belongs rather to one of the extremes, than to that; but if the expression is taken to denote that free and neutral ground on which a man, resting upon the basis of justice, and untrammelled by party views, combats for truth proved by experience, careless whether his blows fall to the right or the left,—then Raumer unquestionably belongs to the *juste milieu;* and it were to be wished that Germany possessed more such political independents. His treatise on the Prussian Municipal System* had opened a paper war, out of which Raumer, in spite of many important practical objections, came triumphant; inasmuch as Stein, then minister of state, —the creator of that system—avowed the principles of the work as his own.

The work which followed upon this, "On the Historical Development of the Notions of Law and Government,"† an acute examination of all the theories of government, from the ancient to the most modern times, has gained greatly in completeness and practical interest in the latest edition.

Two journeys to Paris and the South of France brought him intimately acquainted with the elements of French political and civil life (if, indeed, these can be separated).

In Paris he was a witness to the great catastrophe of July. With prophetic spirit he foretold it, in letters which are printed precisely as they were written to his family.‡ It was no difficult matter indeed for the experienced historian who, with untroubled, though anxious eye, followed the obdurate policy of the Polignac ministry step by step, to predict the result. But the heightened effects of the approaching storm—the language of exasperation—the admirable descriptions—the calm glance, accustomed to watch the current of events—combined with the liveliest sympathy in all that was passing, and the most profound reflections on government—all expressed with perfect ease and frankness to his family and friends, stamp these letters with a peculiar value; and they will remain not only an historical document, but a singular proof that the qualities which best fit man for his purely human

* "Uber die Preussiche Stadteordnung." Leipzig, 1828.

† "Uber die geschichtliche Entwickelung der Begriffe von Recht, Staat, und Politik." Leipzig, 1826 and 1832.

‡ Briefe aus Paris im Jahre 1830. 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1831.

relations, are more nearly connected with those of the politician and statesman than is generally believed.

Another fruit of this journey is, the Letters from Paris, in Illustration of the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* The historical inquiries which led him to France were destined to a new work, upon which he has been employed for several years, and which will extend to six volumes—the History of Europe from the End of the Fifteenth Century†—of which three volumes have already appeared. This work is distinguished by accurate and profound research which throws new light on many historical problems; by a clear perception and distinct grouping of events. In the number of the Historical Annual‡ for 1831, he published his History of the Downfall of Poland,§ which is also printed separately. On the merits of this work there is but one opinion in Germany. In Prussia, the timid could not understand how a man, employed and paid by the government, could declare in print, that that government had acted unjustly. Not only is the historian free to say this, but it is his duty; besides, it is to be observed that Raumer had always expressed the warmest sympathy in the calamities of Poland. Raumer had long been at issue with the High Board of Censorship (Obercensurcollegium), of which he was a member, and whose timorous views he could not share. He regarded the tutelage under which the press had lately been placed, and the severity with which it was exercised, (as displayed, for example, in the prohibition of historical works which had not yet appeared, and of books which the present intellectual state of the Prussian people rendered perfectly innocuous,) as unworthy of the government, and foreign to the spirit of the nation. In his petition for leave to resign his office, he expressed himself most strongly against it. This document accidentally found its way into the Journals of Southern Germany,‖ and excited an extraordinary sensation.

From that time Raumer has enjoyed the profound respect of every independent and unprejudiced man. He is now member of the Academy of Sciences. In the Academy of Singing he is regarded as the champion of classical music, and in the Court Theatre of Berlin, over which he has some control, as councillor, he has laboured with all his power to keep up the moral influence of that establishment as a school of art.

Herr v. Raumer is in the vigour of his age, and the world may yet hope much from knowledge, integrity, and activity like his.

Among his writings are 'Six Dialogues on War and Commerce' (1806, anonymous). 'The British System of Taxation,' &c.; Berlin,

* Briefe aus Paris zur Erlauterung der Geschichte des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts. 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1831. (Translated by Lord F. Egerton.)

† Geschichte Europas seit dem Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts. Leipzig, 1832–3. Since this was written two more volumes have appeared. (A translation of this work is in preparation, and will shortly be published.—*Translator.*)

‡ Historisches Taschenbuch, edited by Herr von Raumer since 1830.

§ Polens Untergang. Zweite Aufl. Leipzig, 1832.

‖ Herr v. Raumer refers to this in Letter XVI., *supra.*—*Translator.*

1810. 'The Orations of Æschines and Demosthenes for the Crown;' Berlin, 1811. 'CCI Emendationes ad Tabulas Genealogicas Arabum et Turcarum;' Heidelberg, 1811. 'Manual of Remarkable Passages from the Latin Historians of the Middle Ages;' Breslau, 1813. 'Journey to Venice;' Berlin, 1816: 2 vols. 'Lectures on Ancient History;' Leipzig, 1821: 2 vols., in which the affairs of the East and of Greece are brought down to 281 B. C. 'History of the Hohenstaufen and their Time;' Leipzig, 1823–25: 6 vols.*

* See in Quarterly Review, vol. li. p. 304, an able account of this work, attributed to Mr. Milman.—*Translator.*

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I SUBMIT to the public these Letters, on the present state and circumstances of England, with great diffidence. For though, from my youth, English literature and English history have occupied a large share of my attention, and so long ago as the year 1810, I published a treatise on the British system of taxation,* it is beyond the powers of one man to attain to any complete or profound knowledge on all the momentous and complicated subjects which I have here ventured to touch upon.

If, however, during my stay in England, short as it was, I materially extended and rectified my former information, I have to thank the extraordinary hospitality, politeness, and readiness to serve, with which so many persons of different characters, parties and classes received, assisted, and instructed me.

I can say with truth that these marks of kindness were not bestowed on an ungrateful man—though, to avoid endless repetitions, I have erased many expressions of gratitude, many eulogies on individuals, many accounts of invitations, and other civilities.

In no other respect, however, have I altered the contents of the Letters; they are printed just as I wrote them from day to day. I have even suffered some repetitions and mistakes to stand, because they show how the first impression was gradually modified and softened.

If I had separated the long essays on Pauperism, Reform in Parlia-

* See Memoir, p. 21.

ment, &c., from my own daily history, perhaps the former would have appeared too heavy, the latter too trifling. They now follow in the order in which they arose; and the index will afford every reader the facility of finding what is attractive, and of avoiding what is repulsive to him.

If, notwithstanding all the kind and valuable assistance I received in acquiring the information I sought, the book is not what it might be and ought to be, the fault rests with me—rather let me say with my head; for my heart has no share in it.

I wrote under the influence of the deepest and warmest feelings, and I shall esteem myself lavishly rewarded if I shall have succeeded in removing any prejudices, or correcting any errors concerning Great Britain; and in showing that the bond of a common origin, and the amity of fourteen centuries, which have bound together Englishmen and Germans, are still in force, and ought never to be broken.

Berlin, October 15, 1835.

ENGLAND IN 1835.

LETTER I.

Departure from Berlin—Magdeburg Cathedral—Progress of popular singing—Düsseldorf—School of painting—Steam-experiment on the Rhine.

Düsseldorf, Thursday morning, 6 o'clock, March 19, 1835.

We Germans say "A man's will is his heaven :" if so, I must be on my way thither, since my will to travel in England is about to be fulfilled. As yet, however, I do not see paradise quite so clearly open before me ; and had not fatigue sometimes put an end to all reflection on the road, I should perhaps have come to the conclusion that travelling is, on many accounts, a mere madness. The longer we live the more we find that heaven is by no means to be expected from any single act, resolution, or event ; but if any gleam of it is to be enjoyed in this world, it must be from a combination of a great number of circumstances, pursuits, and occupations.

From this profound introduction I might make an easy transition to various complaints, concerning seats too narrow, and neighbours too wide—soup nearly all water, and beef boiled to rags, &c. ; but as I am not fond of complaints, and may perhaps be entitled to make them with greater authority after I have been in England, I will leave all these lesser miseries, and only add that the weather was so windy and stormy, that it took away all inclination to put one's head out of the coach. My travelling companions, who were often changed, were neither bad enough to complain of, nor good enough to write about.

I took advantage of the time I had in Magdeburg to visit the beautiful minster, and to enjoy the admirable singing of the soldiers. In this matter, at least, our adorers of the good old times can hardly deny the progress of the age : all they can do, therefore, is to admire the strength of the individual will, and the self-

reliance, displayed in the ancient and meritorious practice of singing out of tune.

Here, too, and indeed throughout Germany, one is struck with the great progress made in another art—painting. The school of Dusseldorf will send to the next exhibition pictures in the most varied styles ; among them excellent landscapes of Schirmer and Lessing, and the Jeremiah of Bendemann, which is conceived and executed in the spirit and style of Michael Angelo. I almost dread that the English should discover this new El Dorado of art, and carry off its treasures to their remote island.

In the Elberfeld coach was an English manufacturer of machines, who lauded my English very much. I thought how you sometimes praise the German of Frenchmen and Englishmen, who don't speak a word right ; this recollection moderated my satisfaction. The pocket dictionary is in perpetual motion, like a steam-engine.

Yesterday I made part of an immense crowd assembled to see one steam-boat drag four Dutch vessels against the deep and mighty current of the Rhine. The experiment was made in order to ascertain the relative force and expense of steam and of horses. Steam-boats, steam-carriages, iron rail-ways, and custom-house unions, formed the main topics of conversation in all the diligences, and I took as lively a share in it as any of the mercantile men.

In an hour I shall set out for Rotterdam, where I shall arrive on the evening of the 20th, and shall perhaps embark for London on the 21st.

LETTER II.

Steam-boats and postwagen—Travelling companions—Nymwegen—Rotterdam—Voyage to London—Aspect of the Thames—Historical recollections—Characteristic buildings—Grandeur of London.

London, March 23, George Tavern, Lombard Street, 7 o'clock in the morning.

On escaping from the diligence, I had infinite pleasure from my voyage on the Rhine, in a steam-boat—that first of all modes of travelling ever invented. The song 'Travel on foot' may now be translated into 'Travel by Steam.' Walking, standing, sitting, lying, sleeping, eating, drinking, reading, playing at cards, succeed each other in turn, with the greatest ease ; whilst the strange

monster of a machine labours unceasingly, and drives on towards its destined aim with matchless rapidity. Compare this with our prisons of postwagen, and their manifold miseries of creaking, rattling, stinking, cramped legs, tobacco-pipes, stoppages, greasings, wedging, &c., &c., and it cannot be denied that although Nagler has greatly improved our posting, no one would seat himself in a postwagen whilst the highly privileged steam-boat travels more quickly by its side.

As the surrounding country was not attractive, I examined the company. It was composed of a physician of Rotterdam, who had studied in Berlin, but of course knew nothing of me (although, for politeness' sake, he afterwards tried to introduce the subject); a so-called professor who cured stammering, but who spoke, or rather stammered out, all languages very badly; three ladies from Nurnberg going to Rotterdam, one of whom was called Sonntag; and a Prussian subaltern of the 16th regiment from Wesel. Towards evening we arrived at Nymwegen, which like all the towns of the Netherlands, is considerable, and has a fresh and thriving air. I could not get into the Dutch theatre, because they would not take Prussian money, and I was too lazy and tired to go to a great distance to change it. The inn was poor enough. A common smoking room, in which I got a cough; no snuffers to the tallow-candles, and nobody to clean the boots. I went to bed early, as the next morning we started at day-break.

A fine morning, and beautiful sunrise; passed Dordrecht; and on the 20th arrived at the great, increasing, bustling, and lively Rotterdam. Our inland towns seem dead and insignificant in comparison with such sea-ports. Mr. C., the Prussian consul, very obligingly conducted me all over the town, showed me the most remarkable buildings, and the statue of Erasmus, and gave me a great deal of information concerning commercial affairs. What a confusion both in politics and commerce does it cause, that Belgium and Holland have now for four years been forced into opposition, and that the communication between them can only be carried on through all sorts of tricks and evasions!

Innumerable maid-servants were employed in beating carpets, sprinkling the houses, and scouring the streets; in doing which they made so much dust and dirt, or, at any rate, dust and floods, of water, that one could scarcely make one's way through it. In a reading-room to which Mr. C. took me, I saw in an English newspaper that my historical letters from Paris have been translated into English, which I accept as a good omen. The bill in the New Bath Hotel was, as compared with German, French, and Italian prices, very high.

On Saturday the 21st I embarked on board the steamer Liverpool, the fare of which is three pounds. Here I found one Englishman of education, the sailors, and a Prussian, a French, and

a Neapolitan courier. You may think that I contributed to my utmost towards the confusion of tongues in this Babel. I got great applause by translating German, French, and Italian into English; not indeed quite so smoothly as a steam-boat, but with sundry jolts, botches, and halts, like an old yellow Saxon coach.

I ate with great moderation on board the steamer, from fear of sea-sickness. But behold, all my fears were this time unfounded. The sea was scarcely more rippled than the Havel at Potsdam. I not only stayed on deck to enjoy the sunset, but as night came on I was not less delighted by the bright stars, and the flickering, lamps in the rigging of our vessel. I slept very well in my berth, but was on deck again before daybreak, that I might see the sunrise. The day before, the sea was like the most beautiful chrysophras interspersed with strings of pearls, caused by the motion of the steamer: now it lay before me still and solid—it looked as if one might skate on the ice-coloured surface. One of the Englishmen said that he had crossed the sea forty times, but had never before seen it so calm. I felt as little agitation or inconvenience as if I had been lying on my sofa.

When I came on deck early on the 22d, we had already left the North Foreland and Margate behind us; on one side lay the island of Sheppy with its wooded hills, and shortly after the somewhat lower coast of Essex came in sight. Vessels of every kind swarmed around us like sea-birds; but when we reached Gravesend, their number increased so much, and the beauty of the nearer and richly-cultivated shores became so much greater, that I was involuntary overcome by wonder and emotion. Recollections of the gradual upward course by which this happy island had for eighteen centuries been advancing to a pitch of elevation unmatched in the history of the world; of the deeds and the sufferings, the exertions and the errors, the wars and the conquests, of her kings, her barons, her churchmen, and her people—all came crowding upon me. I enjoyed the delight of that high and generous enthusiasm which the ordinary incidents of life cannot call forth, and my whole journey seemed to me to be justified and rewarded by this single hour. But this was only rendered possible by my having been for years at home in England, and my having attuned the strings of my head and heart for this Æolian touch of external impressions, by solitary historic labour. I was much moved by the sight of Tilbury Fort, where, in 1588, the high-hearted Elizabeth assembled and encouraged her troops, and thus caused the overthrow of Spain, and a new organization of the world.

From Tilbury to Woolwich the banks of the Thames are bare; from Woolwich to Greenwich there are increasing signs of industry and cultivation; until, on arriving at the Docks, you are borne along through absolute forests of ships. Compared with

this, anything of the kind that I have ever seen at Havre, Bordeaux, or Marseilles, is like a single room cut out of this immeasurable palace. It is true that here, as in Paris, the buildings are, at first sight, in no respect striking; but their very peculiarities show a definite practical aim which distinguishes them from ordinary buildings, and gives them an interest of their own. If, however, the predominancy of mere utility and convenience, to the neglect of all considerations of beauty, be objected to English architecture, this crowd of ships is so far more striking and important a feature in the view, that all those of the land appear insignificant.

Here one sees that London is the real capital of the world; not Paris,—spite of the pretensions of its journalists and coteries. Paris is more pre-eminently the Town, Germany the Country, but London alone is entitled to talk of being the World.

LETTER III.

Aspect of London—Vastness and quantity—Progress of Society—Paris and London contrasted—Self-reflection—Berlin politicians.

London, Tuesday, March 24th, 1835.

* * * * *

So much for domestic and economical affairs.

I cannot give you much information at present on other points, for to-day the delivery of my letters of introduction begins. As to the first impression made by the city, the houses, the shops, &c., I can tell you much, and of a very favourable kind. Extent, circumference, quantity, are certainly by no means the measure of value or of excellence (either in cities, or in art or science); but in this instance, the *quantity*; which surpasses that of all other cities in Europe, or indeed in the world, is of itself in the highest degree remarkable and imposing. Add to this, that in, and with, the *quantity* of London, the *quality* also displays itself. Thus, for example, you perceive wealth growing out of the most varied and complicated activity, which demands and exercises both body and mind; you perceive the talent of acquiring and of enjoying; the security of property, widely diffused and deeply rooted amid these masses. Destruction and decline are indeed the lot of everything human; but oaks take root, grow, and endure somewhat differently from

mushrooms. Does not Rome still stand, after thousands of years of decay?—was not her second life still more pregnant and powerful than her first? And what has not Paris withstood? whereas London has hardly known the touch of calamity. When our Radicals and our Conservatives prophecy England's decline with such easy confidence, because they have no other measure than the false one they take from France, an Englishman, nay, even I, may say, *Stat mole suâ;* and may add the prayer, *Esto perpetua!*

There are fools in all parties, but the genuine Tory is right in opposing the destruction of the Christian Church; and the genuine Whig is right in affirming that it is not the mere reading of a liturgy which constitutes a Christian Church, but the careful training and instruction of youth. God grant that these opposite lines may at length produce the true diagonals of the forces, the just mean motion! I have no inclination to meddle with revolutions, but it is my hope and my faith, that mind is more than body, knowledge better than ignorance, civilization than barbarism, freedom than slavery. Would Britons change for the better by becoming Kalmucs and Bashkirs; by learning to acknowledge, not the Ruler of the Universe, but the knout, as their immediate sovereign and lord? People cant a great deal (even in England) about election by grace; but is it not the most profound and inexplicable of all mysteries—yet to be received with humility and gratitude—that man should be born endowed with all the powers and faculties of humanity; born a Briton or German, and not a Kamschatkadale; born in our often-calumniated days, and not under the Seleucidæ, the Roman Emperors, in the time of the migrations of nations, of the Mongolian devastations, of the Thirty years' war? Nobody has a greater horror than I of the excrescences of the French and other revolutions; yet the truth of what I say is incontrovertible, in spite of all malcontents, whether saints or sinners.

At the first glance Paris appears more brilliant, elegant, and attractive than London; but, on the other hand, that impression is to this, what the substitute is to the reality; what the tastefully and skilfully plated ware is to the noble metal in the ore. These dingy walls bespeak far greater riches; perhaps, too, an indifference to all the small expedients by which comparative poverty strives to diffuse an air of competence and of elegance around it by dint of care and ornament. In like manner the noise and bustle of the streets has a totally distinct character: in London it is always the tumult and clamour of business; in Paris, the obtrusiveness and petulance of vanity; in Naples, the throng of idleness; in Berlin, at the utmost, the naughty boys: *suum cuique.*

* * * * *

It was too late last night to go to Covent Garden, or Drury Lane, and I was not the least attracted by "Lestocq" and the pantomime. I was, therefore, alone in my room till bed-time, and was almost constrained (contrary to my custom) to self-reflection. When a man has once succeeded in catching the right wind for his course on the sea of life, it seems to me very useless to be continually shifting the rudder, as some prescribe. *Sursum corda* raises one above those minutiæ with which many torment themselves, and render it unnecessary to run into the little creeks and harbours of superstitious devotion or puritanical observance. From my earliest youth my eyes have been directed towards those stars of history by whom I am enriched, transformed, and enlightened, and who bear me along with them in their brilliant path. Am I nothing, because I do not see it to be my vocation (as many historians do) to play, in my own person, the part of a precise, morose, detracting censor? I deny it. Or because I imbibe life from those magnificent spirits, am I a mere parasitic plant? I deny that also. I have shared in the joys and the sorrows of those noble hearts; there have been hours in which I have been Alexander the Great, and Charles V., and William of Orange, and a Hohenstaufen emperor and pope. There have been moments, when, like Melusine, I was transformed into Cambyses and Philip II. This is a richer and more pregnant existence than can be understood by those who condemn and despise it, because they understand the maxim, "Know thy self," in so narrow and paltry a sense.

* * * * * *

What would become of many of our great men, if they were refined in a furnace of the construction and the heat of the British Parliament for twenty-four hours? The well-conned phrases, the doctrine of the necessity of numerous lines of custom-houses within the German territory, for preventing the entrance of political errors; the declamations on the beneficent effects of villenage; of the restoration of the middle ages (not in their chivalrous glory, but their rude tyranny), and the like, would fly up the chimney in this temperature, in the first half hour. Below, among the dross and ashes, would be found a few ministers, &c., and many of our Radicals; who having put themselves forward with delighted self-conceit, would burn their fingers and learn discretion.

LETTER IV.

Party at the Duke of D——'s—General Impressions—Beauty of the Women—English compared with Roman Women—Absence of orders and decorations—English language—Specimen of German spelling by English officials.

London, Wednesday, March 25th, 1835.

Mrs. A—— had the goodness to invite me to come to her at eleven o'clock in the evening, that she might take me to the Duke of D———'s. This, therefore, was my first English "rout." For any one who knows the persons present, it must of course have a very different degree of interest from that which a stranger can feel. On the other hand, novelty has an interest of its own; and from this superficial but natural point of view, I shall tell you what struck me, though it is indeed but a repetition of what I have often heard. The rooms and decorations, vast and magnificent; but such as are suitable for a man of vast fortune to possess for his whole life, without regard to little variations of fashion, changes of taste, and such like French prettinesses. The space sufficient for the guests; but here, as elsewhere, excessive heat and crowding in the neighbourhood of the ball-room. Almost all the men were dressed in black coats and pantaloons, black or grey stockings, black or coloured waistcoats, black or white cravats. Nothing remarkable or different from our usages.

The women in general very simply and tastefully dressed; ornaments rich, but not overloaded, neck and shoulders bare. Some with long pendant locks, none *à la Chinoise*, or with forehead entirely bare; most of them with curls on both sides, as we see in their engravings. Hardly anything was danced but waltzes, for which the crowd of spectators left very little room. And now—how stands it with the main point—Beauty? The task of Paris, who, with his three goddesses, won his fame at so easy a rate, was a light one compared with that before me. Although very few men in London wear spectacles in company, I took heart, put on mine, and began my investigation like an experienced and severe connoisseur and amateur, as I am. But when I thought *this* was the most beautiful, came a second, then a third, and put my judgment to shame. In my whole life, I never saw so many beautiful women and girls assembled in one place, and I now understand Tieck's preference of Englishwomen, better than I did when I had seen only travellers. Yet, even in this moment of observation, of admiration, of enthusiasm, I do not give up the Roman women. A certain resemblance runs through the two nations, though there are marked differences both of form and of expression. The Ro-

mans, as it seems to me, neglect the *tournure* of the body, and the appearance of the feet; the English, on the other hand, the finished statuesque form and carriage of the neck and shoulders.

The men had unquestionably far less of the beauty appropriate to their sex than the women: this I observed to be the case in the canton of Berne, while on the contrary, in Naples, the men are much handsomer than the women. The company consisted of persons most eminent for wealth and rank; dukes, ambassadors, &c. Among us, uniforms, crosses, stars, orders, &c., would have swarmed in such a company; here nothing of the sort was to be seen: every man decorated or encumbered with such things was a foreigner. Our taste for seeking or conferring distinction by trumpery of this sort always reminds me of the instructive fable of the turning-lathe of Uckermark. At one o'clock, before the supper or collation began, I went home. Concerning individuals another time. You must be satisfied for the present with these hints; I have no time for longer details, I must hasten to the Museum.

The improvement in ear and tongue for English goes on slowly. But really the English ought not to be very indignant at our ignorance of their tongue, when, in the official paper, printed in four languages, for the information of foreigners, Germans are instructed to provide themselves with an *Unfunst zettel. Die Versaumung dieses macht sie entweder einer Geldbuffe oder Gefangniss Strafe fahig.* This is letter for letter.

LETTER V.

Breakfast—Catholics in Prussia and in Ireland—Political crisis—State of the present Ministry—and dismissal of the last—Sir Robert Peel—Whigs and Tories—A Landscape Painter—Beauty an aristocratical privilege in England.

London, March 28th, 1835.

I BREAKFASTED yesterday with Mrs. A——. We fell upon Irish affairs. A gentleman said that the rule of Prussia over her Catholic subjects was tranquil and undisturbed, only because she was a military despotism. I replied that from the first existence of Prussia as a kingdom, to the present hour, not a single sword had been drawn against the Catholics: that, on the contrary, they had been conciliated by justice, charity, confidence, and a scrupulous equality in the treatment of them and of the Protestants. In

Ireland, on the contrary, where this system had not been pursued, a large armed force had, for centuries, been absolutely indispensable to the preservation of the country.

In despotic states, he continued, it may be possible to make such concessions to the Catholics without danger, but in constitutional states it is not so; England is not Prussia.

I replied that the Prussians did not feel the despotism he talked of, and that no such complaints were heard among them as were constantly uttered by the Irish. I added that while I denied the despotism of Prussia, I could just as little admit the justice of the reproach he threw on constitutional governments; that I was convinced it was perfectly possible for them to grant the vast benefit of religious toleration, whenever they should come to a just view of the subject.

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For some days to come I cannot reckon on seeing or speaking to any body. The political crisis occupies all minds. Next Monday the affair will probably be decided. It is certainly not difficult to blow up the present ministry, but very difficult to form a new one that will last. Peel stands alone, and a man of such distinguished talents cannot be displaced without a loss to the country. But his colleagues, who, as they pretend, are now anxious to effect those measures which all their lives they have stigmatised as destructive, are neither entitled to be trusted, nor to be considered as statesmen in any high sense of the word. On the other hand, the moderate Whigs can reckon on no large or permanent majority, in case the Tories and Radicals should combine against them. The number of the Radicals of bad character in Parliament is very small; the others ask for no more than we Prussians are so happy as already to possess. The danger, the "crisis," has been brought on by the manner in which the king dismissed the Melbourne ministry, which as far as form is concerned, it would be difficult to justify.

It was impossible that ministry could last; part of it was already gone. Instead of proceeding from these undeniable facts to demonstrate the necessity of some change, and to take means to effect it in the most conciliatory way, the dismissal was given (without any sudden obvious cause) so abruptly, that some of the ministers first heard of it in the street; and this was done without the rational precaution of first recalling Peel, and thus avoiding Wellington's formless and needless *interministerium.* This has naturally exasperated the Whigs, and Peel is compelled to ally himself to the high Tories. He cannot now obtain the co-operation of men like Althorp, Russell, Spring Rice, and Thomson, and he stands with his plans of reform, by no means in a "*juste milieu,*" but with all his good intentions, and his great endowments, in a "*fausse position.*" The thing cannot go on thus.

With this daily uncertainty of a majority it is impossible to govern; and unimportant questions (such, for instance, as that concerning the London University) lead to partial defeats which lower the consideration of the ministry, and increase the audacity of its opponents. If Sir Robert Peel were well quit of his "tail," far more and better things might be hoped from him. With other allies, and other troops, he might begin a more glorious and successful campaign.

The stratagem which was employed to show the complete difference of the present Irish Tithe Bill from the former could deceive no unprejudiced person. This isolated measure will not tranquilize Ireland; the evil must be thoroughly remedied; and it is obvious to every man in what that consists. The Irish were originally oppressed and maltreated mainly because they were Tories; and now that the modern Whigs are willing to repair the injuries of their ancestors, the English Tories justify the injustice of their former adversaries, and regard it as the Palladium of religion and of the state. What changes and what confusion! —in words, names, opinions and facts!

People wonder that the Whigs have never long held their post at the helm, but have always been driven out by the Tories. This seems to me natural, and even inevitable. The former have always been the exciters and the executors of great changes, and in certain crises have undertaken the task of daring physicians; but their practice is less suited to the ordinary course of affairs; in quiet times people return to their old diet. Had the Tories always done the right thing at the right time, the Whigs would never have come into power. But they carelessly let the clock run down, and then the Whigs stepped in and wound it up. When they had done this they were driven out again. The idol of the ultra-Tories is the *vis inertiæ;* that of the ultra-Whigs, the *perpetuum mobile:* but motion to be true and accurate requires the centripetal as well as the centrifugal force; and if this is true of matter, how much more so of the varied and intricate movements of moral life! Our abstract statesmen, who affect so much importance with a few scraps of Haller and Sieyes, are mere quacks, who, knowing neither the diversity of diseases nor the nature of remedies, think they can cure everything with a universal medicine. In such abstractions, strangely intermingled with mere personalities, the French now too often deal; in England, everything assumes a more concrete form, and is therefore more tranquil and moderate. The struggle concerning present interests may be carried on in a mean and petty tone; but the way, the matter, the means, and the end, are clear and obvious. Abstractions are like clouds, which assume a hundred different forms, and which men may run after for ever without catching anything real.

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The day before yesterday I went to see the works of a celebrated English landscape painter. There is certainly a great deal to admire in them ; yet, according to my judgment, this artist is too much a *nebulist*, and does not sufficiently combine distinctness of outline with his lights and mists.

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My admiration of the ladies I saw at the duke's was not exaggerated : on the other hand, those whom I daily meet in the streets, adorned or unadorned, are surpassed by the women I have seen in other cities. Is beauty, then, in this country, a privilege of the highest aristocracy ! If so, the ladies, even the most fervent Tories, will consent to part with the "rotten boroughs" rather than with that.

LETTER VI.

Whig Ministry—Causes of its formation and dismissal—Manner of dismissal—Its effects—Points at issue between Tories and Whigs—Lord——— —Prussian Church policy—Irish Catholics genuine Conservatives—O'Connell—Causes of his power—Tithes in Ireland—Attempts at reform—Private and public property—Mr. Stanley's motion—London and Paris news.

London, Monday, March 30.

The motion of Lord John Russell, to-day, on the Irish Church, is so important that naturally enough my morning thoughts are of a political colour.

The death of George IV.—the French days of July—the desire to be more popular than his brother—the declaration of Wellington against all reform—these, and other causes, induced William IV. to form a Whig ministry. It is, however, affirmed that the majority of the powerful and the rich will continue to be conservative so long as, for political reasons, the law of inheritance is so extremely favourable to the elder son. It is mere blind partizanship to deny that reforms were necessary, or that some have been accomplished with ability by the Whig ministry. Let us put aside parliamentary reform as doubtful and contested ; other reforms of the greatest importance, which are now applauded even by their former opponents,—such, for instance, as negro emancipation,—are either affected, or under consideration. Among these I may mention the affairs of India, of the Bank, and some financial and legal reforms.

The first shock to the Whig ministry was the king's refusal (in my opinion a very well-grounded one) to create a considerable number of peers with a view to carry the Reform Bill. Wellington and Peel, to whom he applied to form a ministry, could not accomplish this without a dissolution of parliament, which was not then thought expedient; accordingly, the Whig ministry was recalled, and the Reform Bill, as you know, carried. Meanwhile, the king was hissed in public, which greatly diminished his zeal for, and his faith in, popularity, and lowered the consideration of the Whigs, whose power was based upon it. Next followed the resignation of Lords Grey and Stanley; the quarrel between Lords Brougham and Durham; and, lastly, the death of Lord Spencer. Add to this, that Tories and Radicals combined against the Whigs, as formerly (in a contrary sense) the extremes of the French Chamber against the Martignac ministry. It was necessary to modify the ministry, or to dismiss it. Coalitions are always attended with great difficulties; the latter course was therefore preferred. But for more than a century no King of England has resorted to it, except when the ministry has been repeatedly left in a minority. To this rule the king resolved to form an exception.

On occasion of Wellington's former unsuccessful attempt to form a ministry, during the debates on the Reform Bill, he and Peel had affirmed that the majority in the Commons was on the side of the Whigs only because they had the King's name with them; that as soon as the King should declare himself against them, and consent to a dissolution of the Lower House, there would be no difficulty in obtaining a decided majority in favour of a Tory administration. It was also alleged that the King attached extreme importance to the maintenance of the Protestant Church without the slightest change, and that this was wholly incompatible with the continuance of the Whigs in office. All this was turned to account by the Tories, and after Lord Spencer's death was urged with redoubled vehemence, and accompanied with efforts and promises of all sorts. "The King's name is a tower of strength," was their watch-word; and that, doubtless, is generally the right watch-word.

Granting, however, that this course was just, useful, or even necessary, yet passion, precipitation, or other causes, led to great mistakes in the form; and as Wellington formerly threw out the Tories by his unqualified declaration against reform, so, as it seems, he has a second time placed them in the most unfortunate position. When Lords Brougham and Durham were at variance, Lords Grey and Althorp had resigned, and the Irish members were discontented, the necessity for change was, as I have said, manifest; and Lord Melbourne was the last person who could deny it. According to the assertions of many, as to

Peel's inclination towards reform, he, perhaps, might have succeeded to Lord Althorp ; or, if it were impossible to act in concert, the Whigs must have seen their own weakness, and resigned. But instead of prudent negotiation, dexterous conciliation of opinions, soothing of tempers and passions, came the sudden dismissal of the ministry in a manner in which it is not usual or decorous to dismiss livery servants. Hence, irritation, coalition of parties before opposed, and elections of a very different complexion from what had been anticipated ; hence, also, Peel's isolated position ; hence his unpopular colleagues, who with incredible audacity have called themselves friends of reform, though it would have been much more to their honour to have continued to resist, as they have always resisted, reform as dangerous and destructive ; hence, also, many other and obscurer effects ; hence Peel's plan of beginning with the English Church as the easier task, and afterwards proceeding to the Irish. Now, he is compelled to look the grand evil in the face at once, and to investigate and decide on the grand principle which is to govern the whole line of policy.

The old Tory party (the new cannot yet be characterised) considered the entire property of the Church, not only as unconditionally private property, but even all the existing divisions of it, (such, for example, as the celebrated income of the Bishop of Durham,) as the inalienable property of him and his successors to all futurity: the Whigs, on the other hand, maintain that it is allowable to take from the too-much to add to the too-little. The Tories affirm that Church and School are so utterly distinct and severed, that the superfluous wealth of the former must not be applied to the wants of the latter ; while the Whigs seek to show the contrary, and regard Church and School as one great and indissoluble whole. The Tories call it unjust and sinful ever, on any pretext, to expend the money of the Church or of the State on the Catholic church, and think it sufficiently favoured in being permitted to exist ; while a portion of the Whigs do not entirely forget that the revenues of their church were derived from Catholic sources, and that, since the emancipation, the hostility of the former days ought not to be kept alive. These and similar questions are now to be decided.

Lord ——— had made some inquiries as to the line of policy which had been pursued in Prussia with respect to the two churches, and had been referred to me. This was the occasion of my visit to him yesterday. From the engraving of him, I expected to see a tall, thin man, instead of which I found a small man, with a refined and intelligent, though not an imposing air. I told him what is well known to you all, and added that I could see no other means of establishing peace and unity, but toleration, mildness, and equity. Extirpation, banishment, and forcible con-

version, are the three great means which were formerly employed to arrive at this end. Who is there that has the courage now explicitly to recommend any one of them? And what avail all the shifts and evasions by which men try to disguise, or to conceal, intolerance and selfishness? The much-abused Holy Alliance talks far better sense on this subject than Sir Edward Knatchbull and the Bishop of Exeter.

Let me return to Ireland. It remained catholic and royalist, in great measure, because the hated English were protestant and republican; it was as conservative as even the Duke of Wellington could desire. For that reason was it so cruelly treated by the republican and puritanical tyrant Cromwell; and private as well as ecclesiastical property were confiscated with scandalous injustice, not even on alleged theological grounds, but on political pretexts. Charles II. did nothing for the redress of these iniquitous acts; and the success of William III., so advantageous to the liberties of Europe, laid Ireland alone—tory, conservative Ireland —in chains. For a century the struggle endured; slowly and reluctantly did England concede something to the claims of nature and of justice, while every step she set in this course was denounced by many as a dangerous innovation—as the destruction of State, Church, and Religion. At every step it was said that far too much had already been conceded. Too much? What, then, can explain the existence of such a man as O'Connell? Whence the possibility of the position occupied—of the influence exercised by O'Connell?—a demagogue of a shape and magnitude such as history never yet beheld. With the most powerful government in the world as his antagonist, a single man has become the counsellor, the trust, the ruler of a people; the poor and hungry voluntarily give to their advocate a salary larger than the King of England can afford to pay his ministers. That, reply some, is merely a consequence of the frenzy and the revolutionary tendency of our days. Is this a satisfactory answer? What, then, are the causes of this frenzy, and of this tendency? Has there been no irritation to account for the fever and delirium now so bitterly complained of? Wisdom, and justice, and moderation, alone can heal it; arbitrary, violent conduct certainly will not. Treat the Irish Catholics as the Prussian Catholics are treated, and O'Connell's revolutionary fire, which you pretend is so vast and unquenchable, is in that same moment extinct; instead of flame, you will find but ashes, and the turbulent declaimer will be reduced to order and to peace.

In all Demagogism there lies somewhat irregular, lawless, and indeed incompatible with law; and therefore it is one of the first and most important duties of all governments to check such deviations of the public mind, and to reduce them to the path of law and order. But means conceived in so narrow and one-sided a

spirit,—so impotent, nay, so destructive,—as those which, from the time of Elizabeth to the present day, have uniformly been applied to this evil in Ireland, must of necessity raise up O'Neils and O'Connells. You know my admiration for Elizabeth; but do you think that because I admire her, I cannot understand O'Neil?—because I honour Wellington, must I see in O'Connell an incarnate fiend? By no means; matters like these have two sides; so was it as long ago as the days of the Gracchi and of the Consul Opimius.

> "Jene machen Partei! Welch unerlaubtes Beginnen!
> Aber unsere Partei, freilich versteht sich von selbst."*

Let us take as an illustration the question of tithes in Ireland. I shall put aside all party writings, and only notice what has been adduced and admitted in parliament. Originally all tithes belonged to the catholic church. They came into other hands in Ireland, not, as I have already remarked, because the body of the people became protestant and agreed upon the change, but because Protestants conquered the country, and churchmen and laymen of the conquering party seized and appropriated the tithes. The Catholics, who remained faithful to the religion they had always professed, thus lost the means of supporting their church; they were forced to pay tithes to the very small number of converts to the protestant faith, or to the more numerous immigrant Protestants, military settlers, &c. Matters, therefore, stand on a perfectly different footing in Ireland, and in those countries where the inhabitants have become protestant, and have transferred the churches and the church property to the new religion.

But this grievance of tithes necessarily assumed a most aggravated form in Ireland; since, to the general and natural disinclination to pay catholic dues to Protestants, was added positive want of means to pay at all. According to the letter of the law, indeed, all taxes appear to stand on equal ground, and imply an equal obligation; but both science and experience daily prove more clearly, that literal justice is here the greatest injustice in practice. A tithe levied on the gross product is especially fatal to agricultural improvement; inasmuch as the tithe-owner participates in the profit, without any share in the outlay or risk; and a superficial arithmetical view of the matter is made a cover for palpable injustice, so that the fraction $\frac{1}{10}$ might be changed into $\frac{1}{1}$.

In this state of things discontent and resistance grew to such a

* Those people are making a party! What an unjustifiable attempt! But *our* party—oh! that, indeed, of course.

pitch, that, as long ago as the year 1822, the experiment of tithe compositions was made.* It had, however, very little success; partly because the bishops opposed it; partly because other zealous friends feared injury to the Church; partly, because many landowners resisted it, on the ground that the calculation had been founded on the entire superficial extent of soil, consequently that grazing land was included, and the burden thereby enormously increased.

In August, 1831, fresh complaints were laid before Parliament. The tithes, it was said, often amounted to more than the rent; and not only the cattle, but the very beds of those who were unable to pay, were seized and sold. All contracts and moduses for the collection of the tithe in any other manner, are liable to be declared void. It was affirmed to be absolutely necessary to fix some term of years during which the church should not be permitted to agitate demands of a higher rate of tithe. Claims of this sort often slept for fifteen or sixteen years, and were all at once enforced, although the tithe-payer was wholly unable to satisfy them. As a pretext for this cruel proceeding, it was alleged that the cost of levying accumulated masses of tithe was less than that of collecting small sums. For obvious reasons this practice, which was perpetuated in England, was, in the year 1816, limited to six years for Ireland, and was afterwards shortened by a year.

Tithe, it is said, is a tax on land: to remit it is neither more nor less than to make the proprietor a present, at the expense of the owner of the estate which grants the remission.

On this I must remark, first, that every change in a system of taxation implies, more or less, a present bounty to some—a loss to others; but this has never been esteemed a sufficient reason for preserving to all eternity every defective form of taxation.

2dly. That nobody has asked such a thing as an unconditional remission on merely abstract grounds.

3dly. That tithes are not a fixed tax on land which can be conveniently calculated in making an agreement with a new purchaser or tenant.

4thly. That their operation in Ireland is very different, and more oppressive than would be inferred from general views of the subject; for they are not paid by the landlord, nor even by the immediate tenant, but by the numerous sub-tenants. Hence the portions of tithe are so small, that the cost of levying often exceeds the value. The form of payment and the inspection of the tithe-payer far exceeds in expense the value of the tithe. If (to take an instance which was adduced in Parliament) the tithe amounted to one shilling and eightpence, the tithe-payer must

*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, ix. 239.

drive his cattle six times to the place of inspection, which, independently of all loss of time and labour, costs him each time two shillings and sixpence fees; and this takes place a seventh time on account of the so called vestry cess, or tax for the church. According to this, the tithe is a tax which costs the payer about fourteen times as much as it brings to the receiver.

The picture drawn by Mr. Stanley, a well-known friend of the protestant Church in Ireland, in his place in parliament (December 15th, 1831*), is, if possible, still darker. "As soon," he affirms, "as the tithe-collector, with his escort of police and military, is seen coming along a road to collect arrears of tithe, signals are given on every side, and all the cattle are driven away with the greatest speed. If he is lucky enough to find a cow, nobody will bid for it,—it is knocked down to him. But nobody will sell him fodder—nobody will let a cow so bought enter his stall—nobody will buy it. Even if, with great expense and delay, he sends it to England, he finds the dealers there informed of the matter, and resolved to buy no cattle distrained for tithe."

If the clergy have recourse to process of law, this, according to Mr. Stanley, often costs ten times as much as their demand, and at last the persons condemned to pay are wholly unable to do so. Good will and attachment are transformed into hatred, and hate and distress lead to crime: any happy, harmonious intercourse between the clergyman and his parishioners is totally out of the question.

Within three years there were 30,000 decrees issued against persons owing arrears of tithe, and only 2923*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* collected in consequence; 4684 persons had each less than 1*s.* to pay. The entire arrear of tithe amounted to 115*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*†

Sir Robert Peel said, that ecclesiastical property and private property stood on the same grounds, and must be equally protected by law. This maxim is true and not true. Unquestionably the basis of all society is security of property; and any attempt to destroy this foundation of human prosperity and civilization is mad and wicked. On the other hand, reverence for private property may go so far as to be utterly incompatible with the idea of State, or of legislation for the common-weal. Moreover, private property and state or church property are *not* the same; the latter is granted or transferred only under certain conditions, and in consideration of the performance of certain duties.

Lastly, the State does, in fact, daily meddle with private property; increases or diminishes it, changes its distribution, &c. (as, for example, by taxation, and by laws of inheritance). After such vast changes in all trades and occupations, is it not a strange thing that the maintenance of the whole Church should now, as

* Hansard, ix. 266. † Ibid. xviii. 1053.

formerly, be imposed on the landowner, and merchants, manufacturers, and fundholders be exempted?

In Ireland, however, as I have said, the landowner does not generally pay the tithe; and the opinion that the under-tenant deducts the amount of the tithe from his rent is erroneous. The press of miserable beings, who have neither bread nor home, is there so great, that they outbid each other, and regard a mere temporary shelter as a gain. If they are driven out of their little farms in any great numbers on account of their arrears, this merely increases the misery and the danger. The most advantageous thing that such an outcast can do, says a well-informed witness,* is to commit some crime which may get him into prison!

The main source of the evil, however, does not consist in the tithes alone, but in the total want of small landed proprietors,—in the excessive dependence of the poor on the rich,—in the excessive disparity between them. How the laws aggravate, instead of diminishing, this evil, I shall describe another time. The levying the tithe on the proprietor, instead of on the tenant, would indeed change the injurious relation in which the clergyman stands to the latter, but would bring upon the poor man only a more rapid execution of the laws from his temporal lord. It was a mistake to anticipate any adequate remedy from this measure.

While these affairs were discussed at great length, without arriving at any conclusion, there arose, in November, 1831, a universal resistance to tithes in Ireland. With the aid of an extremely expensive and overpowering military force, and of the most rigorous measures employed during two months, scarcely a tenth of the tithe had, according to Mr. Stanley, been collected.† "If (said Sir Robert Peel) prescription affords no protection to the church, neither will it to the lay-proprietor;‡ and if the conspiracy against tithes is suffered to prevail, there remains no security for property or for life."§ This observation certainly admitted one side of the existing evil; viz., the help which the non-payers had sought and found in themselves; but it did not in the slightest degree touch the causes of this deplorable fact; and referred to antiquity as to a reason for suffering a state of things to endure, which, against the steadfast and express will of six millions of people, ought not to have been maintained for a single day.

Still more one-sided and irrational was the assertion of Lord Eldon,‖ that the plan of Lord Stanley and the government to

* Quarterly Review, xiv. 514. † Hansard, xi. 137.
‡ Hansard, 169. § Ibid. xi. 421. ‖ Ibid. x. 1297.

abolish tithes, and give a compensation for them out of the land or the rent, was radically destructive.

The Archbishop of Dublin* remarked, with justice, that the tithe-system hitherto pursued could be maintained only by the sword, and at the expense of a civil war. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London also declared, that it must be altered, not only for the reasons already stated, but because the clergy did not receive the half of the tithes that were levied; that, indeed, many of them were in such distress, that the government must advance them money to preserve them from absolute starvation.†

How just were the observations of Mr. Wyse! The moment, said he, that public opinion reaches such a degree of force and unanimity, as it now displays, a new state of things commences, and the law is virtually abrogated, though it may continue to exist in name. The sooner parliament confirms the decision of the people the better. A wise government will observe and understand the signs of the times, and take upon itself the direction of opinion; if it does not, it will be compelled to follow where it ought to lead.

And again; the right point of time is already lost; and what, at a former period, would perhaps have tranquilized the people of Ireland, would now be regarded as superficial and unsatisfactory. All the defects of the tithe system which I have touched upon would have been sufficiently obvious, had they existed between protestant payers and receivers; but, in Ireland, the Catholics have to pay for protestant worship. The former affirm, that such a system is imposed on them by unjust force, and that no prescription can convert a wrong into a right. Scotland struggled for fifty years against a hated Church, and at length conquered; so also, in Ireland, will hatred against the present order of things endure so long as one spark of the sentiment of justice lives in the breasts of Irishmen. What would the Presbyterians, or the members of the Church of England say, if, while their own clergy were left to want, they were compelled to maintain a costly catholic church? And were there any real need of a protestant church of such magnitude? But the Catholics have to pay tithes to protestant clergymen who have no flocks. These ecclesiastical sinecures, with large revenues, are absolutely intolerable; while protestant curates, who perform the duty, often receive extremely little, and the catholic clergy nothing at all. On affixing the legacy stamp, it appeared that an Archbishop of Dublin left 150,000*l.*; an Archbishop of Tuam, 250,000*l.*; an Archbishop of Cashel, 400,000*l.*‡ Does this show an equitable

* Hansard, 1277. † Ibid. 1122.

‡ Hansard, xiv. 360-390.

distribution of ecclesiastical revenues? Protestant churches, frequented by ten or twelve parishioners, are built with funds extracted from Catholics, while the numerous catholic population is crowded into a small chapel, or compelled, by want of room, to kneel on the earth before the door.

In one case, there are 66,634 Catholics to 259 Protestants, for each of whom, on an average, the former pay 30*l.* 17*s.* 9¾*d.*: in another, 120,000 Catholics pay, for 76 Protestants, 157*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* each.

And these are the institutions which are called sacred and inviolable! This is regarded as a wise distribution and employment of the property of the church! Blackstone, Burn, and other writers, show, that of the tithes, a quarter belongs to the bishop, a fourth to the church, a fourth to the preacher or incumbent, a fourth to the poor. Nobody, however, thinks of any such division.* For every contribution levied on the subject, something is done or given in return; the Catholics alone, who are too poor to pay their own pastors and maintain their own churches, are to pay those who render them nothing in return, and who have not even the tyrant's plea—necessity. This is a phenomenon of which the world cannot furnish another example. In no age or country has such a demand been made by Catholics upon Protestants, or by Protestants upon Catholics.

This, and other arguments, induced the Ministry, in July, 1832, to submit, through the mouth of Mr. Stanley, a plan by which all tithes taken on an average of seven years should be commuted for a fixed tax, and should in future be collected and paid by the landlords.† This proposition, which passed the House of Lords, certainly contained, or at least aimed at, material improvements, but left the very important questions of the partition of the church revenues, the extremely small proportion of Protestants, the application of surplus funds, the claims of schools, and the participation of Catholics in them, entirely untouched. A Bill which was brought into the House of Commons, in 1834, was so altered, that Stanley retired from the administration, and the Lords threw out the Bill.

Scarcely a member of the Upper House is now to be found who denies that this was a mistake. It wantonly postponed all reforms to an indefinite distance: it engendered fresh discontent in Ireland, and necessarily brought on the grand question which Peel is now trying to evade, but which Lord John Russell and his party are determined to bring to a decision; since it is impossible that measures of detail can acquire a consistent and rational character till the principles on which all are founded, and to which all refer, are established. Of these plans of the year 1834,

* Hansard, x. 70. † Ibid, xiv. 95, 1413.

and the debates upon them, I shall speak hereafter. You will already find this letter too long and dry, and will have enough to do to read it through.

But intelligence from England must of necessity have a different tone and character from that from France. There is less of the amusing and the piquant, but more of the instructive and the profound. Paris affords fireworks, which sparkle and amuse for a moment; but here the coal-fire of industry and thought burns steadily the livelong day. Whether there be not a still better light, and purer flame in Germany, or whether such be not possible, is a question I do not undertake to answer now.

All the several branches of legislation must certainly be materially affected and modified by the reform of parliament; I must, therefore, write you a long letter on that subject, since the details scattered in newspapers generally afford no comprehensive view; and prineiples and facts are placed in a false light, or wholly forgotten. Enough, or too much, for to-day.

LETTER VII.

Mr. Babbage's Calculating Machine—Philosophy and Mathematics—Dinner party, its length and luxury—Climate—Museum—Rhubarb tart—Vastness of London—Its metropolitan and commercial character—Comparison with other capitals—Squares—Parks—Regent's Park.

London, March 31, 1835.

It seems to me expedient to keep my journal of daily occurrences separate from the political circumstances and events of Britain, and to write any remarks on the latter separately.

On Sunday, then, the 29th of March, I was at Lord R——'s, then at Hr. v. B——'s, and then at Charles Babbage's. The latter showed me and another gentleman his calculating machine. I very soon perceived that an hour's explanation in a language with which I was little familiar would not make a mathematician of me: yet thus much I understood, that the machine accomplished such extraordinary and marvellous things by the mere motion of its relative parts, that most certainly Mr. Babbage would have been burned for a conjurer a few centuries ago. In his well-known work you will find more on this subject. It was necessary to show, both mathematically and popularly, how the possibility of such a machine, and the necessity of its results fol-

lowed, from the very nature of mathematics. The relations and working of mere quantities are, as it seems to me, subject to such natural and inflexible laws, that the mind may go to rest as soon as it has discovered and applied those laws. When that is done, there really remains nothing more for the intellect to do; the remaining work may be committed to a machine. This necessarily leads to the conclusion enounced by Plato, that mathematics are essentially inferior to philosophy. Raymond Lully's attempt to invent a kind of *philosophical* calculating machine is ingenious enough; but he could not catch thoughts in mathematical nets, or move them by mathematical machinery.

When C— M— gave me a letter to his relation, L— M—, he added, if you wish to save your money, you must not follow his advice. I thought of this yesterday, when he said to me, that I ought to go into the boxes and not into the pit, and that they cost no more. I accepted his invitation to dinner, which was not over till midnight. If I am to infer from my own humble dinner the expense of this, it certainly cost more pounds per head than that does shillings. In the first place, the furniture of the rooms was antique; hangings and furniture resplendent with silk and gold; the dinner service of silver, a silver hot plate under every plate, change of knives and silver forks with every dish, and of these dishes, as well as of the wines, a countless succession; servants in full livery, and all in white kid gloves. Though I passed on all the strong wines, and drank but few of the healths or toasts, I yet drank too much. This was almost inevitable, from the want of any drinks for quenching thirst, and the high seasoning of the dishes, which are almost as burning as the wines. Several times, when all the plates were removed, I thought the business was at an end, but in a minute the table was full again. At length we came to the rinsing the mouth; but instead of rising after this operation, it was only succeeded by new varieties of sweet dishes. Again the table was cleared, and a large silver basin was placed before one of the gentlemen. He poured a bottle of water into it, dipped in a corner of his napkin, and pushed the basin to me. It was filled with rose water, and was a new and very refreshing luxury to me. At length we arose; but the ladies only left the room, and passed their time in amusement or in ennui, while the gentlemen sat down again and did not rejoin the ladies for an hour. Cards were now introduced; but I made my escape, mindful of the coming day, and got home about midnight.

Till yesterday, the atmosphere was damp, foggy, and icy cold —of course unpleasant in the highest degree; now the wind has changed, and it is become milder. The Museum alone is as cold as ever; and thus, as in Paris, there is every possible facility for catching cold. I take, however, great precautions, and am a very

industrious eater of rhubarb-tart. The first time this was offered me I was alarmed; but it is not made of the root of the Asiatic, but of the stalk of the English rhubarb, and tastes very like apple-tart—indeed apples are not unfrequently mixed with it.

This town is really immeasurable; and though perhaps there is no one point so beautiful and so rich as the Pont des Arts in Paris, or the exit from the Linden in Berlin; yet, on the other hand, fresh masses and rows of houses, palaces, shops, &c., continually arise before you. The number of coaches and equipages far exceeds all that can be seen in other cities; and you are led to think something extraordinary is going on in this or that street, whereas it is only the daily customary routine. That so many human beings can live together in such a space, carry on their occupations, and procure food, seems, in spite of all explanations, a miracle, and indicates a pitch of civilization compared to which the *latifundia* are at best but grazing-grounds and sheep-walks. All the continental capitals are capitals of one country only; London is the capital of Great Britain, and of so many other countries beside; and it is, at the same time, the greatest commercial city in the world. In this union of metropolitan and commercial city lies its peculiar character—its exhaustless principle of life and increase. Madrid, Paris, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, &c., are capitals, and act only as such; they are not, from their very position, power, and industry, also essentially commercial cities. Petersburg has some resemblance with London, but is far from being equally favoured by climate and situation.

A great and peculiar beauty of London is the number of the squares. They are not, as in Berlin, given up to hucksters and soldiers, or to horse-breakers and grooms; but, leaving the broad streets for such uses, they are inclosed with elegant iron railings, and the fine green turf in the inside (already beautiful) is intersected with gravel walks, and adorned with trees, flowers, and shrubs.

The squares, however, are far surpassed by the parks. Regent's Park, with its surrounding terraces and mansions, is alone of great extent and magnificence, and none but a frozen stockfish could really put in practice the *nil admirari* while looking at it.

LETTER VIII.

Irish Church—Lord Althorp's motion—Debates upon it—Grievances of the Catholics—Kildare Street Society—Mr. Stanley's motion—Opposition to it—Its success—Duties of a Statesman—Tory doctrines—Church property—Violence of parties—Necessity of concession—Irish Union—Improvement in Irish commerce—Irish poverty—Middlemen—Poor Laws for Ireland—State and prospects of Ireland.

London, Thursday, April 2, 1835.

I HAVE already written you a long letter about Irish tithes; allow me to say somewhat more on this point, and on the Irish Church. It may enable you to understand what you read in the newspapers.

As long ago as the year 1830, this question was warmly agitated in Parliament, and the excitement was so great, that Mr. Stanley declared that the attempt to ascertain the proportion the Catholics bore to the Protestants of Ireland would only revive and strengthen religious hatred.

The following views and facts were, however, brought forward. The Catholics, it was said, are willing and able to maintain *one* church, but not *two;* they require a different partition and application of church property. And why should an absentee rector receive 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a-year, and the Protestant curate only 70*l.*?* In one parish, which may serve as an example, there are five thousand Catholics, and twenty Protestants, of whom fifteen are absent on the coast service. Nevertheless, the five thousand pay tithes to the rector, though he never beheld his parish or his five parishioners.†

Supported by such facts as these, Lord Althorp, on the 12th February, 1833, produced a plan for the reform of the Irish Church. He said that the accounts of the revenues of this church were exaggerated. The net incomes

of the bishops, were about . .	£130,000
of the 1400 livings, . . .	600,000
of the chapters	23,000
in round numbers	£800,000.

This statement has been again assumed by Lord John Russell as the basis of his proposed reforms. He added, however, that during the last century the ecclesiastical revenues had risen more than tenfold, while the number of the Protestants, and the burdens

* Hansard, vi. 778, 1307; iv. 572. † Ibid. vii. 22; xv. 561.

and duties of the clergy, had decreased. And yet the divisions of these augmented revenues was so unequal, that two hundred livings yield less than 200*l.* a-year, whilst the income of the Bishop of Derry was calculated at 22,000*l.*

Lord Althorp proposed to abolish the so-called first fruits, and to make certain deductions. That, 1st, Benefices which yielded from

200*l.* to 500*l.* a-year should give up	5 per cent.
500*l.* to 800*l.* „ „ „	7 per cent.
800*l.* to 1200*l.* „ „ „	10 per cent.
above 1200*l.* „ „ „	15 per cent.
2d, Bishoprics which yielded under	
4000*l.* „ „ „ „	5 per cent.
6000*l.* „ „ „ „	7 per cent.
10,000*l.* „ „ „ „	10 per cent.
above 10,000*l.* „ „ „	15 per cent.

A board or commission composed of members of the church should divide and apply the revenue arising from these sources, for the good of the church. Even after these deductions, the income of the Bishop of Derry would, on a moderate calculation, amount to 50,000 thaler,* and that of the Archbishop of Armagh to 70,000.

This proposition was further enlarged upon in the House of Lords by Lord Grey. The aim of it, he said, was to abolish a burdensome tax; to make a more equal distribution of the revenues; to provide for the building of churches, and a more advantageous cultivation of church lands; and to diminish the number of the bishops.

There are about 11,000 benefices in England, and 1306 in Ireland; In England, 26 bishops and archbishops; In Ireland, 22; in England, a population of 8,000,000, belonging to the national church; in Ireland, 1,000,000. If the number of Irish bishops were reduced to ten, each of them would still not have a fourth as many clergymen and parishioners under his care as an English bishop; indeed, the diocese of Lincoln alone contains as many as 1273 livings. According to a law of Henry VIII., every beneficed clergyman is bound to maintain a school, or in some way to provide for its establishment; a subscription of forty shillings, has, however, been considered by the clergy as a satisfactory fulfilment of this law.

Every project for the reform of these and similar abuses was met by the determined resistance of Lords Londonderry and Winchelsea, Sir Robert Inglis, and other high Tories. They contended that such reforms were contrary to the king's oath,

* A Prussian thaler (dollar) is about equal to three shillings.—*Trans.*

and to all sound principles; that they would bring incalculable misfortunes upon Ireland and upon England, upon Church and religion, and would increase the power and influence of the Pope.

The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Dublin spoke in favour of the measure. They maintained that the Irish Church was in the utmost peril, if some means were not taken to reform its abuses. Even the Duke of Wellington admitted the expediency of the proposed plan; upon which the Duke of Newcastle reproached him* with postponing principle and right to expediency. On this the Bishop of London remarked with great justice, that it was a mistake in certain lords to overlook the consequences of their decision on this practical experiment; that, indeed, the very question at issue was—what was right? and that the existing system could not be unconditionally approved, seeing that their object and their duty was to discover and to establish a new system.

The Duke of Cumberland's unmeaning reference to the coronation oath was strongly contrasted with the good sense of the last-mentioned speech. If this oath really expresses absolute and eternal immutability, all one can say is, that the first thing to alter is, so gross an absurdity. But, in fact, it prohibits only partial alterations unsanctioned by Parliament. The words, the king shall maintain to the bishops and clergy all such rights and privileges "as by law do or shall appertain to them," point, as the Duke of Sussex truly observed, to legal changes, and leave the possibility of such open.

Several alterations had already taken place in the Irish Church. Thus, for instance, with regard to the so-called vestry-dues, which were levied mainly for the purpose of church repairs. The assessment was made by a few Protestants, who compelled the Catholics to pay it; and if any litigation arose, the costs fell on the parish —that is to say, on the Catholics.† The churches, often badly built by jobbers, did not stand above forty or fifty years; and thus fresh burdens were continually imposed.

Although these propositions were carried (July 30, 1833,)‡ they have as yet had little effect on the state of the Protestant church; but since nothing was done for the education of the people, or for the Catholic church, the main evil remained untouched, and must necessarily become more flagrant with every succeeding year.

The reproach has unjustly been cast upon the Catholics, that, contrary to the hopes so often excited, they are not satisfied with any concession granted them, but are continually making fresh demands. But these concessions have always been merely matters of detail, and have left a host of evils untouched; which na-

* Hansard, xix. 970. † Ibid. vi. 768. ‡ Ibid. xx. 126.

turally excited double attention and inflicted double pain, when the hoped-for cure was found to have been but partial and imperfect.

The emancipation, for instance, in consequence of which rich Catholics could be returned to parliament, did nothing for the poor; improvements in the Protestant livings only exhibited the wretched and unprovided state of the Catholic church in a more striking light; and grants for Protestant schools irritated the excluded Catholics, who are now sensible to the want and the value of better education.

I shall make this more clear to you by the aid of some facts concerning the Kildare Street Society, for the education of the Irish poor. Government had granted a sum in aid of the contributions of this society, which professed to receive children without any distinction of sects. It was indeed impossible to deny that Catholic children were admitted; but it is equally certain that two-thirds of the schools existed, in practice, for the benefit of Protestants alone. Only one-third were attended by Catholics, while five-sixths of the population of the whole country is Catholic. The causes of this strange disproportion were sought partly in the indifference of the Catholics to instruction; partly in a prohibition of the Pope to attend these schools, at which many Catholics took alarm. But the grand question still remained unanswered. Whence came this aversion of the Catholics? and what determined the Pope to this hostile declaration? The answer was this; that the Protestants were indeed willing to receive Catholics into their schools, but on condition that they read the whole Bible without comment; in short, that they held it to be their right and their duty to educate Catholic children as Protestants. This proceeding excited the distrust and hostility of the Catholics, who naturally chose to have them educated as Catholics, or to provide for their education themselves, as they best could.* It remained with the government either to put a stop to this system, or to make a separate grant for the Catholics. In spite of the injurious language of many who called such a concession, a favouring of idolatry, the Protestant and the Catholic archbishops of Dublin united to make a selection of passages from Scripture, suited to the education of children of both persuasions; and added to these, some truly Christian admonitions to love and unity. This, however, was violently attacked in certain Protestant polemical journals,† as a profane mutilation of the sacred Scriptures; and even some Tory peers, though loud in their complaints of agitation, joined in this fanatical cry.

At length government took the affair in hand, and on the 9th

* Hansard, Series III., i., 975; iii., 402, 1293; iv., 1259.
† Ibid. x., 869, 886.

of September, 1831, Mr. Stanley brought forward a plan,* in pursuance of which all secular instruction of the children of both persuasions was to be common ; while the reading of the Bible, and religious instruction, was to occupy separate hours. Government was to grant 30,000*l.* a year for the execution of this plan.

Nothing could appear more rational, simple, and natural ; yet this again gave rise to a violent outcry on the side of the over zealous Protestants ; it was "a withholding of the Bible."† Only three bishops voted for the measure, two archbishops and thirteen bishops against it.‡ The Archbishop of Armagh said, that to adopt such a system would be to renounce the principles of Protestantism, and to render the Bible inaccessible. Lord Roden exclaimed, "That is an *infamous* system of education from which the unmutilated word of God is excluded. Ministers want to rob the people of the Bible."§

It is evident that this was a silly and a malicious calumny. Nobody had thought of depriving the *people*, i. e., the adult population, of the Bible ; on the contrary, if Protestants and Catholics could not agree on any common religious instruction, each party was at full liberty to adopt its own system, at separate hours ; and to read the Bible with its own children, entire or in part, with or without commentary.

On this occasion the Duke of Wellington observed, that a system which entirely severed Catholics from Protestants would be best adapted to the situation of Ireland. To this it might be replied, that where Catholics and Protestants live at a distance from each other, such a system is easily put in practice ; but that where they live intermingled, some conciliatory plan must be devised ; and that this becomes more obviously necessary in a country where the revenues do not suffice for one school ;—how much less for two ?

In spite of all the violent excitement, the abuse and the misrepresentation, to which this plan gave rise,‖ it gradually became more and more popular ; and in six months the number of schools and of scholars increased more, than, on the Kildare Street system, in six years.

It is manifest, however, that with such extremely slender means, nothing like an adequate system of education in its various stages could be carried into effect for a whole nation ; and thus we continually come back to the grand question concerning the partition and employment of the property of the Protestant Church, and the duty of the State to provide for the Catholic churches and schools.

* Hansard, Series III. vi., 1249.
† Ibid. x., 262.
‡ Ibid. xi., 648.
§ Ibid. viii., 1271 ; xiv., 682.
‖ Ibid. xi., 637; xiii., 1182; xiv., 357.

April 3d.

The ministers have drawn upon themselves another defeat. I must stay here long, and learn much, before I shall be able to comprehend their line of conduct. It is the part of a statesman to lead, and not to be led ; to gain and to govern the confidence and the opinions of men by positive action, and not to defend himself behind mere negations, and suffer himself to be driven even from this defensive position, inch by inch.

If I set aside long and irrelevant declamation, and sum up impartially what the Tories propound, it amounts briefly to this. We are the Positive,—the upholders, and what we uphold and desire to retain, is the just, the dignified, and the salutary; our opponents are the Negative,—the pullers down, the destructives. Those who require that this destruction should originate with us, require something absurd and infamous ; even defeat is more honourable to us, and more satisfactory to our own consciences, than victory can be to our enemies.

This, however, involves a *petitio principii;* it is obvious that the Whigs could easily retort, and have indeed retorted. It is impossible to arrive at any certain results, without full and accurate investigation ; to endeavour to check inquiry into the state of Ireland, or to limit it to a single point, is like defending an untenable fortress.

Nobody can more utterly disapprove the confiscation of church property under shallow pretexts, or with a view to cover wasteful public expenditure, than I do ; nor will I here presume to decide on the question of the alleged excess or inequality in the incomes of the Protestant clergy of Ireland ; but that things *as they are* are in a state neither healthy nor justifiable, it seems to me utterly impossible for any man sincerely to doubt.

But, unhappily, party spirit is more intense and one-sided on this subject, than the world has a right to expect from the practised intelligence and good sense of England. I heard, for instance, a distinguished Tory clergyman say, that the abrogation of the results and the acquisitions of centuries, the sacrifices of Protestantism to Catholicism, by the House of Commons, was received with "devilish shouts." It was, he added, a grief and a shame that a few Scotch and Irish members, as ignorant as they are fanatical, should overpower the intelligent majority, and be able to destroy the Protestant Church of England and Ireland, which was never more admirable than now. Indeed it was evident that Lord John Russell openly aimed at the overthrow of the British Constitution, and the introduction of the American.

If the opposite opinions and sentiments are equally full of violence and exaggeration, where is that true and healthful mean, in which alone the pulse and power of life is to be found ?

Were it unnatural if some one, admitting these assertions of the Tories, but following them out still further, asked,—Can that be a good form of government, "a free and happy constitution," in which it depends every evening on chance and caprice, on the presence or absence, the good or ill will of a few members, how and by whom the vast internal and external affairs of Great Britain shall be conducted? Certainly no administration can permanently go on under this uncertainty; it must have a secure preponderancy, and be, not governed, but informed and corrected, by the opposition.

It is to be hoped that England will regain this position. So long, however, as the ministry regards the abolition of sinecures for younger sons as sacrilege; so long as it does nothing, or next to nothing, for the Catholics; so long as it protects unprofitable industry, and forgets the commerce of Europe, it can hardly be expected to attain to that security. It knows not what is the sort of education demanded by the present times; and by such a course of policy it will no more succeed in restraining and directing the present appetite for novelty, than our ——, who, compared with English conservatives, are only *imitatorum pecus*. My remarks, be it observed, on the defects and the dangers of constitutional forms, are not at all meant to favour the absolutism of a Camarilla, in which the affairs of the nation are discussed, if not decided, by chamberlains and valets, ruined landlords and bankrupt projectors, bigoted old women or profligate young ones.

What will be done now about the Irish question? asked some one. It will be thrown out in the Lords, replied B. P., a dignified clergyman; or the King, if an address be presented to him to that effect, will admonish the Commons,—and then see if they will venture farther. These two expedients, which the speaker seemed to anticipate as triumphs, appeared to me pregnant with dangers, and symptoms of a violent disease. I am much more inclined to believe that King and Lords must absolutely concede what is reasonable, if they would not provoke unreasonable demands.

It was observed with great justice by Lord John Russell, that the mischievous cry for the repeal of the Union can be effectually silenced, only by concessions to Ireland. The Irish agitators put this forward as a bugbear, in order to force the English nation into granting to fear, what they will not grant to justice. If, said one, (with a show of reason,) we had an Irish parliament, our church affairs would long ago have been settled, whereas the English majority is invariably against us.

That many Englishmen describe the Irish and Scotch Members as ignorant and absurd, is the consequence of their one-sided, not to say their conceited, habits of mind. The Scotch and Irish

must be counted as in all respects equal, or it is vain to expect that they can be satisfied with a union which is, in fact, but a subjection.

In Scotland, however, the results of the union of 1706 have long been so secured to the nation, that the dissolution of it is never so much as thought of; although many grievances, in regard to the quantity and the quality of political rights, existed till the passing of the Reform Bill. Of that another time.

As to Ireland, I must remark, that people are apt to forget, in their indignation against the existing evils, that things were infinitely worse *before* the union.

Mr. Wilson said in Parliament,* "Before the Union, the grossest abuses of the legislative power prevailed on every hand; monopolies of every kind existed to the greatest extent; venal patronage was suffered, and every interest of the people was utterly disregarded. I will not revert to the barbarous penal code by which bigoted Protestants have so long ruled, and thought to convert, fanatical Catholics. I shall confine myself to the one point of the commercial relations of the two countries. Till 1779 Ireland was treated in this respect completely as a foreign country. It was not till the December of that year that three important restrictions were removed.

1. The export of wool and woollen manufactures to the European continent, and

2. The export of glass wares, and the import of glass elsewhere than in England, were permitted.

3. The trade with the British Colonies in America and the West Indies was thrown open.

In the year 1785 eleven of the true principles of a fair and equitable commercial system were submitted by the Irish Parliament; but in spite of Pitt's recommendation, they were so altered and disfigured, that the Irish would not accept them in their new form. Thus the evil went on till the Union of the 1st of January, 1801; when it was established, that all grants, premiums, and encouragements to trade should for the future be alike in both countries; that all produce and manufactures should be freely transported from the one to the other, and should pay only such duties as were necessary to equalize certain taxes on consumption.

I subjoin a few but striking proofs of the improvement in agriculture and in manufactures in Ireland since the Union. The consumption was, of

Cotton,	
1777, 429,000 lbs.	1826, 4,378,000 lbs.
Sugar,	
1793, 184,000 cwts.	1832, 342,000 cwts.

* December 11th, 1830, Hansard, i. 1006.

	Tea,	
1777, 808,000 lbs.		1830, 3,887,000 lbs.
	Coals,	
1800, 364,000 tons.		1830, 940,000 tons.
Exported,		
	Linen,	
1800, 36,000 yards.		1826, 51,000 yards.
	Oxen,	
$180\frac{7}{10}$ 19,000		$182\frac{3}{6}$ 57,000
	Sheep,	
—— 10,000		—— 62,000
	Pigs,	
—— 9,800		—— 73,000*
	Corn,	
1810, 61,000 qrs.	1826, 375,000 qrs.	1830, 525,000 qrs.

If then Ireland has made such great, such unquestionable advances in the foregoing respects, whence, asks every one in amazement, these complaints of the abject misery, the perpetual disquiet, the countless crimes and disorders? None of the single answers so often given afford any sufficient solution: the causes are evidently manifold. I will only suggest a few.

All this increasing wealth and prosperity affects, in fact, only the landowners and the clergy—it does not reach the mass of small farmers and under-tenants, who outbid each other. While herds of cattle cross over to England, and the granaries are filled with corn, the poor have neither meat nor bread; the Union, as well as the increasing prosperity of the country, only afford the rich double inducements, and double facilities, for leaving their country, and spending their lightly won incomes in England and other foreign lands. Poverty, neglected education, indifference to all civil institutions, hatred to ancient and modern oppressors, selfishness, rapacity—such are among the causes which have led to the countless terrific crimes, for the prevention or the suppression of which severe laws were, with great reason, enacted in the year 1832.

In the province of Leinster alone there were, in one year, 163 cases of homicide, 387 of robbery, 1823 of burglary, 194 of arson.†

Whatever there might be to allege against the high and the rich,—against bad taxes or bad laws,—nothing good could come of such diabolical acts as these. It was, however, necessary that the most accurate inquiry into the causes of these fearful phenomena, and the most vigorous efforts to remove those causes, should go hand in hand with severe penalties. With this view, in August, 1831, Mr. Sadler brought forward a motion for introducing poor-laws into Ireland. He alleged that the monstrous

* Browning's "Political Condition of Gt. Britain," p. 365. Hansard, xvii. 525.
† Hansard, xv., 1215; iv., 1097.

confiscations of former times had transferred a vast portion of the soil to foreigners, who are, and must be expected to be absentees. All business, therefore,—all intercourse with the tenants,—is in the hands of middlemen, who almost invariably (like the Fattori in Italy) oppress and grind the people, without pity or remorse.* Generally speaking, the people are industrious, contented with little, anxious for work, and more laborious than slaves, while they live the life of condemned criminals. The English poor are infinitely better off than the Irish, and the absence of all compulsory provision for the latter has had no effect in increasing voluntary contributions. Absentees who yearly receive eighty or ninety thousand pounds, subscribe, in the most pressing emergencies, eighty or ninety.

In reply to this and similar statements, it was said, that it would be highly injudicious to introduce poor-laws into Ireland at the very moment when they were declared to be the greatest calamity of England; that the question, whether a compulsory provision for the poor ought to exist was extremely difficult and intricate, and depended on the various considerations of labour, wages, capital, rent, value of land, &c.; that the utmost caution ought to be used, not to excite hopes and claims which it might be found impossible to realize. Even O'Connell maintained that the introduction of English poor-laws into Ireland would only increase the evil, and aggravate the hatred between rich and poor, Mr. Sadler's motion thus fell to the ground.

It seems to me that in this case, as in many others, an impartial observer sees error in both extremes. The one tends to agrarian laws, to equal partition of property, or to fantastic St. Simonian theories; the other to heartless selfishness and self-isolation: whereas every society ought to oppose and to correct the severance of a portion of its members; whether of the helpless, through the neglect of others, or of the selfish, from want of sympathies.

Spontaneous benevolence and Christian wisdom can and ought to do much for the poor; but where these are not sufficient, government has a right to interpose for the mitigation of actual misery. It is a mistake, as I shall show hereafter, to reject all poor-laws on account of England's unfavourable experience, The evils arose out of the false extension given to the word *poor*, and the perversion and misapplication of originally good laws.

Legislation has often, and particularly in Ireland, done more for the object than the subject; more for the establishment and the maintenance of property, than for persons; far more (by taxes, corn-laws, &c.) for the rich, than for the poor. Here lies the main root of the numerous offshoots and ramifications of the revo-

* Hansard, vi. 786.

lutionary spirit. Mere moral admonitions have small effect, when the high are deficient in Christian charity, and the low in Christian humility.

Another circumstance to be considered is, the very different condition of the people in England and in Ireland. In the former, the average rate of wages is about from eight to sixteen shillings a week; in the latter, from five to eight: hence emigrations of the Irish to England are inevitable, until either all intercourse between the two countries is interdicted, or their condition is in some degree assimilated.

Such are the facts which drew from Mr. Wyse the exclamation, "Ireland possesses a population full of intelligence, and more numerous than that of nineteen of the states of Europe; a soil more fruitful than that of England; the richest mines and fisheries. She is, besides, a connecting link between two hemispheres. Such has God made Ireland; but what has she been made by man? Gifted with every physical blessing, she is a prey to every moral curse; the rich are absent, the poor are unemployed; Irish beggary, Irish misery, have cost England countless sums, and, with the course hitherto pursued, and the measures hitherto employed, the end is as remote as ever."*

Much has been done, or attempted, since these words were pronounced ; and the recent votes of Parliament afford good hope that more still will be done. One of the greatest grievances was that of the grand juries, which regulated the payment of the police, the maintenance of prisons, hospitals, bridges, roads, &c. ; appointed the contractors and other officers, and passed the accounts. All these local burthens, which were continually on the increase, fell on the farmer, the last under-tenant, and were assessed according to the superficial extent of soil, without any reference to its goodness or badness ; a principle as unjust as the mode of taxing according to the seed-corn, introduced among us at the time of the French domination. The persons who made the assessments, and disbursed the funds accruing from them, were not the payers, and of course their proceedings were subject to no control. It was impossible for the tenant to know before-hand what would be imposed upon him ;† and the competition for farms I have so often mentioned, was too hot to admit of careful and provident calculation. Another evil was, that the grand juries were so entirely occupied with these financial affairs, that they had no time for their duties connected with criminal law. Thus, it is affirmed, 244 persons decided, in three or four days, above 5369 trials or actions ; each trial, on an average, occupying five minutes.

* Hansard, iii., 1210 et seq. ; i., 910.

† Since 1810, the gross amount has risen from 607,000*l.* to 940,000*l.* Hansard, vii., 838 ; xv., 955.

Since the year 1815 numerous committees have been appointed for inquiring into the state of Ireland, and have elicited very important facts. Mr. Stanley's judicious plans, proposed in September, 1831, and February, 1833, went to this: the civil and criminal business was for the most part divided; seventy old laws were repealed; the projects concerning local taxes were discussed before magistrates, with the aid of persons competent to the matter; the jurors were appointed in a better manner; contracts for public works put up to open competition; and the assessments laid upon the landowners.

LETTER IX.

London Shops—Hackney Carriages, Omnibuses—Clubs—Wealth and Magnificence of the Church of England—London and Southwark Bridges—Thames—English value for Time—Political Spirit of Prussia—Dinner at Lord ———'s.

London, April 4, 1835.

Yesterday I delivered letters in various parts of the town. The more I become acquainted with it, the more I am struck with its vastness and variety, its activity and wealth. The shops do not seem to me to surpass those of Paris in elegance and taste; but the prodigious quantities of goods which lie there make them appear, what they are—storehouses for the world.

The inscriptions and bills in shop-windows sometimes allude to the measures of government. Thus, a tea-dealer assures his customers that he will never have anything to do with "the miserable stuff called free-trade tea."

I have already spoken of the various sorts of carriages. The coaches with two horses are exactly like ours, and have no peculiar character, as the one-horse cabriolets have. In Vienna, there is nothing of the kind; and as to our droschkes, I need not describe their virtues or their defects. In Naples, there are small two-wheeled carriages, but quite open. The driver sits sidewards at the feet of the gentleman or lady, and drives leaning all the while to the right. In Paris, the driver sits in the cabriolet, by the side of the person he is driving. Here, the latter sits alone in the carriage, and the driver has a very narrow seat on the right hand, stuck on to the main body like a swallow's nest. Now, prove all, and hold to that which is best—or to the droschke.

In the great omnibuses six or seven persons sit sideways opposite to each other, and the entrance is from behind. They have names of all sorts, from "Emperor," "Nelson," and such lofty titles, to the names of the proprietors or of animals. Every ride, long or short, costs sixpence, or five silver groschen. The carriages are, however, much longer than those in Berlin, and the profits much greater. It is to be hoped they will soon be imitated among us.

* * * * *

I have been introduced, with the greatest and readiest civility, into three clubs—the Athenæum, the Travellers', and the Clarence. I find in them society, books, journals, and dinners; in short, all possible provision for body and mind.

* * * * *

Yesterday I dined with the Archbishop of C., an amiable, well-bred, and well-informed man. His conduct has been marked by uniform moderation; and though he has naturally endeavoured, to the utmost of his power to uphold the Church, he has tried to remedy its defects. The difference between the high and magnificent Church of England and her humbler sister of Germany was clearly to be seen even in this single dinner; the silver spoons, knives, forks, plates, dishes, and covers would alone have absorbed the whole stipend of any of our pastors. It was, according to the rigid Presbyterian standard, too much; but little, when compared with the splendours of our old electoral archbishops and bishops. However, one rule is not good for all; and if the infinite disparity of fortunes among the laity is not only permitted but approved, degrees may be allowed among the clergy. A poor church is not the best, merely in virtue of its poverty; and where all the sons of the wealthy and the well-born shun the clerical profession because it offers no external inducement or consideration, defects, though of a different character, will arise.

London, April 5, 1835.

Yesterday I worked at the British Museum, then delivered a few letters, and saw, for the first time, the London and Southwark bridges. The latter is less traversed than the former, partly, perhaps, because there is a small toll. Both bridges are boldly and yet solidly built; broad, handsome, and imposing. The view down the Thames, from London bridge, is peculiarly striking. What a forest of ships, and what ceaseless activity! Compared with this, Paris is nothing, with its two or three Seine boats. On the other hand, here is, unfortunately, a total want of the beautiful quays which border the Seine, and are the chief ornament of Paris. Rome and Vienna are equally without this great advantage; and Berlin possesses it only partially.

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No where is time more precious than here ; the value the English set upon it is conspicuous in everything. There can be no stronger contrast than their principles and their practice concerning the employment of time, and the celebrated *dolce far niente* of the Italians. Their whole history and character may be derived or inferred from this national peculiarity.

During my Berlin home-sickness, ——, to whom I was introduced by ——, called on me. A well-informed, clever man ; but so much a citizen of England, that Prussia and his native city, Berlin, appear to him petty, and in all respects behind-hand. I know how much of this is true, and how much false ; and, in spite of all my discretion, I could not forbear saying that all trees did not grow with the same bark, neither was it desirable that they should ; but that each *was* a tree nevertheless, and had a bark of its own. I added, that it would not be difficult to discover the dark sides of England, nor to hold them up to view.

The assertion that Prussia has no political education, has only a partial and conditional meaning ; for all real education must eventually have a political significancy, and a political influence ; and if that of Prussia is not conducted by means of parliamentary debates and newspaper articles, on the other hand, many parts of England are wholly without the first elements of instruction. When events demanded it, there was no more lack of political perspicacity, vigour, and enthusiasm in Prussia than in England, although they arose under other circumstances and other conditions. I dissent, however, entirely from the notion that it is incumbent on every man to busy himself perpetually with politics, and to bestow the greater part of his thoughts and energies on public business. This French excitement seems to me just as much a disease, as the apathy which is displayed in some passages of the history of Germany. Where politics exercise an immoderate influence over the present, all other subjects of human thought and action, however noble and refined, are apt to fall into neglect. Nor do politics, in a high and large sense, consist in the events or opinions of the day ; but in that statesmanlike science which can only grow out of a profound acquaintance with the past as well as present condition of mankind. The old complaint, that history and science lose their interest to men excited by the business and the passions of the day, may be repeated with great truth, even in London.

But I must return to my journal. I dined on Sunday the 5th at Lord M——'s, the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He is very well informed, and has written a good history of the Spanish succession war. His person reminds me much of Niebuhr. Lady M—— sang some English songs with great expression ; but if I do not always understand the words without the

musie, how much less when concealed under musical tones. Lord M—— speaks German ; Miss G——, whom I should have rather taken for a handsome Italian than for an English woman, speaks it still more fluently.

LETTER X.

State and Prospects of the Ministry—Cost of Elections—Sentiment of an English Minister—Letter of Lord Holdernesse, on the Ministry of 1757—Resignation of the Ministry—Sir Robert Peel—Religious Tolerance—Power of Words—Idolatry of Forms.

London, April 5th, 1835.

I HAVE some hesitation about writing to you on the political events of the day, since the newspapers give you sufficient intelligence of all that *has* actually occurred, and any conjectures or discussions on possibilities are useless ; before my letter can reach Berlin, one contingency is become a certainty, and the other is of no farther interest.

On the other hand, these affairs are, just now, so important, and so entirely engross the public mind, that it would seem an absurd affectation to abstain from all mention of them.

Since Sir Robert Peel's final declaration concerning Irish affairs, matters stand in a very curious position in Parliament. The former of the two alternatives proposed by the spiritual Lord mentioned in my last, "that a bill would be sent up to the House of Lords, and there be thrown out," cannot, after that declaration of Peel's, be carried into effect: for he has not made his staying in or going out of office dependent on *this* event; nor has he declared himself ready to adopt a modified form of the proposal of the committee, and thus to place the final decision in the hands of the Lords. He will prefer a second time to try (if the committee pronounces in favour of the measure) to maintain a majority by unconditional rejection ; and, if this does not succeed, to resign. Hence it is very doubtful whether Lord John Russell and his party will adopt the other alternative—that of presenting an address to the King. He might certainly—in so far as he would be borne out by a majority—declare that the conflict and the "fair trial" were at an end. The Opposition wished for such a conflict, and there were three fields on which battle might be given ;—1st. Foreign policy ; 2d. Finance ; 3d. Church affairs.

The first topic was entirely avoided, because a thorough change in European policy was not proposed, nor possible, and, indeed, would have been in contradiction to the principles of the Whigs.

As little could the Opposition accede to the motion of the Marquis of Chandos for the repeal of the malt-tax; since, during its ministerial reign, it had opposed and defeated this very measure. Sp——'s correspondent is wrong, therefore, in considering, as I see he does, the majority for ministers on this question as a test of decisive superiority. It proves nothing,—but that the Whigs will not vote against their old professed opinions; nor could they, if the present ministry had been thrown out on this question, have carried through a new system of finance. It was, therefore, with perfect justice, as well as sagacity, that the Opposition gave battle on the field of the Church; and especially the Church of Ireland, where abuses are the most rife and salient, and the ministry must necessarily have greater difficulties to encounter than on any other subject.

How, then, is all this to end?

Several issues are possible. In the first place, the people show by their petitions, such an attachment to the ministry, that, in spite of all I have said above, Peel may be enabled by their confidence, to continue at the helm. But then the approving petitions will soon be met by hostile ones; and, contrary to all constitutional forms and principles, more importance is sometimes attached to petitions of this kind,—though perhaps procured by disgraceful means,—than to that grand petition which is constitutionally enounced by the majority of parliament.

In the second place, the ministry, according to Peel's declaration, may tender its resignation to the king. If the latter accepts it, he is placed in the extremely disagreeable necessity of recalling to his councils the ministers he so abruptly dismissed. The powerful Tories are disappointed; and the irritated conquerors will endeavour to ensure the permanency of their power, by measures going far beyond the limits of former demands.

Or, thirdly, the now united parties will fall asunder, and will prepare the way for a fresh violent change, which will again throw the power into the hands of the Tories. If, on the other hand, the king does not accept the offered resignation, it is hardly possible to conceive of any consecutive course of government consistent with such an equal balance of opposite parties; therefore this supposition tacitly involves that of a dissolution of parliament. It is possible that the Opposition may lose votes by a new election; but it is also possible that they may gain. Such rapidly repeated *appels au peuple*, excite the passions anew at every time, place an excessive and ever-fluctuating preponderancy in the hands of the masses, occasion monstrous expense, accustom the people to disgraceful modes of getting money, and have

uniformly been unfavourable to kingly power. I am too much of an "*Historiker*" not to recollect with anxiety the numerous precipitate dissolutions under Charles I.

General ———, father of Lady ———, sacrificed his whole yearly income (20,000*l.*) at the last election, and is ready, if necessary, to make similar exertions again. You see how passionately the state of things is taken up—how decisive it is considered.

A member of the ministry, a very instructed man, and one of mild temper on other subjects, said to me, "We will grant the Catholics everything, but we will have nothing to do with them; above all, we will not live with them." This *granting*, however, amounts, at last, only to this—that they will allow the poor Irish (on condition of maintaining the rich Protestant Church) to give their own money for the support of their own clergy and churches. The latter part of his expression implies a feeling of antipathy amounting to hate, which is more injurious and exasperating than the extortion of money; and which, God be praised, has either totally disappeared, or sunk into perfect impotence in Germany.

April 7th, 1835.

As was to be foreseen, the Opposition, after having gained ground by Peel's declaration, has taken up an advanced position, and now requires that the new principle of the application of church revenues be adopted as the basis of the Tithe Bill. On this point their victory is not doubtful, after what has taken place. *This* battle the ministry will certainly lose in a few days. It does not at all follow, however, that the superiority will be decided in the same manner on other questions. The state of things now is extremely like that which existed at the end of the year 1757. I read yesterday, in Mitchell's papers, an accurate description of the latter, by Lord Holdernesse, then Under Secretary of State. He complains bitterly of disunion within, feebleness without, uncertainty and vacillation as to all propositions and all measures. Ministers, he says, have a small majority in parliament one day, the next they are in a minority: it is perfectly impossible to govern a country under such circumstances. —In short, the most hopeless strain of lamentation. And what happened? In a few weeks the leaders coalesced. The Duke of Newcastle and the elder Pitt were reconciled, and stood at the head; plans were pursued in concert, and executed with the greatest promptitude; and king, people, and minister, says Lord Holdernesse, are now more united and contented than perhaps they ever were before.

God grant a similar consummation now!

April 9th, 1835.

Yesterday evening, after a long agony, the ministry expired. That a Tory ministry, in the old sense of the word, could not subsist, I never for a moment doubted. The only question was this,—how far the Tories were willing to go in the path newly opened to them? The church question has demonstrated that the maintenance of the hostile principles and attitude of the religious parties appears to them a more sacred and imperative duty than their reconciliation. The peculiar form of expression which certain men have given to the Christian doctrine, or rather, the differences created by different confessions,—are, in their view, the primary object; the fountain-head of that doctrine, the Gospel, the secondary one. Still more important in their eyes is that external constitution of the church which secures to them such large revenues. They regard the property of the Irish church as our nobles used to regard the sinecures in the cathedral chapters.

Peel's attitude was that of a very skilful champion of an untenable cause. His colleagues did not venture forth into daylight; probably from a fear of inconvenient parallels with their former speeches denouncing all reforms. Peel had to prop the tottering palace of aristocratical church establishments; single-handed, he had to defend it, and to beat back all its assailants; he was compelled to fight on disadvantageous ground. From the moment that he could not, or would not, induce his timorous or bigoted allies to take up a new position, from that moment his overthrow was certain.

My historical and theological researches have tended to produce the most intimate conviction in my mind that every kind of fanaticism is pernicious; that charity and patience are more efficient teachers than force and exclusiveness; that all Christian sects arise from the same well-spring of mercy and redemption; and that some diversities of opinion may and ought to be tolerated. Greater diversities have indeed been tolerated in England than in most other countries, and hence the contradiction of ecclesiastical monopoly is the more flagrant and untenable.

I regard the triumph of the tolerant principle, therefore, as a great, substantial, and permanent gain; even although errors of detail, or some acts of individual wrong, should be inseparable from it. Errors and wrongs were committed in the seventeenth century; but the principle of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, which the Independents asserted, has, God be praised, never been lost!

The prediction that the king would dismiss the ministry on the grounds I have mentioned, without any parliamentary necessity, has not in this case been fulfilled; the well-grounded practice which has subsisted for more than a century must now be reverted to.

Nature has provided crises enough for the political, as well as for the human body; in neither case ought we to seek to multiply them. It is true the Tories regarded this as a means of averting a worse evil; as people inoculate the cow-pox to escape the more dangerous disease. Here, however, the natural catastrophe was not to be averted by the artificial one; the former might have supervened with double violence, and perhaps the cure will now be safer and more complete.

The Crown, as many lament, has again lost ground to the already excessive power of the people—not without blame to its counsellors. But the real loss is that which threatens the aristocracy; the king is more likely to maintain the supremacy of his station, than the Tories the enjoyment of their privileges, and of their old immediate or mediate possessions—*i. e.* their ecclesiastical benefices and secular sinecures.

It is the trick of every aristocracy to represent itself as identical with the throne: thus the abolition of the beer monopoly was pronounced by the loyal among us to be the ruin of the authority and dignity of his majesty the king. It is also the trick of democrats to represent themselves as identical with the people; and designedly to confound or intermix their personal interests with the interests of the mass. A true statesman will be on his guard against both these delusions, and take care to hold them in cheek, and render them innocuous.

What battles of words about words!—how often is an unmeaning or a dyslogistic word accepted as decisive of a question! One day I had briefly explained to an Irish Catholic member of Parliament the state of religious parties in Prussia. He replied, "Your *despot*, then, has *forced* upon you very useful institutions." The words "*despot*" and "*forced*" made me wince; and in spite of all my caution I could not entirely "close the edge of my teeth" (as Homer says). I said, "Yes; if a kind father is to be called a *despot*, and the love and gratitude of children to be deem *forced*."

If ten votes in Parliament had given legal perpetuity to all the atrocities which have been practised against the Irish ever since the year 1650, would that have been no "despotism?"—and would the observance of a certain *form* have rendered the question of the *matter* superfluous? I repeat, how can men practise this idolatry of forms and formulæ, and be so enslaved to them that they either cannot understand any thing which deviates from their darling usages, or peremptorily deny its very existence?

But we, in our turn, cherish errors which are perhaps not less in degree, though different in kind.

LETTER XI.

Philharmonic Concert—Comparison of London and Paris Music—Mr. Hallam. Sir F. Palgrave—Mr. Cooper.

London, April 7th, 1835.

Yesterdy evening, Mr M—— took me to the Philharmonic concert. I ought to be doubly grateful to him, since it is very difficult to get tickets for this exclusive assembly. The room is large, lighted with ten chandeliers, and the roof is arched. Between the windows (which in the evening are mirrors) are Corinthian pilasters. There are no other decorations worth mentioning. At one end of the room is a sort of royal box supported by pillars; at the other the orchestra which rises very abruptly. The centre is filled with benches, and three rows run along each side, as in our Academy of Singing.

The first thing was a symphony of Maurer, which bore marks of industry and originality, but was too long, and entirely in the modern overloaded chromatic style.

Next, the tenor song out of Haydn's "Orfeo," remarkable for its simplicity, more especially contrasted with the symphony. Mr. Parry's voice is soft and agreeable, but he wants force and animation.

Aria, out of the "Donna del Lago," sung by Mdle. Brambilla, *Elena, o tu ch'io chiamo.* Often as I have heard Rossiniades, I cannot help wondering afresh every time at the music which this audacious composer sets to the words before him. It is quite impossible to guess the melodies from the words, or to infer the words from the melodies. Mdle. Brambilla, a mezzo-soprano, sang the *colorature* so well and so piano, that one could make nothing distinct out of such sweet quavering, and then dropped fortissimo to the lowest notes of her voice,—to the admiration of the audience; but, in my opinion, in a manner neither feminine nor sublime, but simply coarse and mannish. It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon this manner, which Pisaroni, though with far different powers and skill brought into fashion.

Overture to "Leonore"—the old one, which is inferior to the new.

Second Act.—Mozart's Symphony "Jupiter." I immediately concluded that, under this name, the symphony in C sharp must be meant; and I was not mistaken: without question the most brilliant thing of the evening.

Scena out of Spohr's "Pietro di Albano," sung by Mrs. Bishop. If the modern Italians do not trouble themselves about

the *general* meaning of the text of an air, on the other hand the modern Germans are in danger of falling into the opposite fault, of laboriously running after the expression of each single word. Mrs. Bishop is but a second-rate singer; very inferior to Mad. Grunbaum, as Mdlle. Brambilla is to Mdlle. Hahnel.

Mori had studied Beethoven's violin concerto and played it accurately; but it seemed to me to want the necessary inspiration. He is certainly inferior to the great French and German masters.

In one of Mozart's quintetts, Mr. Wilman played the clarionet with great sweetness of tone and beauty of style.

A terzetto from "Cosi fan tutte," and the overture to Weber's "Euryanthe," were to follow. But as I have often heard the former in greater perfection than I could have heard it here, you will not blame me for going away. As it was, I did not get to bed till midnight.

If I may venture, after one concert, to compare London with Paris, the result, on the whole, is this. The mass of instruments may be equal; but the effect is better in the Salle at Paris, and the French performers on the stringed and wind instruments seem to me more thorough artists than the English. In London, you hear distinctly that the music is produced by many; whereas in Paris it appears as if the whole were the work of one mind and one hand. Like the half shadows and the flickering lights on a landscape, so I often thought I perceived uncertainties and tremblings of tone, though the main stream flowed on its regular course. In Paris, my expectations, as to instrumental music, were far exceeded: here, they are in a degree disappointed, because I had heard people assert that it is doubtful which capital has the pre-eminence. In both, vocal music seems quite subordinate.

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That Mr. Hallam is a very distinguished writer everybody knows. I have to add, that he is a no less agreeable man. He had the kindness to invite Sir F. Palgrave and Mr. Cooper to meet me. The former is the author of an excellent history of England at an early period; the latter has arranged a great mass of historical documents, of which he has given a learned and accurate report in two volumes, and has superintended the printing of much important matter. Both these gentlemen testified the greatest readiness to serve me; so that, both scientifically and socially, I am in danger of falling into an *embarras de richesses*.

The number of letters of introduction has been raised to a hundred and twelve by your last large packet. I deliver them gradually; many have no effect, while others produce unexpected results. The best are those which are connected with an interest in my labours.

S——'s caution, "That one must go everywhere in a carriage,

or one passes for nobody," is either an old fable, or an antiquated truth. Judging by the descriptions and the warnings that one often hears in Germany, or receives on the road, one must needs believe that most Englishmen are fools themselves, or take foreigners to be so. This is mere absurd talk. They are, in all respects, as reasonable as other reasonable men in Europe; and whatever their peculiarities or their prejudices on this point may be, they do not manifest them. So, too, in their dress; there is nothing at all remarkable; and even the great talk about their extravagant supply of clean linen is groundless. I see what I have seen everywhere else, all possible gradations of fine and coarse linen; and, indeed, the frequent use of cotton would greatly shock our female critics. The French and Germans are not a whit worse provided with clean linen; the only difference is, that in London clean linen is soon dirty, and therefore must be very frequently changed. For the same reason hands and face must be oftener washed than elsewhere. If I go out clean, and return in an hour I am certain to see a dozen black spots on my face.

Just as absurd are the cautions one receives, as if one were in danger of being, if not maltreated, at least insulted and laughed at, in the streets. I have purposely asked information of all kinds of people of every class, from the most elegant-looking down to coalheavers and errand-boys; and, in every instance, it was given with a readiness, fulness, and accuracy, such as it is difficult for a foreigner to find in any other country. Some even accompanied me, without asking for, or thinking of, any pecuniary reward; and, on one occasion, a man who had told me left, by mistake, instead of right, ran after me to correct his error.

The grand question of using or not using a carriage thus falls entirely to the ground. In the first place, the incessant noise of carriages of all sorts renders it impossible that the people you go to see should know how their visiters come. And am I to imagine that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and Lord Holland, are persons likely to take me for a rich man, because I am jolted to their doors in a hackney coach, or to think me the worse company because I come on foot? And so I do here as I do elsewhere: if the distance is not too great, and the weather is good, I walk; if I lose too much time in walking, or the weather is bad, I ride.

April 9th, 1835.

Yesterday I breakfasted at Mr. H——'s. He is distinguished, both as a lawyer, and as the translator of Goethe's "Faust." There I met Mr. L——, the translator of Muller's "Dorians," and a young German jurist, Zachariæ, who is principally occupied with researches on the subject of Byzantine law. The conversation

turned mainly on German literature, especially on the second part of "Faust," which has few admirers here.

From the Museum I went to walk, and then stayed at home till Mr. M—— called me to go to a great dinner of a society for the relief of decayed actors. It has subsisted for eighteen years, and enjoys considerable patronage. The King subscribes 105*l.*, the Duchess of Kent 25*l.*, the Duke of Devonshire 105*l.*, the Duke of Bedford 50*l.*, the Duchess of St. Alban's 50*l.*, and so on.

The room was large, and the company was seated at several tables: it consisted only of men. In the galleries, however, there were some ladies, who looked down upon the feast. The tables were so narrow, and so crowded with dishes, that it appeared as if the eating must have lasted for many hours; but, no sooner was the signal for the attack given, than a furious charge was made;—one took soup, another fish, another flesh, and so on. A universal slaughter of the viands was thus effected in a very short space of time, and singing and speaking began. The object and condition of the society were stated by the chairman; the patronage of the Princess Victoria was mentioned, and excited great applause; a sacred canon was sung, and was followed by "God save the King," &c.; and, lastly, Mori played on the violin better than he had done at the Philharmonic Concert. Moscheles also played, but I did not stay to hear his performance. All this was accompanied and interrupted by marks of approbation expressed by voices, sticks, feet, knives, forks, glasses, &c., in such a fashion, that our *fortissimo* would be a mere gentle murmur to it.

I could tell you a great deal more about the dinner; but all these particulars lost their interest with me in comparison with one thought. In this very same hour the ministry was dissolved; and this dissolution was not (as it so often is in France) a mere concern of *cotéries* and *tracasséries*, but had a real substantive meaning, and tended to real and efficient changes. What a deal of wit, good and bad—what angry passions—what hope and fear —what praise and blame—would have foamed over, like *champagne mousseux*, in such an hour, in Paris! Here, not a trace of the kind. The first toast to the King (not as with us, with three times three, but with nine times nine, and as *sforzato* as possible); then to the Queen, the Royal Family,—all with the greatest applause,—so, likewise, "God save the King." It seemed as if all that was passing without were but a light ripple on the surface of the waters. The weal of England, her riches, her laws, her freedom, seemed moored to some immoveable anchor in the securest and serenest depths of ocean, whence neither winds nor waves can ever tear them loose. The clouds which flit along the face of heaven, and so often seem, to us timid spectators, to portend a coming storm, may here be regarded as but the passing

fleeces of a summer sky; or rather as the proof and the earnest of an equable and safe state of the atmosphere.

In short, there was something to my mind in the whole proceeding—both what was done, and what was left undone—so wholly peculiar, so above all measure exciting, that in my sympathy with England, (and have not years of my life been given to this country?) I could hardly refrain from tears; and I earnestly prayed to God that this star might not be quenched, but that He would be pleased to purify and enlighten it, and to remove from it all the spots which partially obscure its brightness.

LETTER XII.

Sir Robert Peel—House of Lords—situation of the Catholic Clergy—English and German Protestantism—Historical Sketch of the Church of England—Motions and Debates on Church Reform—Church Revenues—Dissenters—English Tithes—Tithe Reforms—Voluntary System—Necessity for Reform.

Thursday, April 8th, 1835.

Parliament will most probably not be dissolved. Peel, Wellington, and Lyndhurst are said to have decidedly dissuaded so perilous a step. I feel great regret for the former: he has fought the battle of his party with every conceivable effort of mind and body; he has sacrificed himself to it, nor did he quit the field till he was driven from every post; and, now, many of the high Tories are the loudest in his condemnation. They say, "That the interests of the aristocracy should not have been intrusted to a cotton-spinner; that he wants resolution and courage; and, instead of dissolving parliament, and boldly pursuing his course, he has beaten a retreat, and poorly quitted the field."

The English nobility is richer and more powerful than the French of the year 1789; but if the more zealous of them persist in this career of opposition (which goes even into such matters as the marriage of Dissenters, and the graduation of students), they will lose ground from day to day, and a far more absolute change in their social and political position than has overtaken the French most surely awaits them. In former times, land was the only source of wealth, and the possession of it necessarily conferred dignity and privileges; but this is wholly altered, and the old modes of thinking and acting must be accommodated to the change.

The formation of a new ministry appears to me attended with great difficulties. As a single party, the Tories are the most numerous; therefore, whenever their antagonists are disunited,—whenever the Tories vote with those whose principles are opposite to their own,—the middle or moderate party are left in a minority, and a fresh change of ministry must take place; which, however, would again end in no other result than a repetition of the present state of things. But grant that a new ministry retains a majority in the Commons, if the moderate Tories join the moderate Whigs, nothing is gained in the Lords. If, for example, they throw out the proposed laws concerning Ireland, the only consequence will be, that the Irish Protestant Church will be inevitably ruined by the non-payment of tithes; and the Lords can hardly assume a perpetual conflict with the Lower House as their leading principle. If the King were to create a number of peers, *une fournée*, in order to ensure the adoption, by the Upper House, of Bills passed by the Lower, this is in opposition to all true political wisdom; and will more completely destroy the peculiar character, and the salutary influence, of the Lords, than any individual concessions of their own can do.

However ill all this may look, when considered in a general and abstract point of view, I hold fast to the hope that a mediation is possible, and, as in the year 1757, will be effected.

Stanley, more irritable than Peel, has for the present closed the entrance to office against himself.

But if it is once decided that a provision must be made out of the funds of the State or the Church for the Catholics, and that the School is the second half of the Church, those who now oppose this as a principle, may do as they did in the case of the Reform Bill, accept, and act upon it as law. But it is very difficult, as we see, to win confidence, and to avoid the reproach of time-serving.

How injurious the influence of the existing state of things has been on the Catholic Church is but too evident. Without any assured ecclesiastical revenues, without endowments, the Catholic clergy are driven to have recourse to the voluntary contributions of their flocks and to surplice fees; and hence so much selfishness, so much indecorum, so much encouragement of profitable superstition, and other things so utterly unchristian, that Protestants lie under the most urgent duty to remove the causes of temptation to such evil. It is not clearly ascertained whether, after a more equal distribution of the Protestant Church property, much would remain for the Catholics; and, indeed, the *immediate* transfer of the surplus, be it what it might, would only enhance the mutual hatred of the other religious sects. Better forms and means must be found for carrying into effect the principle of toleration, when once it has triumphed.

Whenever the question of the Irish Church is disposed of, public attention will turn to the English Church, which likewise stands in need of material reforms. Setting entirely aside the aspect under which the question presents itself to a Catholic, or a Presbyterian, it is certain that, within the circle of Episcopalian conformity, many defects have crept in which must be remedied, unless the whole Establishment be abandoned to destruction.

The Reformation, which, in many countries, overthrew at once the monarchical power of the Pope, and the aristocratical power of the bishops, in England did not extend to the latter. Their office was, indeed, held to be necessary, and of divine right; and thus a truly Episcopalian Church arose here, while in other countries bishop became little more than an insignificant title.

Before I proceed to the events of the last few years, you must allow me to retrace the state and the institutions of the English Church generally during the eighteenth century. Among other things, you will clearly perceive how widely English Protestantism differs from German Protestantism.

The King is head of the Church; convokes or dismisses synods, confirms laws relating to the Church, and nominates bishops. He cannot, however, perform any of the functions of a bishop in his own person. In former times the King received, immediately, various dues from the clergy: these have gradually fallen into disuse, together with most of the privileges of the latter, in so far as they related to *things*. Among their *personal* privileges, I may mention, that clergymen are not liable to serve on juries; that they cannot be arrested while performing divine service, &c.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is Primate of all England: in his diocese are twenty-one bishops; in that of the Archbishop of York four. The Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, take precedence of all others; the rest follow according to seniority. The Archbishop is chosen by a chapter of the cathedral, after the royal permission has been obtained. This is accompanied by a royal recommendation,—a *commendamus*—which, in practice, never encounters any opposition. The clergy receive all their temporal possessions from the hand of the King.

The Archbishop has, besides his own diocese, the supreme control over all the churches and bishops within his archbishopric. He convokes the latter (but not without the King's permission,) hears appeals in various spiritual matters, consecrates bishops, superintends all spiritual affairs, even to the filling vacant bishopries, grants dispensations, in cases where they are compatible with law and morality, and so forth.

The bishop is subject to the same temporal laws as the arch-

bishop, has his court of justice and his representative there, especially during his absence in parliament. He inducts the clergy into the temporal and spiritual possession of their living, &c.

The dean and the chapter form the bishop's council, and assist him in the direction of affairs connected with public worship. Since the time of Henry VIII., the dean has been appointed by the King. The chapter is in some cases appointed by the King; in others by the bishop; in others, again, its members are elected by the body itself. The archdeacon has jurisdiction immediately subordinate to the bishop, either over the whole diocese, or a part of it. He is usually nominated by the bishop, and he himself appoints his own spiritual court. The office of rural dean, or deacon, is fallen into disuse: the multiplication of superintendents was thought too great. This increased the importance of the priests (*persona*, parson, *personam seu vicem ecclesiæ gerit*,) and vicars,—and here we come to the matter now so warmly discussed—of appropriation. In so far as many churches were gradually appropriated to monasteries, abbeys, &c., the latter took upon themselves the service of them, and, in return, received all the revenues: they were the real parsons, and those whom they appointed were merely vicars. Such appropriations might be terminated in various ways;—by the voluntary appointment of an independent priest—by the dissolution of the corporation to which such churches were attached, and so on. But, above all, at the suppression of the monasteries, the right of appointing such vicars devolved on the King, or on the persons to whom he was pleased to delegate it. Although many arrangements have been gradually introduced for the advantage of these vicars* (often miserably provided for, and capriciously treated,) the appropriator, or rector, still receives the greater part of the revenues; and this is certainly a far less defensible application of church property than that which the Whigs are now endeavouring to effect for the education of the people.

In order to become parson or vicar, four conditions are necessary:—1. Consecration, or holy orders; 2. Presentation; 3. Institution; 4. Induction. No man can become a priest till he is twenty-three years of age. The presentation depends on the patron: of this more hereafter. The bishop, however, can refuse the nominee on various grounds, as, for instance, in old times, when the patron lay under excommunication; or if the presentee himself appeared ineligible; whether the objections lay to his person (if, for example, he were a bastard, an alien, or a minor,) or to his faith, his knowledge or his morals.

* The reader will have observed that H. von Raumer uses vicar (vicarius) in its original and proper sense, as it is still used everywhere but in England.—*Translator.*

General accusations,—such as that he was an *hereticus inveteratus*,—were not, however, sufficient: accurate and weighty proofs must be given. The contested facts, whether of a spiritual or temporal nature, are referred to a jury. If the facts are proved, the jury has again to decide on the temporal loss sustained; but the spiritual is referred to an ecclesiastical court. In some cases an appeal is made to the archbishop.

Institution regards only the spiritual rights, and rests with the bishop.

Induction regards the temporal property, and is often performed by persons authorised by the bishop.

The curates form the lowest class of ecclesiastical persons, and have no established right to the posts they occupy.

The right of patronage is called *appendant*, when it is attached to property in land; *in gross*, when it relates to a person. It is *presentative*, when a patron presents the candidate to the bishop; *collative*, when the bishop himself is the patron. If a patron makes no use of his right of presentation for six months, it lapses to the bishop; and, after an equal term, to the archbishop; and finally to the king. Questions as to the right of presentation are decided either by a jury composed of six clergymen and six laymen, under the presidency of the chancellor of the diocese, and with appeal to the higher ecclesiastical courts; or, oftener, by a temporal court, in so far as the question involves property.

This slight sketch of the ancient and general laws and usages of the Church of England will enable you to understand better the questions and objections agitated in our own days. It has been alleged;—

1st. That the English Church is too rich. But a more accurate inquiry seems much rather to show that the enormous spoliation under Henry VIII. took from it a great deal too much; and that the Nemesis consequent upon this misdeed is, the inability of the Church to fulfil its strict duties of providing for poor clergymen, and for the education of the people.

2d. It has been urged that the ecclesiastical revenues are improperly divided; that many have too little, and some too much. We shall see that the partition is certainly very unequal; nevertheless, an unconditional equalization would be as unjust and as impolitic in this case as in every other; nor, further, are the sums which could be differently apportioned by any means sufficient, without fresh resources, to supply the wants, or remedy the evils complained of.

3d. The most vehement objections are those directed against the system of tithes and that of pluralities; they are also the best founded.

I must add a few facts on this head. According to Lord Althorp's calculation,* the incomes in England were—

Bishops - - - -	£158,000
Deans and chapters - - -	236,000
Clergy - - - -	3,000,000
In round numbers - -	£3,500,000

This, on an average, gives to 11,500 livings a yearly income of about 250*l.* This calculation is, however, corrected in another place by the admission, that the actual resident, active clergy in England receive only about 185*l.* yearly on an average; while the Scotch Church, so much poorer on the whole, from the difference of its Presbyterian system, allows for each 275*l.*† On the other hand that there are livings in England which bring in 6000*l.* yearly.

Let us see, in order to come nearer to the truth, what the two principal journals of the two great parties advance on these points. The "Quarterly Review"‡ says there are 10,533 benefices in England. Of these 4361 give, yearly, less than 150*l.*; 1350 less than 70*l.*; and some less than 12*l.* At 4809 livings no clergyman can reside, because the houses are in so delapidated a state; 2626 have no houses. Certainly, from this follows the necessity of uniting several livings; but not less the necessity of meeting the evil which has arisen from Henry VIII's. spoliation, or from later errors.

The "Edinburgh Review"§ says there are in England—

3000	livings,	which	give	yearly	under	£100
1970	„	„	„	„	„	70
689	„	„	„	„	„	50
248	„	„	„	„	„	40
69	„	„	„	„	„	30

Lord Brougham asserted in parliament‖ that a short time ago there were livings, the yearly income of which was from 5*l.* to 8*l.*; and that there were from 800 to 1000 livings with a yearly income of less than 60.

That a mere alteration in the division of the actual gross revenue of the English Church is not sufficient to produce a suitable income for all the clergy is easily shown. For, in the first place, a total abolition of the episcopal, and an introduction of the presbyterian system, is out of the question; and, secondly, legislation can reach only a part of the church livings. For, according to a calculation,

The Crown has, in its gift, only . 990 livings

* April 18th, 1833. Hansard, xvii., 274.
† Ibid., ii., 479.
‡ Hansard, xlviii., 562.
§ Ibid., lvi. 205.
‖ July 29th, 1831. Hansard v., 517.

The two universities . . .	760 livings
The bishops and chapters . . .	2280 „
Lay patrons	7300 „

Granting that the universities (which have refused to give up so much as the monopoly of granting degrees) could, as well as the bishops and chapters, be compelled to submit to general laws for the division of church revenues; yet the 7300 (with all their advantages, or disadvantages) would remain untouched, as being private property or endowment; and herewith the great evil of pluralities stands in the closest connexion. 4416 clergymen live where their duty demands; 6080 are not in their places,—are non-residents; 2100 clergymen hold several livings at the same time;* and it is sufficient to pass one day in the year at a living to constitute a clergyman resident.

In 1831 the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed some measures for the remedy of this abuse. His project was to reduce the number of pluralities to 700; to establish rigorous rules against the giving several livings to one person; not to unite two parishes if they were more than thirty miles apart (instead of forty-five, as at present); to compel every pluralist to live at least six months in the year in the largest parish, &c.

Unquestionably these were improvements, yet only the smaller half of the evil would have been redressed by them; they would have left many very objectionable unions of lucrative livings; nor does the neighbourhood of two afford any reasonable ground for the continuance of this abuse. There could be no deficiency of eligible clergymen; since it was maintained on the other hand, that more learning, zeal, and assiduity were now to be found among them than at any former period.†

However true this last assertion may be, the bishops are, on account of their aristocratical views, not popular. Many of them are connected by birth with the aristocracy. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that (as in France) the lower clergy will sever itself from the higher, and will lean more and more to democratical opinions. The overthrow of the Church would, however, give a lamentable preponderance to those gloomy and fanatical sects which are the enemies of art and science. May they rather mutually instruct, refine, and purify each other! The whole conduct of the Church towards the Dissenters has had the inevitable consequence of driving them into bitter and inflexible hostility. For example:—So late as the year 1831 marriages performed by their own clergy were illegal, and the children of such marriages bastards. So late as the twelfth year of George III. a Catholic priest who married a Catholic and a Protestant

* Hansard, x., 1103; vii., 22; vi., 854.
† Quarterly Review, xlii., 234. Hansard, x., 1107: xi., 316.

was liable to the punishment of death ; and later, to a fine of 500*l.*

In June, 1833,* Mr. Perrin proposed to put the Catholic on the same footing with the Dissenting clergy; but even the most recent laws are very far from placing either the one or the other on a level with the clergy, or even the laity, or the established Church.

London, 9th April.

The political and clerical high Tories of the old sort are, as a numerous and powerful party, no longer in existence: they have conceded, or they must concede, innumerable points to which they formerly offered unqualified opposition. And other important changes await them ; such, for instance, as those which must be made in the English tithe system. In spite of all I have written on Irish tithes, there are some facts which I must mention.

The "Quarterly Review,"† which is generally the champion of the old order of things, expressed itself in substance to this effect:—

"Changes, with regard to the revenues of the church, may be necessary, and a better distribution may be desirable: they ought not, however, to import any confiscation or securalization, which, as the French revolution proves, always lead to mischievous consequences. A rich church is preferable to a poor one, and a bishop often spends his large income far better than a peer or a merchant. The equalization of all clergymen gives a democratic tendency to the church; and where the pay of all is low, none take orders except persons of inferior rank. The clergyman, however, ought to be a focus of civilization ; and ought not to be behind the layman of his parish. With regard to the tithes, against which so much has been said, a commutation of them into a fixed money payment would not only make any increase in the amount impossible, but would in time lead to a reduction of it. A commutation of tithes for land brings too much land into mortmain, and in times of danger facilitates the confiscation of church property: the best measure would perhaps be a commutation into a *corn-rent*, which might at certain intervals be valued and fixed according to the market prices."

In the debate on this question in the House of Peers, the Bishop of London said‡ that tithes were held by the same tenure as other property, and that it was just that they should rise *pari passu* with other property.

This proposition is true, and it is false. The Church is per-

* Hansard, vi., 1030; xviii., 1239. † Vol. xlii., p. 110, and the following.
‡ Dec. 14th, 1830. Hansard, i., 1111.

fectly right in wishing to secure her property and her revenues; and it is the bounden duty of the State,—whatever be the relation in which they stand to each other,—to protect her. But whether she govern herself, or be governed by the civil power, the immutability of her system of levying contributions can just as little be assumed as a paramount and salutary principle, as the immutability of any secular system of taxation. No tax imposed by government rises or falls immediately with the rise or fall in the income of the tax-payer (except the income-tax, which, on that very account, is so hard to levy); on the contrary, the fixedness of the tax affords security to property, and facilitates the calculations of prudent men. That tithes levied on the gross amount of produce can, or ought, to rise or fall in exact proportion to that, is an error which has been confuted again and again. On the other hand, a settlement with the tithe-payer, on his annual *net* income, would lead to interminable disputes.

I must give you two or three proofs and examples of the abuses connected with this principle. The claims of the Church are never obsolete; she can enforce any claims, which the opposite party cannot prove to have been set aside before the year 1180. Thus any titheable property, though it may not have paid for centuries, is subject to new demands at any time; and every *modus*, every agreement as to the manner and the rate of payment, is void, whenever it pleases the cleygymen to declare it so.

Thus, for example, in many parts of England, a lamb had, from time immemorial, been reckoned at 10*d.*; but a clergyman lately demanded that it should be rated at 1*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, in consequence of which his income was increased 200*l.* a-year by this article alone. A farmer wished to take a cow and calf to market; the receiver of tithes forbade this till the calf had attained a titheable age, and could live without its mother. Another refused to receive a tenth of the milk daily; he insisted on having all the milk from all the cows every tenth day. In one case, the strictest account was demanded of the eggs, how many were laid, how many put to hatch, or stolen by the weasel. A tithe of five cabbages and three heads of celery gave occasion to a great law-suit. Another matter of six pounds value was determined in the ecclesiastical courts at a cost of 180*l.*

From the circumstance of the tithe being levied on the gross income, and so many other things (for example, the poor-rates) charged on the rent, it has often happened that when the rent amounted to 100*l.*, the tithe amounted to 80*l.* Generally speaking, this has risen enormously with the improvements in agriculture: and yet no new livings have been created where they were obviously wanted; no better division of burdens and claims effected; no schools established; in short, no attempt at a return

to the old true principles of the application of tithes. In the course of one life the gross amount of tithes has often been trebled; yet nothing more was done for the security, honour, or efficacy of the Church, with this vast increase, than with the original third.

Observe, too, that the system of the corn-laws also augmented the value of tithes. In a district where the tithes amounted to 6000*l.*, various persons, holding no ecclesiastical offices, shared among them £49000
The absent rector received 1000
The curate who performed the whole duty. . 100

And this crying abuse actually passes with many men for something sacred and inviolable—essential to the very existence of tithes—nay of the Church itself!

Lord Caernarvon said,* that if every clergyman were compelled to reside on his own living, the useful body of curates would be utterly destroyed! What a confusion of ideas! Why then pay the absent so profusely, and these useful labourers so miserably? Why then not convert either the one or the other into the real and actual pastors and curates of souls?

On the 13th of July, 1831, the Archbishop of Canterbury brought forward a plan for a "commutation" of tithes.† He described the system hitherto pursued as unfavourable to agriculture; a "composition" for a time as uncertain and fluctuating; and was of opinion that a complete change should be introduced as soon as three-fourths of the parishioners were unanimous for it. Heretofore, the slightest opposition on the part of the rector was sufficient to obstruct any reforms, and a composition was rendered void by the death of every successive rector. In future, any change which had been regularly agreed to by the incumbent should be binding on his successor or successors for seven years, if the rate of payment was determined in corn; for fourteen, if in money.

An entire abolition of tithes he pronounced to be unjust and inexpedient: for,—

Firstly, Compensation in land, or an application of the public money, were both subject to great difficulties and objections;

Secondly, It were to be feared that the clergy and the landlords might be led, by selfish and narrow considerations, to unite for the future detriment of the Church:

Thirdly, The clergy would, by this means, easily fall into absolute dependence on the laity, and would lose their right (a right continually strengthening with time) to a tenth of *all* profits from land.

* Hansard, ii. 239. † Ibid., iv. 1363.

A second plan, proposed by Lord Dacre,* was withdrawn. The fierce opposition which the foregoing lesser changes encountered seemed to render it hopeless to attempt more. This proposal was for a redemption of tithe by a fixed duty on corn. The landowner was to be indemnified for the cost of improvements by a proportionate reduction in the rate of his tithes.

On the 18th of April, 1833,† a third plan was submitted to Parliament by the Government. According to this, every tithe-owner and every tithe payer should have a right to agree upon an *entire* redemption of tithe by a fixed corn-rate; which rate, however, should rise and fall according to the standard of prices. Every clergyman was to have the assent of his bishop and patron; every farmer that of his landlord. Each party was to name a valuer or appraiser, who was to take the value of the tithes on an average of seven years, and to be empowered to vary the redemption money from five to ten per cent., according to circumstances. If the valuers could not agree on certain points, an arbitrator was to be called in.

To this plan, as well as to the others, numerous objections were raised. It was alleged, for instance, that the mean profits upon which the estimate was made would be far too high in case the corn-laws were repealed; that the generous tithe-owner would then be a loser—the rapacious, a gainer; that if the poor-rate were to be levied in proportion, according to the existing mode, there would often be nothing left for the tithe-owner, &c.

So that although a vast deal has been said and written on this subject, everything, in fact, is yet to do.

There can be no doubt (as other countries can sufficiently demonstrate) that means are to be found of securing the property of the Church, without clinging to the mode in which the Jews paid their Levites as the sole, immutable, and eternal model. It is also indisputable that Church and School ought to be established on the securest foundations; and that nothing could be more absurd and mischievous than to make either of them absolutely dependant on voluntary contributions, on fees, or on private resources or private caprices of any kind. Either or both might thus be left to the chances of a zeal transient in its duration, and changeable in its nature; or to the mercy of the indifference and the rapacity which might contemplate their destruction as a source of gain.

A fresh partition of those revenues which are in any degree superfluous and disposable ought to be accompanied with an accurate estimation of the extent and the weight of clerical duties.

In short, it is clear that those whose affections are the most faithful,—whose intentions the most pure,—towards the Church

* Hansard, iv. 1386. † Ibid., xvii. 273.

of England, must of necessity be the most active and zealous labourers for the removal of existing abuses;—the least inclined to foster, by whatever means, defects which are pregnant with destruction. If they are negligent and lukewarm in this holy work, or if their efforts are counteracted, the beneficent parts of her institutions will gradually fall more and more into the shade, till at length really Radical schemes (in the bad sense of the word) for her destruction will be not only proposed, but effected. What is now often called "radical," by no means deserves this term of reproach; far rather is it "radical" to degrade the Church, and the property consecrated to the highest and holiest purposes, into instruments for the gratification of certain aristocratical ends.

The arguments used by many of the high Tories—that no time can obliterate the claims of the Church; or that, at least, those claims extend back to the year 1180—might, if carried out, be brought to prove that the spoliations of Henry VIII., and the confiscations of the seventeenth century, are all invalid; and that the nobles are bound to disgorge their illegally-acquired church property, with all the accumulated profits they have derived from it. This, indeed, would be ecclesiastically radical, and yet perfectly in accordance with the logic upon which many speeches in Parliament are based.

As yet the whole struggle—the whole difficulty—exclusively regards the *external* Church, and the property belonging to it; the question concerning the spiritual part and its dogmas is left in the back-ground; and many are indifferent to the latter, while their zeal is over-fervent about the former.

I must confess, however, that I cannot feel any great fear that the plunder of the Church and the destruction of Christianity are so near at hand as some would have us believe.

LETTER XIII.

Newspapers—The Times—The Standard—Athenæum Club House—Dinner at H——— House—Squares—Domestic Architecture and Furniture—Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens—Dinner with Turkish Ambassador—Specimen of General Seydlitz' French Museum—Chapter-house, Westminster—Sir F. Palgrave—Doomsday Book—Germanic Institutions of England—Rich materials for History possessed by England—Regent's Park—Zoological Gardens.

Friday, April 10th, 1835.

To-day is my deceased father's birth-day. Yesterday was Charles's. Would not one give all the travels and all the cities in Europe, to see the loved and lost, once more together in one

spot? And who would bear to be robbed of this consoling hope and promise, although it be beyond the reach of mere intelligence?

If time and strength do not suffice to see a few living persons in London, how if all the immortal dead from the time of Moses and of Homer were gathered together in one place? In what way, or by what organs, could the feeble contracted thing, whom we call man, hold that nearer intercourse he would aspire after, with the all great and honoured of past ages—to say nothing of the obscurer masses of relations, and friends, and acquaintances? Here must be other means and other powers than steam-boats or steam-carriages. But you want news from London, and not the hypotheses of another world.

The "Times" is violently attacked, and not without reason; unless, indeed, we accept its versatility as the true sign of the times, and find its justification in its consistency with its name. But the stiff-necked pertinacity with which some other papers, for instance the "Standard," repeat the same things for ever and ever, without taking the slightest note of totally altered circumstances, is no proof of greater intellectual strength.

From Mr. ——— I went for the first time to the Athenæum—a magnificent building, furnished with all sorts of newspapers and periodicals. The admission costs twenty guineas, and the yearly subscription six. Foreigners who are introduced pay nothing.

I dined yesterday at Lord H———'s with the Marquis of Lansdowne, Messrs. Hallam, Cooper, and some other remarkable persons. My frozen ears and lips gradually thaw, so that I do not stand by quite so stupidly, without either hearing or speaking. I learn more, consequently, though this cannot be done with facility, and *en passant*, as in Paris. In that city, for instance, there would have been no talk of any thing but the state of parties, the new ministry, &c. Yesterday, on the contrary, these topics were only slightly touched upon, and the conversation flowed on freely in various channels, without being contracted or absorbed by politics. Lady H——— appeared well informed on literary subjects. Lord H——— unites a very agreeable tone of conversation with varied attainments. As a gastronomic novelty, I must remark, for your information or imitation, that oysters were handed round before the soup.

Sunday, April 12th, 1835.

In the course of delivering letters, which I do by way of necessary exercise, I went for the first time through Torrington, Woburn, Gordon, Tavistock, Russell, and Bloomsbury squares, and discovered, with fresh astonishment, a whole city of the most beautiful streets, squares, and gardens. But the greater part of the new buildings, although they present a wide and stately front adorned with pillars and other decorations, are divided into

many comparatively small and narrow houses. Most of the houses have but three windows, and each house is inhabited by only one family, who are more usually tenants than proprietors of it. The English like better to disperse themselves through three stories, than to inhabit a large suite of apartments, and endure strange occupants above and below them. Hence persons even in moderate circumstances, at Berlin, seem, when they throw open their rooms, to have larger and better habitations than here, where the dining-room is usually below, the sitting-room on the first, and the bed-room on the second floor. On the other hand, the hall and staircase of these houses are far more elegant than in ours. The stairs and floors are usually covered with handsome carpets, and even my lodging is not without this luxury. The Berlin houses have a more cheerful aspect from their gay and various colours. But if people attempted to wash or colour their houses here, they would very soon be blackened again.

Monday, April 13th, 1835.

I went yesterday, on a most beautiful morning, down Oxford Street, and through Hyde Park, to Kensington, to breakfast with Mr. S. The distance is about the same as from my house in Berlin, to Charlottemburg. The young green was shooting up on every side in spite of the chilly mornings and evenings; the turf already wears its English hue. There is no prohibition against treading upon it, as with us, which shows how confidently an after-growth is reckoned upon: on the contrary, children play about, and enormously fat sheep graze at will. Hyde Park is little more than a large meadow. The finest trees are in Kensington Gardens. There is no trace of that elegance of detail which delights one so much in the Tuileries and the Luxembourg; but on the other hand, the extent is far greater, and the general effect, far more rural and natural. It is rather to be compared with our Thiergarten, or with the road from Dessau to Wortitz. The portion of the royal family which appears to be most popular, lives at Kensington; namely, the Duke of Sussex, the Duchess of Kent, and the Princess Victoria.

I dined yesterday at Mr. ——, with the Turkish ambassador, who told us the history of his life. He lost his father very early, and was carefully brought up by his mother, who prevented him from contracting a premature marriage. He became interpreter-general, and ambassador. He maintained, and not without some grounds, that in some respects there is more individual freedom in Turkey than in England, where the tyranny of countless laws is more oppressive than the tyranny of one man's will. But certainly a general conclusion drawn from such particulars would be very fallacious. He also affirmed that polygamy occurred

among the Turks only as an exception, and was necessarily confined to a few rich men.

Among the gayer spoils of my labours, I now and then stumble on a "curiosum;" for example, some French letters from General Seydlitz to Mitchell, which prove that the Berliners spelt French still worse in his time than they do now. Guess, now, the meaning of these words: *suven, fain, laitre, trete, orian?*

I send the following extract as a specimen:—"Aveuque le plesier le plus sensieble je Recu lagreable nuvelle don son Excelence a bien me voulu honore touchant sa scante, je souhaite De tout mon Ceour que elle trouve l Ars de Monsieur Cotenius et les effet des l Os dinge des ces louanges."

Tuesday, April 14*th*, 1835.

I left Berlin a month ago to-day. I can scarcely believe that the time has not been longer; I have seen, heard, and learned so much in this short period. Hardly any part of my life has been so rich in new thoughts and new sensations, or, at any rate, it ranks with those in which I first saw Paris, Rome, Naples, or Switzerland. When I gave up the career of active life, with all the advantages which it promised me, it was with the view of devoting myself to science;—which I have done; but it was by no means my intention to remain immoveably fixed in one place, giving lectures. My science—history—requires a more much varied and abundant life. And I am convinced that both men and events appear to me in a different and a juster light, than if I had always sat in my chimney corner, and had lived exclusively in one circle. These thoughts often pass through my mind in justification of my stay here, and you will not think it unnatural that I should give utterance to them.

Yesterday's harvest at the Museum was a failure: I got nothing but dust; besides which I could stay there but a couple of hours, for at ten o'clock I went to Sir Francis Palgrave at the Chapter-house, Westminster. There I found an immense number of old chronicles and rotuli, or rolls of paper in the shape of large Swiss cheeses. Much as Sir F. Palgrave has done, the greater part of these are still unexamined and unknown. I saw the original of the curious Doomsday-book; Henry VIII.'s will with his own signature, (at least there is no stamp,) and many other most interesting things. Unfortunately these archives only extend down to the time of Henry VIII., concerning whom, however, there is a long series of very curious documents. The results of Sir F. Palgrave's late researches exhibit the old German principles and customs, particularly those of a judicial nature, in quite a new light. Perhaps no country is so rich in materials for a continued and perfect history of law, as England. The Saxon law was not

by any means entirely superseded by the Norman; it was not so much altered by William I., nor did he introduced so complete a feudal system, as is generally imagined. Indeed, the coincidence of the Norman law with the English appears so complete, that it suggests fresh riddles concerning the origin of those sea-wanderers, and concerning Normandy, which will, perhaps, lead to the solution of all the questions relating to them.

At three o'clock, Mr. T., with whom I made acquaintance at M.'s, called me for a walk. We went to see the great Regent's Park, which exhibits all the beauties of a large English garden, and is surrounded with handsome palace-like façades divided into houses. There is an immense collection of animals of all kinds, from the elephant and rhinoceros to rats and mice. The dens and cages are distributed over a large garden, tastefully laid out and well kept, and each is differently arranged and ornamented. It is only in the neighbourhood of such a city as London that such an establishment could be maintained by voluntary subscriptions and contributions.

LETTER XIV.

New Ministry—False maxims concerning the English Constitution—Relations of Lords and Commons—Tories and Radicals—Party inconsistencies—Hereditary Peerage—Peers of Life—Example of Rome—Ecclesiastical Aristocracy—Decline of Aristocracy—Duke of S——— —Domestic Finance—Eating-House—Dinner of Artisans—Drury Lane Theatre; Oratorio—Performance of the Messiah at Berlin and London compared—Modern Italian Singing and Music—Dinner—Comparative Prices of London, Paris, and Berlin—Tea Trade with China.

London, April 14th, 1835.

To-day it is expected that the new ministry will be formed. It may fairly be presumed, after recent experience, that the Tories of the old school (to which, however, Peel does not belong) will never again come into power; for their sway would involve a repeal of the Reform Bill, and a return to the old elective system; a thing not to be thought of, and about as likely as the restoration of the Slave-trade.

The theoretical and abstract manner of considering the English constitution must be abandoned. From this are derived maxims like the following, which have been repeated countless times: The King has the sole right of declaring war; and has the free

and absolute choice of his ministers: The House of Lords has the right of confirming or of rejecting all bills proceeding from the Lower House: The King can create as many Peers as he pleases. The House of Commons can vote taxes, *or withhold them.*

All these dicta, and many of the same kind, cannot be denied; they are constitutionally established; and yet a literal adherence to them would leave the State without life or motion. It would end in the impracticable French division of powers, which is, in fact, the extinction of all power. The King cannot, in fact, declare war unless the Commons vote money to carry it on; he may nominate ministers, but they cannot stand (as experience shows) if they have not a majority in Parliament; the Lords can maintain no long continued struggle with the Commons, without being worsted in the end; the king cannot create *fournees* of Peers a la Française, without destroying the whole character and weight of the Upper House; the Commons cannot flatly refuse the supplies, but must try to attain their end without resorting to this violent extremity; and so forth.

The life of England, therefore, does not reside in these dry bones of the body politic. The springs are far more complicated, the rules and conditions far more numerous; and when these thousand accessary conditions and incidents are wanting, the transplantation of a bare political osteology is mere folly. It is certain that the Reform Bill also has introduced changes which are not expressed in the mere letter, or are very obscurely hinted at: for example, formerly, (and this is an essential point,) the House of Lords virtually governed the House of Commons as possessors of the rotten boroughs. The latter is now rendered more independent; when the close and self-electing corporations are re-organized, the aristocracy will lose many more votes. The preponderancy has thus been transferred from the Upper to the Lower House; and if more violent contrarieties manifest themselves, other means must be devised, other tactics employed, than those of simple negation.

Supposing, for example, the bill concerning the Irish Church, together with the new clause on the application of the surplus fund to schools, pass the House of Commons and be thrown out on the second reading in the Lords,—the latter will only have exercised their unquestionable right; but what would be the probable consequence? a complete and universal refusal to pay tithes throughout Ireland, and misery and starvation for the Protestant clergy. The next spring would only present the same evil in an aggravated form; and a Tory ministry would hardly be able to obtain a victory then, on the field where it had suffered defeat now.

He who cannot mediate is not fit to rule. It is most justly

observed by Burke, that "the disposition to maintain, and the skill to improve, are the two elements, the union of which forms the great statesman." Hence it follows, that neither high Tories nor Radicals are statesmen, and that neither can permanently govern. The former see no value but in the past; the latter, in the present, or in their own ideal future. This is a false division, a rending asunder of parts which intimately cohere in real life; an attempt to maintain, or to change, absolutely and without qualification. The commands, the will, nay, the simple wish, of a father influences his children and his children's children; a total disregard of them is a proof of heartlessness and presumption. But this pious and salutary reverence degenerates into foolish superstition, when it seeks to bind the existing generation in such fetters as would utterly incapacitate it from producing, in its turn, any thing valuable, as a bequest to its successors. It is no proof of reverence for forefathers, to hold to their institutions, when all the circumstances which suggested those institutions have changed; it is rather a most irreverent assumption, that, if they were alive, they would cling with obstinate idolatry to unsuitable and inexpedient courses. The appeals made by the high Tories to their departed ancestors, and by the Radicals to their unborn posterity, are often not only one-sided, but a mere convenient pretext for accomplishing party purposes.

The apparent consistency of party men is often pregnant with the greatest inconsistencies. Those, for instance, who want to alienate all church property, and to leave all religious establishments to voluntary contributions, forget that this (independent of all other results) has already led in Ireland to a sort of poll-tax, which, if presented under another form, they would be the first to oppose. Those who were the most violent in their opposition to the centralization of the uncertain and unconnected regulations for the poor, have been no less vehement in their defence of the excessive centralization of the administration of justice.

To return to the affairs of the day. In case the Lords throw out the Irish Bill, the superficial enemies of an upper house will perhaps not, as yet, gain a majority; but the question, whether the hereditary peerage should not be qualified with an admixture of peers for life will doubtless be agitated with redoubled vehemence. If all power ultimately rests on three elements, birth, wealth, and talent, the utility, indeed the necessity of the first element in governments of a certain form, *and with reference to hereditary monarchy*, remain unshaken; the example of the United States of America, with their president, is entirely irrelevant. The circumstances of that new and remote country are wholly peculiar, and so recent, that one generation may probably see them totally altered.

The principle of *hereditary* monarchy, and the immense im-

portance to society of the clearest possible laws of succession, have been fully recognized of late years ; and any departure from them has been regarded, even by the change-loving French, as an exception which necessity alone can justify. This persuasion is, however, far from being equally strong or general, with regard to hereditary nobility. On the contrary, theories are at variance, and practice is unfavourable, to hereditary privileges. These are no longer recommended except as means to great political ends; scarcely indeed does any nobleman attempt to justify the unequal distribution of property among his children, or the exclusive right to employments, dignities, or exemptions, on any other ground.

Of the three above-mentioned bases of power, birth has certainly lost extremely in importance, and stands in greater need than ever of the support of wealth. But as this, in England, is often possessed in an equal, and instruction in a superior, degree, by the mercantile class, the loss the hereditary nobility has sustained on the side of birth cannot be compensated by any gain on that of wealth. Their power has declined and is declining. The result of the long struggle between the patricians and plebians of Rome was their perfect equality ; and incontestably this is the tendency of modern Europe.

Will not the result of this levelling, this annihilation of various organs, be fatal to the variety and the beauty of social life? Perhaps it will be, as in Athens, a swift destruction. Perhaps something new and peculiar, something adapted to the times, will shape itself out ; as, in Rome, the nobles and the citizens blended into one great aristocracy—the senate. In this, steadiness and mobility were combined ; whereas, in the Roman patricians, the nobility of Venice, Berne, &c., the hereditary element was exclusively predominant. The English peerage is not so sharply severed from the other classes as these aristocracies, inasmuch as it is accessible to new persons and families; but whether this will long suffice as a counterpoise to the wealth and the talent of the lower house, may be doubted. A judicious employment of their fortunes for the purposes of general utility, and the most laborious cultivation of mind, is therefore now become the imperative duty and the strongest interest of every peer: both will do no more than keep them on a level with the commonalty.

But as little as in the sixteenth century the Pope had the good sense to place himself at the head of the Reformation, and the prudence to direct the current, so little does the aristocracy of our days seem disposed to act this part with regard to political reforms: and because rulers do not understand how to bend and to mould, the people come at last to breaking and destroying. The hereditary rights of the aristocracy, it is argued, are precisely what afford security for its permanence, steadiness and indepen-

dence; if these, either from levity or malignity, are thrown into the vortex, constancy, moderation, and order are lost. This argument deserves infinite attention. But we must remember that not only were these privileges, as I just observed, regarded with more veneration formerly than now; but that a multitude of other conditions, aids, and props, were connected with them, some of which no longer exist, others are equally in the possession of the *tiers état.* If, then, the reverence for birth cannot be restored; if the aggregate wealth of the nobility is less than that of the other classes, the question remains, whether their strength might not be increased by the addition of talent and knowledge.

And here we come to the question, whether it were not expedient to associate, for life, to the hereditary peers, certain distinguished men, who might help, as in the Roman Senate, to support the optimates against the plebeians. But if (contrary to the Roman practice) children and grand children were thus introduced to power, what was strength in the beginning, would perhaps be weakness in the end; and the means taken to command authority and reverence might lead to contempt and degradation. There is an other example of an aristocracy besides that of Rome—one of boundless power—which holds its privileges for life alone; that of the Church. Opposed to the mental activity of Europe, how long would an hereditary caste of priests have retained their power and influence? But arguments against an hereditary priesthood are now turned, by analogy, against an hereditary peerage.

All this does not affect to be an exhaustive view of the subject. I only start from the undeniable fact that, compared with former times, the power of the House of Lords has declined, and that of the Commons increased. But if the existence and influence of the Upper House is regarded by all moderate and reasonable men as beneficial and even necessary, this two-fold truth leads inevitably to the question, how the lost balance is to be restored. The rotten boroughs were not only materially, but politically, decayed; instead of holding to crumbling ruins, it would have been wiser to discover and to apply means of propping and repairing the edifice. It is impossible to go on in the old road; a new path must be opened for the Upper House, if it is to keep peace with the Lower.

To throw all the blame on the Reform Bill, Lord John Russell, or his party, is just as rational as it would have been for the Catholics of the sixteenth century to forget, or to deny, their own character and position, or the state of the world, and to reproach Luther and his adherents as the sole authors of that stupendous change. When all the previous conditions of change are already in existence; when all remedies are either contemned or worn out; when the Archimedean point of motion is given, the motion is inevitable,—it must come; and the only remaining problem

is, to understand its peculiar laws, and to turn it into safe channels and to salutary uses.

But if the aristocratical prudence of persistency is dangerous and mistaken, not less shallow is the wisdom of most of the republicans of our days, who find in an assembly representing the people, *with reference to numbers alone*, the full solution of the problem of government; the full compensation for all those various forms which the whole history of the world displays. God be praised, these cannot be permanently destroyed by such barren and dull expedients! There are, it is true, excrescenses and deformities in the richest organization, but a worm is not better than a man because it has fewer organs, members, and nerves: and has this political *scheme*, and all that was expected from it, outlived so much as the diseases of its infancy? My conclusion, therefore, is, that the ultra-aristocrats, and ultra-democrats, are equally irrational, and equally dangerous. God grant the ministry now to be formed, strength, moderation and wisdom, to master so many difficulties!

Wednesday, April 15th, 1835.

The countenance of the Duke of S——, spite of his feeble sight, has an expression of the greatest good humour, cheerfulness, and *bonhommie*, and his conversation confirmed the impression made by his appearance. As the gentlemen present did not understand German, English was spoken, and, happily for me, so distinctly by the Duke, that I hardly lost a word. He inquired particularly into my scientific views and pursuits, and promised me his best services, particularly with the State Paper-Office.

The Duke conversed on the affairs of the church and the universities, the change of ministry, and the Tories, who had learned nothing, misunderstood the times, and called out the strength of the Radicals by fruitless and injudicious opposition. But you know his opinions, and I have an insuperable objection to write down what might appear like gossip, or might give rise to it. No greater contrast in all principles and purposes can possibly be formed than that which exists between the Duke of C—— and the Duke of S——. The latter speaks with fluency and acuteness; so that during two hours and a half, the thread of interesting conversation was never broken, and time passed with wonderful rapidity. I looked at his large and well-arranged library. Among the most remarkable contents of it, is a collection of Bibles, in all languages, which can hardly be surpassed in Europe.

Thursday, April 16th.

I found yesterday, in an instructive letter of Lord Burleigh's

to his son, a *literal* confirmation of my old doctrine of domestic finance ; namely, that one ought never to devote more than two-thirds of one's income to the *ordinary* expenses of life, for that the *extraordinary* will be certain to absorb the other third.

* * * * *

All this occupied so much time, that the hour drew near when I was to go to Drury Lane to hear "a sacred oratorio ;" in other words, a miscellaneous concert. The house where I was accustomed to dine lay in a totally different direction ; I accordingly took the way towards Drury Lane, in the hope of finding eating-houses in abundance in the course of my long walk. But this Parisian hope was delusive ; far and near no eating-house appeared ; till at length, for my consolation, I saw the word "soup" at a window. Where soup is to be found in England, thought I, other eatables certainly exist ; another delusion. The moment I entered, it was evident that I had fallen upon a company of a rather different quality from that which attracts the stranger to the elegant Traveller's club. But my hunger was great, time short, and curiosity excited. I wished to see how the lowest class of London artisans dine. Many things in the external appearance reminded me of the Roman Osterie, and yet they were different. No table-cloth ; yet not, as in Rome, the bare wood, but an oil-cloth ; pewter spoons, and two-pronged forks ; tin saltcellar and pepper-box. The tables not placed along the wall, as if for a social meal, but separated in the farther corners, to prevent strife, whether by words or blows. I asked for several kinds of English dishes; but I was told, that there was nothing to be had but the fore-mentioned soup. As I had said A, I must needs say B, and content myself with the humblest possible dinner. I received a large portion of black Laconian broth, in which pepper played a conspicuous part ; and in this broth a number of pieces of something like meat, which transported me from foggy London to Sorrento, with its *frutti di mare*. With this was a large piece of wheaten bread, and two gigantic potatoes, the cubic contents of which were about equal to those of eight or ten Berlin ones. Having eaten these, I was perfectly satisfied, and paid three pence, twelve of each are equal to ten silver groschen.

Next, to Drury Lane; where, on my repeatedly asking where I could buy a ticket for the pit, I received various, to me unintelligible, answers ; such as that no tickets were sold ; that there was none ; did I want one at half price? and so on. I thought the fault must be with my bad English ; but then the words were so simple, and I had tutored my tongue and lips with the utmost care. At last I fell into the *queue* of the pit, which is not, as in Paris, enclosed within a zigzag passage, in order to lessen the pressure. The English stood quietly and at their ease till, at

half-past seven, the doors opened, and then there was such a rush ("*choc*") that some ladies began to scream. As soon, however, as we were through the narrow entrance, we went on commodiously enough : and now the fore-mentioned mystery was cleared up. For three shillings and a half (1 thaler 5 sgr.) you receive no ticket, but a copper check, which you immediately give again. Instead of *bureaus* for the sale of tickets, checks, counter-checks, *controle*, and so on, here the whole business is done by two men in half an hour's time ; and done just as effectually as by all our expensive machinery of men and *bureaus*.

I had time enough before the concert began to look about the house. The stage is not so wide, nor the whole so large as the Opera-house in Berlin ; but there are five tiers of boxes or seats one above another. There are only two rows of stalls or enclosed seats, the remaining benches belong to the pit. They rise much more abruptly than in most houses, so that one can see better over one's neighbour's head than with us. For the same reason there are no boxes level with the pit, except near the stage. On the other hand, a new division of benches is made directly opposite to the stage, under the ceiling, so that what is lost below may be said to be gained above ; thus it is that five tiers of people are seated one above the other.

There are boxes close to the proscenium, and pillars two and two like those in the Berlin Opera-house ; they are, however, ill-proportioned, and look as if they were made of tin. The principal colour of the boxes is red, and the fronts ornamented with white and gold. The pillars between the boxes are as slender as those in our theatres. There are some boxes for lovers of retirement, but no royal box. The pit is entirely filled with benches, only every other one of which has a back. Contrary to the custom in Paris, ladies sit in the pit.

At length we came to the performance, which was recommended to the public with some strokes of Italian rhetoric, in a large bill ; it ran as follows :—"*Unprecedented attraction for this night only. A grand selection of Ancient and Modern Music, presenting a combination of the most eminent talent ever introduced in one evening in the national theatres.*" This sounds very like a mere puff. It was not so, however ; in the first place, for three shillings and sixpence you had about as much again for your money as in Berlin. The concert began soon after seven o'clock, and I was not at home till midnight. Do not think the time long if I take you through the whole concert (without the music).

Part 1.—Selection from the Messiah ; Overture. The orchestra stronger than in the Academy of Singing—not so strong as at our Opera. The adagio softer, more *cantando* than in Berlin, and in my opinion, were it but for contrast sake, so much the

better. The old Handelian score was, with few exceptions, used without the added accompaniments, which was very interesting to me. The music has, if not a stronger, yet a more calm, I might say a holier effect, without this higher seasoning, and with only the stringed instruments.

2. "Comfort ye," and "Every Valley," sung by Mr. Hobbs; a soft cultivated tenor, but not remarkable for power or tone.

3. Chorus. "And the glory of the Lord." The bass and tenor, in comparison with ours, very strong; the alto and soprano, on the contrary, *much* weaker: but there were more male alto singers than with us. The treble consisted of ten girls and ten boys; it was therefore weak, even in comparison with the proportions usual here; how much more so, compared with ours! The absence or the pausity of female voices gave to the choruses generally a certain hardness and coldness; otherwise they went correctly, and with animation and force. The bass was peculiarly excellent.

4. "O Thou that tellest," sung by Miss Cawse; with no expression, but a powerful and equable voice, and a much chaster style than that of Mdlle. Brambilla.

5. "The people that walked in darkness," sung with appropriate expression by Mr. Seguin, a very fine powerful bass. The wind instruments came in only at one part towards the end.

6. "For unto us," was encored.

7. "Rejoice greatly," sung by Mdme. Stockhausen; her voice has not the grandeur and fulness requisite for Handel's sacred music; but it is pure, sweet, and bears marks of a good school.

8. "Why do the Heathen?" well sung by Mr. Seguin.

9. "But thou didst not leave," Mdme. Stockhausen.

10. "Hallelujah," executed with power and effect.

A duet was now to follow by Grisi and Rubini, instead of which the latter came on alone, and the orchestra began to play the symphony to "Il mio tesoro," from "Don Juan." But such a noise arose, such a cry of "Grisi, Grisi," that, after a long hesitation, Rubini retired. After some pause the director appeared and announced that Mdlle. Grisi was not yet come, and begged the audience to hear Rubini in the meanwhile. He sang his song, and not only once but twice, with the greatest applause. His voice is an uncommonly powerful tenor, or rather barytone, with a falsetto. None of our singers equal him in power and facility, but his application of the modern Italian manner to Mozart seemed to me thoroughly inappropriate.

Part II.—Selection from Haydn's "Creation."

11. Introduction, "Chaos," very well executed, with the requisite light and shade.

12 to 21. Various airs and choruses.

In the second act, Ivanhoff sang an air from Rossini's "Otello."

A beautiful voice, but the unnatural and impure style of the modern Italian school pushed to the utmost: violent shouting, alternated in the same bar, with an effeminate and almost inaudible whisper: light and shade blotched on in hard and unartistlike contrast; no sustained style, but a superficial striving after effect. But this is what the musical multitude like.

Part III.—Miscellaneous.

23. Overture to "William Tell." This noisy, incoherent *pasticcio* was *encored*, at least the latter half, that Handel and Mozart might not be too much flattered by the distinction.

The Impresario now appeared again, and announced with many expressions of distress, that Tamburini was ill, and some omissions were therefore necessary.

Seven pieces followed out of Rossini's and Mercadente's operas, and a favourite Swiss song. The singers were Miss Cawse, Mdme. Stockhausen, Mdlle. Grisi, Messrs. Rubini, Ivanhoff, Seguin, and Lablache. Grisi has a fine rich voice, with good lower, and well-managed upper, notes; great execution, great power, and (as far as it is possible with such music) appropriate expression. She certainly is one of the greatest living singers, yet (so far as the recollection of one performance serves me to decide) I prefer Malibran. Whether she is a dramatic singer, I hope to have opportunities of judging. Lablache has the most powerful bass voice I ever heard in my life, and gave Rossini's "Largo al factotum" in a manner which it is impossible to surpass.

Whatever admiration, however, this singular production may deserve, the hearing of seven pieces out of seven Italian operas convinced me that there is a great similarity and poverty in the means employed, the ornaments always the same, the melodies undramatic and continually recurring. What variety, what distinct and appropriate individuality, on the other hand, in one of Mozart's operas!

Thus, then, I heard thirty, or, with the encores, about thirty-five pieces, (recitatives not included,) for thirty-five *silver groschen:* certainly not dear, though it would have shown a better feeling of art to divide the performance into two. The applause was generally so loud and lasted so long, that German singers may well think their countrymen apathetic in the comparison: I can now understand Devrient's saying, "You have fishes' blood." But German composers certainly bore off the palm in this London concert. I came home well pleased, for what I had heard was very curious, and much of it very admirable.

Friday, April 17th, 1835.

My design of having a quiet day, yesterday, was favoured by the heavens. The cold was accompanied by the thickest, dampest fog, and both together produced such a fall of snow and rain, that

I could only take my most necessary walks at intervals; to the Museum, the Athenæum, and to dinner. In Wardour-street, I had, for a thaler, gravy-soup, beef-steak, sea-kail, (an excellent vegetable, approaching to asparagus, indeed better than any I have seen here,) salmon, rice pudding, bread, and half a pint of ale. This dinner is dearer than what may be had at some restaurants at Paris, but cheaper, on the whole, than in Berlin. The weather yesterday made it necessary to drink stronger wine, so in the evening, while I sat at home studying the English poor-laws, I regaled myself with a sort of punch, made of hot water, sherry, and sugar, which is better than that made with rum and lemons. But I cannot accustom myself to tea. A-propos of tea, I must tell you some facts which I found in the "Westminster Review," April, 1835.

Since the monopoly of the China trade has been taken from the East India Company, it is expected that the price will fall and the demand increase. It is estimated that the annual consumption is, in Great Britain and Ireland, 40 millions of pounds.

Russia	6½	,,
Holland	3	,,
Germany	2	,,
France, only	250,000 lbs.	
United States	10 millions of pounds.	
British America	1	,,
——— India	1	,,
——— Australia	250,000 lbs.	

which, adding half a million for the rest of Europe, will give a total of sixty-five millions of pounds. What a change in industry, trade, social habits, and enjoyments, when we reflect that two hundred years ago tea was unknown! Whether health has been improved by it may be doubted, inasmuch as it has diminished the consumption of beer; but at all events a tea party is necessarily something very different from a beer party, or a brandy party.

The value of these sixty-five millions of pounds, in China, is equal to about twenty-eight millions of thalers. What a source of revenue to that country, and what folly to fear that, out of love for the East India Company, it will reject the free traders, and prohibit the export. The attempts to grow tea in Brazil, Java, and other places have failed. The great obstacle is the impossibility of producing it as cheaply as in China. It is now cultivated only in five provinces of the great empire, generally on hills which will not produce corn; and there is not the least difficulty in increasing the production so as to meet the greatest possible demand. England, in 1700, imported about one hundred thousand pounds; in 1800 twenty millions, and in 1835 no less than forty-seven millions, and yet the prices in China have undergone hardly

any variation Black and green teas are only varieties of the same plant, indeed are plucked from the same shrub; the best and dearest are the buds of the spring; the most inferior are the leaves of the fourth gathering, which takes place in autumn. Black tea is cheaper than green, and less stimulating. Of the abovementioned sixty-five million pounds, there are about fifty millions black, and fifteen millions green. The Chinese, the other Asiatic nations, and the Russians, drink hardly any green tea; the English, one part green to four black; the Americans, two parts green to one black. As early as the year 1660, a duty was laid upon tea; *i. e.* upon the amount of the liquid infusion; a proof that, at that time, each family did not prepare it at home, but bought it ready made, like beer. The amount and the manner of collecting the tax underwent many subsequent changes, and at length rose far above the prime cost. Many reasons are adduced for laying the same duty on all tea, without reference to quality (as in France); and this method has certainly the recommendation of simplicity; but, on the other hand, it is contended that the duty on the superior sorts would be much too low, on the inferior, much too high.

LETTER XV.

Different ways of regarding Poverty—Experiments of antient Legislators to equalize Wealth—Moses, Lycurgus, Solon, Servius Tullus—Influence of Christianity—Historical Sketch of English Poor-laws—Law of Settlement—Increase of Poor's-rate—Scotland—Increased consumption of England—Diet of Poor-houses—Remedies proposed—Mr. Sadler—Report of the Poor-law Commission—Allowance System—Moral effects—Functionaries—Overseers—Law of Bastardy—Plans for Reform—Poor-law Commissioners—Objections to the Poor-law Bill—Prevalent errors about England—Right of the Poor to relief.

London, April 27th, 1835.

If you expected nothing but amusing chat from my letters, you will have found yourself much mistaken. I am here irresistibly, and as a part of my vocation, led into the consideration of serious, perhaps even melancholy subjects; and, this time, I have determined to write you a long letter on the condition of the poor, and the much-debated poor-laws. If you are terrified at this threat, I must tell you that it were much easier to write a thick book on the subject, than to compress the essential facts into a few

pages. And however I may wish to spare room, I find it absolutely necessary to your understanding anything of the matter, to begin *ab ovo*.

There have always been two very different, or rather opposite, systems with regard to poverty. According to the one, it has been looked upon as a predestined condition of mankind; as a divine ordinance, and therefore wholly blameless; as an unalterable *datum*. It is only from this point of view that any one can look with calm indifference at the Sudras and Parias of India, and say that God and nature have assigned them their fit station.

The second and opposite system assumes that God has formed all men equal; that He has appointed an equal share of happiness to all. That wherever this equality has disappeared (from whatever cause,) where poverty and distress have broken in, they can and ought to be entirely uprooted, and the golden age of equality restored. Upon this system rest, in their various shades and degrees, all plans for community of goods, agrarian laws, the schemes of the Anabaptists, of the Jesuits in Paraguay, the St. Simonians and others.

There is a third system which (as opposed to the first) regards poverty as a great evil, but denies (as opposed to the second) the possibility of its extirpation. Its advocates affirm that its existence is necessary, that it remedies itself best when it is left entirely to itself, and that all means to avert it are useless, since they cannot change the laws of nature; and mischievous, since they raise false hopes, relax energies, and beget discontents.

Such are the extreme systems, each of which appears to me to contain errors. The first rests on a bad theology, which ill conceals pride and selfishness: it stamps circumstances as sacred and unchangeable, which the diviner part of human nature regards as the fit subject of its beneficent influence and activity.

The second goes too far in the contrary direction, and, from a want of humility and resignation, aspires to mould anew, with human hands, the work of the divine Creator, and to reduce the variety of his works to one pattern. Everything is to be governed by external and forcible means, or (as with the Jesuits) the most artificial calculations. Every diversity is to be regarded as an injustice; and a dead uniformity to be introduced, and maintained, by the hardest and most impracticable tyranny (as among the St. Simonians).

The second and third systems are right, in so far as they hold poverty to be an evil; but the second errs from superabundance of remedies; the third, from indifference and neglect. Medicine cannot banish death from the world, but has it, therefore, been renounced as useless?

If, to leave theory, we look at the practice of the greatest legislators, we find that, from the earliest times, extremes of poverty

and riches were regarded as an evil and a danger which various means were devised to counteract. The division of the land in Palestine, the sabbath, and the year of jubilee, instituted by Moses, were mainly directed against this; although, from causes which I have investigated in my lectures on ancient history, they could not answer the purpose for which they were designed.

Lycurgus made a still more direct attempt to establish equality among his citizens; and a multitude of institutions, customs, and laws were framed to support this fundamental principle. But they were frustrated not only by the existence of the unfortunate Helots, but by the insufficiency of mechanical means (such as the division of land) to subdue the activity of the counteracting causes. Hence Solon and Servius Tullus adopted what I may call dynamic means—moving regulators, which were designed perpetually to check the growth of excessive riches or poverty. That is to say, they gave the rich greater rights, but, at the same time, they laid upon them heavier and more costly duties; they abridged the rights, but they also lightened the burdens of the poor. By such measures, existing relations were not suddenly changed (as by the jubilee or division of land,) which can never produce more than a momentary equality; but gentler and steadier means were applied to maintain, in some degree, the balance of fortune. The less abrupt contracts of the Athenian division of classes disappeared still more rapidly than the Roman; and the Licinian rogations were just as little efficacious in preventing the extremes of wealth and poverty in a conquering state, as that altered employment of the public lands, which the Gracchi proposed in vain. Then followed revolutionary schemes of a general partition of property, and, at last, military proscriptions and confiscations. With these ended all the legislative experiments of antiquity, and universal intellectual bankruptcy went hand-in-hand with universal decay and misery.

With Christianity arose a totally new set of feelings and principles on this subject, in common with so many others. From the Agapæ to the mendicant monks, we may trace views of property, of the individual enjoyment, or the participation of it, which deviate entirely from all that had hitherto existed. Even the rigidly exclusive Roman system of private property was compelled to give way to a doctrine which (in idea at least) established the temperate use and the fraternal interchange of riches. This was a great advance. Charitable endowments, voluntary almsgiving, and a church no less wealthy than bountiful, mitigated the sufferings of poverty in the middle ages, more effectually than is commonly believed.

This state of things has, from a thousand causes, entirely changed; and great reforms (such as the abolition of slavery and villenage) have been accompanied with great evils in relation to

the poor, and the provision for them. Countless questions pressed upon the consideration of legislators or rulers, and demanded instant answer. Who are the poor? What succour is the most efficacious? Must the poor be left to voluntary alms, or have they, as against the rich, a right to support which governments are bound to enforce?

On all these points, no nation has made so many efforts and experiments as England, and therefore I proceed from this long, but I hope not useless introduction, to the English poor-laws.

The first feeling with which one considers them is, that of astonishment at the contrast of the greatest affluence and the greatest poverty; of the vast gains, and the urgent want. Is this accidental, or is it the result of successive mistakes? or is it the inevitable consequence of so high a state of civilization, and such enormous national power? Have not all nations reason to congratulate themselves that though their station is humbler, they have not fifty millions of thalers to pay as poor's rate? that though they are without many comforts and enjoyments, they have fewer wants and miseries? that though they have some partial or local maladies, they are not threatened with a universal and consuming plague? Lord John Russell* exclaims, "Our poor form an army four times as numerous as that with which we resisted the empire of France?"

I might, perhaps, conclude with repeating these remarks, so often and so confidently made; but you must be content to follow me through that longer path which I have entered upon for my own instruction.

The laws concerning the poor, which existed in England in the middle ages, related chiefly to wandering beggars, and were harsh, not to say cruel, towards them, from the persuasion that enough was done for the poor in the way of voluntary almsgiving. A compulsory tax for their support was not thought of. According to a law of the year 1388, no husbandman or labourer could leave his place of abode and travel about the country, without the permission of a justice of the peace, nor unless he could obtain no work there. Laws were passed in 1495 and 1504, to the same effect; and one of the year 1531, empowers justices of the peace to grant leave to "impotent persons" to beg within a certain district. "Able-bodied beggars," on the other hand, were to be whipped and sent back to the place where they were born, or where they had passed the last three years, and there made to labour. Later enactments of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. show that after the suppression of monasteries, and the alienation of so much church property, begging, whether by the impotent or the able, could not

* On Government, p. 213.

be kept under; hence the parishes were exhorted to provide wholly for the former, and to punish the latter.

More important, however, than all previous enactments, and more varied and permanent in their effects, are those of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1601. The most material are as follows:—The churchwarden, and from two to four of the householders, appointed by the justices of the peace, shall provide for the employment of the children for whom their parents cannot find work or food. Parents and kinsfolk are bound, under pain of imprisonment or other punishment, to provide for the helpless members of their families, for the old, the sick, the lame, the blind, &c. The overseers are to find work for all able-bodied persons who are without employment. If these things cannot be accomplished in single parishes, several are to be united for this purpose. Those who will not work shall be imprisoned. A tax for the poor shall be levied, but not exceeding a very moderate sum; the overseers to be responsible for the disbursement of the funds. All begging, except by the inhabitants of the parish, is still rigorously forbidden; but those who are unable to work may be allowed by the overseer to ask alms in their own neighbourhood.

These enactments of Queen Elizabeth are regarded by many as the source of all the evils and sufferings,—the Pandora's box; while others, even very recently, have warmly defended them; the Marquis of Salisbury, for instance, said in parliament, in the year 1830, that the law of Elizabeth was admirable and beneficent, and that the evils complained of had arisen solely from its mal-administration. Lord Teynham, too, remarked that Elizabeth's regulations were wise and benevolent; they, like all the laws of her reign, were framed with a view to increase the happiness of her people.*

Undoubtedly, wise provisions are not to be confounded with blundering or abuse in the application of them. What did the law contemplate? First, to support the miserable and helpless whom their families were unable to support; and to provide the able-bodied, not with money, but with work. Secondly, to lighten the burden, by the extension of the circle from which succours were to be drawn. Thirdly, to punish the lazy. Fourthly, for these purposes, to levy and to apply a tax not exceeding a certain amount.

These provisions seem so natural and so simple, that it appears as if no objection (apart from mal-administration) could be made to them. So far, however, as they relate to a disease, the entire removal of which is impossible, they must have some weak points inherent in them, and these we must not conceal. One is, the direction to find work for all those who can do it. But in a

* Hansard, i. 376, 689.

simple state of society, the difficulties attending this might be less than in a complex one, and the punishment of the indolent is the best means of making them labour for their own support. Further, the very important question here first occurred, whether, when voluntary alms are insufficient, the state acts wisely and justly in levying a tax for the support of the poor? We shall be more able to answer this question when we have seen what the English have done, and what left undone.

In the first place, immediately after the restoration of the Stuarts, the simple principles above stated were departed from; and the freedom and facility of obtaining work and subsistence were greatly abridged by the laws relating to "settlement." In virtue of these, the place of birth must be regarded as the place of settlement, till another is gained. This is done, first, by the residence of the parents, or by marriage; secondly, by a residence of forty days, after notice having been given to the magistrates of intention to settle: thirdly, such notice is held to be given, 1. by hiring a house of the yearly rent of 10*l.*; 2. by paying the public taxes; 3. by undertaking any public office in the parish. Unmarried and childless persons needed to give no such notice, and apprentices gained a settlement as such. Every person who did not gain settlement by one of these means might be sent away by the magistrates. But in order to diminish the number of cases in which persons coming from other places were sent away, the parishes often invented pretexts for receiving them as parishioners. They could then only be passed home to the first parish, in case they became actually chargeably to the second."*

London, April 28th.

I see that if I were to go into accurate details concerning the state of the poor and the poor-laws of former times, I should weary you. I shall therefore only advert to one or two earlier institutions, and then describe to you more at length than those more recent events which have given occasion to the poor-law which was passed last year.

To be brief: spite of all precautions and expedients, the evil went on increasing; and, for want of going to the bottom of it, people came to the conclusion that the increase of poverty was actually and irremediably in the same ratio as the increase in the amount of the poor's-rate. This was as follows:—

1750	about	£500,000
1800	„	£3,860,000
1812	„	£6,580,000
1817	„	£7,890,000

* Blackstone, i. 363.

Scotland, though so much poorer, required, even in a year of scarcity, only £119,000; of which £70,000 was raised by free gift, and only £40,000 by rates. It was justly deemed advantageous to Scotland that the management of her poor was committed, not to officers annually changed, but permanently, to the landlords, clergy, &c. But this one favourable circumstance by no means explained the enormous difference between that country and England.* Dr. Chalmers, in a work on political economy, says, that all alterations in the laws of taxation or provision for the poor are vain and futile; that there is but one main and fundamental remedy,—a sound christian education of the people. True; and yet not true. Certainly, this vital matter has often been entirely overlooked, or rated far beneath its importance; but there are a multitude of circumstances independent of it, which have a material influence on the prosperity and adversity of a nation; such as the price of commodities, &c. The poorest man in a civilized country is not so destitute as an inhabitant of a desert; and it is demonstrable that the incomes, the comfort, and the luxuries of the people throughout Europe have increased within the last century. In England the produce of the national industry has risen six-fold since the year 1770, while the population has only doubled in the same time. The consumption of wheaten bread, of beef, &c., has increased, while the mortality has greatly diminished; fifteen millions sterling are deposited in the savings banks.†

These facts, among many, would seem to prove the impossibility of the pauperism talked of, and yet it existed and grew to an overpowering height. In the year 1800,‡ there were, in Salisbury, 312 poor in the house, and 2436 receiving out-door relief. The amount of the rate was £4,481; the number of householders 1353, of whom 475 were unable to pay to the poor's-rate; so that each of the remaining 878 householders paid £6 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly in poor's-rate. By the side of this fact I must place another from the same period. The inhabitants of the poor-house at Bristol had, for breakfast, oatmeal-porridge, or rice-milk; for dinner, a pound of beef, or mutton, or a rice-pudding, &c. In Shrewsbury, for breakfast, meat-broth, or milk-porridge; for dinner, five times in the week, meat, with vegetables; once bread and cheese, once potatoes, or dumplings, or a pound of wheaten bread, with milk; and for supper, alternately, meat, peas-soup, milk-porridge, or potatoes.§

These two statements, placed in contrast, are sufficiently instructive. An expenditure like that in Shrewsbury would reduce the whole continent of Europe to beggary in two years; and if

* Lowe, p. 345.
† M'Culloch's Dictionary, *Ale*, p. 15.
‡ Gode's Travels, ii. p. 365.
§ Gode, v. 9.

every man is a pauper who fares worse than the inhabitants of these poor-houses, certainly we ought immediately to provide such receptacles for nearly the whole body of the German peasantry,—and perhaps for some of the German writers on pauperism.

These single traits of light demonstrated the necessity of an extensive investigation, and the poor-laws came frequently under discussion in Parliament. In one of these debates, Mr. Sadler* maintained that the existing poverty did not arise from over-population, for that, though there was less work in winter, particularly in the country, in summer there was a want of hands. The chief sources of the wretched condition of the lower classes were, according to him, the following:—

1st. The want of small landed proprietors.

2d. The increase of large estates.

3d. The loss sustained by the small tenants from enclosures and partitions of common lands; in which the wealthy proprietors get almost all, while the poorer can hardly ever formally substantiate their rights.

4th. The increase of day-labourers employed in the cultivation of the large estates, and the crowding of several families into small houses.

5th. The establishment of the greater number of manufactures in cities.

6th. The introduction of machinery.

A motion of Lord Winchelsea in November, 1830,† on the means of employing the poor, pointed more distinctly to the real and radical evil. Yet opinions remained so confused, that many sought the cause of all the suffering in the calling in of the small paper currency; while others looked for help in a kind of poor insurance-office for the whole empire. Since that time, the facts have been so fully and radically examined and elucidated by some writers, but more particularly by the Parliamentary Commissioners in their admirable Report, that the truth has been completely brought to light. I will endeavour to extract from that Report, and from other sources, the most important facts, more especially those which may serve to correct some prevalent errors.

The subject may be viewed in relation,—1st, to the support of the "able-bodied;" 2d, to the support of the "impotent."

Let us begin with the former, and, in England, the more important and more dangerous, part.

The "able-bodied" were maintained, either at their own homes by "out-door relief," or in the work-houses, where they were provided with lodging and other necessaries. The relief granted

* Hansard, viii. p. 506. † Ibid., i. p. 371.

in money has assumed various shapes. The first of these consisted simply in alms given to those able to work, without requiring any service or labour in return. This found the more ready acceptance, because it caused no further trouble (such as the providing work), and was usually connected with the condition that the alms-receiver was not soon to present himself again. In fact, however, it was a premium given to indolence and even to vice, and soon became more costly than had been imagined.

A second class of aids in money was comprehended under the name "allowances," although the word is applied to very different cases. Sometimes, occasional help for definite purposes, such as the buying of shoes, was understood by it; sometimes, a general addition to the ordinary wages of the labourers; sometimes, a succour granted according to the number of children, or to the price of wheat. The two latter modes, in particular, were so important, that, in many places, the several gradations of relief were officially calculated; and the rates raised, and disbursements made, in accordance. In many parishes the birth of a child, or the rise in the price of corn, immediately conferred a right to demand a larger allowance, without any inquiry into the income of the parents.

The third mode was called the system of "roundsmen," or of tickets. According to this, the parish (by the overseer) bought the labour of one or more paupers, and gave those who hired them a certain sum towards the wages: this was not determined by the goodness or the market price of the labour, but generally by the wants of the labourer, the number of his children, and the price of corn. The labourers were often put up to auction, and knocked down to the bidder who required the smallest advance.

Fourthly, the parishes themselves employed and paid the unemployed, but able-bodied poor, though the law of Elizabeth refused all assistance to the able-bodied, and aimed only at finding them work: this was in fact seldom done. In the year 1832, of 7,036,968*l.* paid to the poor, only 354,000*l.* was paid for labour actually performed (whether within or without the houses). This is to be accounted for, partly because it is too much trouble to devise and furnish suitable work; partly, because no persons can derive any *immediate* advantage from it, as they did from getting labourers at low wages. The gain to the whole parish was indeed very small, and disobedience and revolt were often produced by congregating the labourers, or rather the idlers. Everywhere the free labourer had harder work, and, proportionally, less pay; so that many wished—and the wish was easily fulfilled—to be transferred into the ranks of paupers. But more of that presently.

While so extravagant a provision was made for those who were

able to work, the assistance granted to the aged, the sick, and the helpless, (necessarily so inconsiderable in amount,) was comparatively inadequate. And yet these are just the persons who stand most in need of help; and for whom it is much easier to provide relief than for the first class.

The maintenance and employment of both classes in poor-houses ("in-door relief") was also liable to many objections. The apparent humanity of allowing the paupers a very bountiful diet was perhaps among the most pernicious abuses. Mr. Lee, who had been for seventeen years master of a workhouse containing above a thousand persons, said:—"It is a common remark among our poor that they live better in the workhouse than before;" and this seems really to be the case, if we consider the spaciousness and cleanliness of the rooms, the goodness of the beds, and the variety and good preparation of the food. A so-called pauper, says the writer of an article in the "Quarterly Review,"* in a poor-house in Kent, has "meat-days" from three to five times a week, his bread is better than that which our soldiers receive, and he has as much of vegetables as he will eat. While but too many are thus enticed into the workhouse (where hardly any work is done,) and their residence there seems agreeable enough, the whole weight is thrown into the scale of the animal part of human nature, and the noble feelings of independence, self-support, attachment to home, to family, to neighbours, are lost. The greater number, says the same writer, do nothing, love nothing, hope nothing, fear nothing; they sit listlessly in the same place, like blocks of wood rather than men. England, with all her wealth, has uselessly expended immense sums in this stall-feeding of her so-called poor; has sustained the bodies and destroyed the souls of her people, and has created more misery than she has removed. The ancient Greeks reverenced even the ashes of their fathers; the English teach their peasantry to bury father, mother, and kindred in a workhouse, unmoved; and to look upon roasted meat as a compensation for all losses. The free labourer lives much worse than he who by lies and trickery obtains relief from the poor's-rate. Nay, those who pay to the rates are often far worse off than those who receive them.†

Two hundred and four persons in the poor-house at Margate, cost fourteen thousand thalers yearly. The poor, or, I must repeat, the pretended poor, who generally live in entire idleness, receive (as at Swanscombe and Stone, for instance)—

"Four hot meals per week:

Half a pound of butter per week:

* No. cvii.

† The reader will observe that all these quotations are re-translated from the German.—*Translator.*

One pound of bread per day:
Vegetables of various sorts, as much as they can eat:
One pint of beer per day:
Pudding on Sundays."

Although the effects of such a system must be sufficiently manifest from the mere statement of it, I shall add some facts from the Report of the Commissioners.

The abuses which have hitherto existed have been but too popular. In the first place, the labourers receive lower wages, but they have no need to look about for work, care nothing for the approbation or disapprobation of their master, need not seek for any further help, and, if they have nothing to gain, have nothing to lose. Secondly, the employers have favoured the system, because, though they could get no diminution of rent on account of high wages, they do on account of high poor's-rates; and the landlord, again, finds means to shift his own loss upon the whole parish, or to gain when the poor are occupants of his houses. This gain is, however, only transient and apparent.

One example from among the thousands afforded by the southern counties of England will make the matter more clear. A farmer reduces the wages of his labourers from 12*s*. to 10*s*. The labourer goes to the overseer, shows, by a reference to the abovementioned estimates and tables, that he wants 12*s*. for the support of his family, and receives 2*s*. The other farmers follow the example of the first; the first then lowers wages again to 8*s*., and so it goes on, till wages are run down to the very lowest sum on which a single man can barely exist. What follows? or, rather, what does this imply? First, that wages are no longer regulated by free competition for the supply of the fair wants of a moderate family, but are artificially depressed. Secondly, that this difference is most absurdly made up in the form of poor's relief. Thirdly, that this relief is raised with the birth of every child, and is generally apportioned to the numbers of a family. Fourthly, (a crying injustice,) that all the parishioners, the clergymen, &c., must contribute to make good what those who employ the labourers squeeze out of their wages.

Meanwhile the evil of necessity increased so rapidly under such a system that the inevitable Nemesis overtook the selfish and the ill-judging. Rents fell, the value of property thus burthened, decreased; the farmers paid enormously in the shape of poor's-rate, and sometimes actually emigrated from one county to another less heavily taxed.

The system of "allowances," or the making up artificially depressed wages out of the poor's-rate, at length not only impoverished the payers, but made the receivers lazy, careless, and vicious. They tried to avoid all work, and to live at the public cost; while masters often rather took a lazy workman who was

partly paid by the parish, than an industrious one who lived by his wages. Reckless marriages, and indifference to the training of their children, were the inevitable consequences. The effect of "allowances," says Mr. Stuart, is to loosen, if not to sever, all bonds of affection between parents and children. If a young man, sometimes a boy of fourteen, receives an allowance on his own account, he may indeed continue to live with his parents, but he does not contribute his earnings to the common stock; he buys his bread and bacon and eats it by himself. The most revolting quarrels arise from mutual accusations of theft, and as the child knows he will be supported by the parish, he loses all dependance on his parents. The parents are not less thoroughly degraded and demoralized; they neglect their children, and do their utmost to prevent them from getting work, for fear the overseer should hear of it, and diminish their allowance.

The monstrous waste of money (says the Report) vanishes as unimportant in comparison with the frightful effects of this system on the happiness and morals of the lower classes. It is as difficult to give the mere reader a distinct impression of the powerful and pernicious influence of it, as, by any description, to convey an adequate idea of the terrors of the plague or of shipwreck. One must associate with the poor, visit poor-houses, question the inhabitants, be present at the paying of the allowances, in order to have an idea of the moral debasement to which this system has given rise. One must hear the pauper threaten that he will desert wife and child if he does not get more money; that he will put his old bedridden mother into the workhouse, or lay her before the overseer's door till he is paid for taking care of her; mothers come without shame to demand the wages of their daughter's incontinence; wives declare with the utmost coolness who are the several fathers of their children—and then say whether the expenditure be the greatest evil produced by the Poor Laws.

Let us now observe the persons and authorities connected with the administration of these laws, viz., the overseer, the vestry or parish-meeting, and the magistrates; for the form is closely connected with the substance of the institution. The overseer is bound to decide how much money is required, from whom and how it is to be levied, and how it is to be applied. In the country this office is generally filled by farmers; in the towns, by shopkeepers and manufacturers. They are elected for one year; sometimes for only three or four months. If they refuse to serve they are subject to a fine. They receive no pay or compensation for loss of time.

These overseers are, of course, often hindered by their business from paying due attention to the poor; while even the most zealous are not in office long enough to acquire the requisite

knowledge and experience. Still oftener, indirect motives are in operation ; partiality, dislike, share in jobs and undertakings, desire of popularity, fear of unpopularity. When, for instance, the overseer sold articles of food, he often found those only deserving of relief who bought of him, and so on. The only check on partiality, extravagance, or dishonesty, was the duty of laying all his accounts before the rate-payers and the magistrates. But this, from various causes, lost its efficacy. The frequent change of the overseer made the amount of blame due to any individual appear too inconsiderable for notice ; or, as I have said, the rate-payers thought they gained more by low wages, than they lost by high rates ; there was no rule or model for the form of the accounts, and nothing distinct could be gathered from a cursory inspection of them. Above all, they feared to irritate the paupers by rigid economy, and to render themselves objects of their formidable vengeance.

The Commissioners close this section on overseers with words to the following effect:—"What can be expected of officers who enter upon their office unwillingly, have no requisite knowledge, no time for the business, and who are exposed to innumerable temptations? They distribute or refuse the public money to their workmen, creditors, debtors, relations, friends, and neighbours ; they are exposed to every kind of pillage and menace ; they find themselves popular and beloved for prodigality; hated and abused, nay, their property and their persons exposed to danger, for care and frugality."

The parish meetings are either "open vestries," or representative. The former consist of all the actual inhabitants who pay poor's rates. Non-resident proprietors have no seat in these meetings, the chief object of which has been to diminish wages at the expense of others. The representative meetings (from five to twenty householders, chosen by the whole parish) have generally been found to work better than the open ones; but even here, partiality and antipathy, or fear of the consequences of a more rigorous administration, have manifested themselves. The plan of subjecting the overseers and parishes to the control of a superior authority—the justices of the peace—was very just; but it was impossible for the latter to go into all the endless details; and the paupers too easily found protection and favour with good-natured magistrates, however false and unjust were their complaints of the parish officers. Every statement of correspondence became so tedious and diffuse, that people preferred adhering to the decision, though this generally entailed an increase of expenditure.

From the year 1794, when the principle, that a part of wages were to be paid out of the poor's-rate, and that a sort of premium was to be paid for every child born, became generally diffused,

and was adopted and enforced by the magistrates, from that time, the evil spread with redoubled force. After a thoroughly false direction had thus been given to the whole system, the inquiry into errors of detail was of little avail.

A peculiar train of evils proceeded from the laws of settlement already mentioned, which secured to hired servants, apprentices, labourers, &c., a settlement as above described. Various expedients were resorted to to prevent such burthens falling on the parish. People hired only those already belonging to it, or, if strangers, for less than a year, or did not allow them to sleep in the parish, or sent them out of it on the thirty-ninth day. Thus each village became a sort of poor-enclosure; assumed a posture of suspicion and hostility towards all others, and settlements were gained or refused by every possible means, deceit and perjury inclusive.

London, April 29, 1835.

In but too close connexion with the poor laws stands the theory, or rather the practice, of illegitimate children. Queen Elizabeth's laws decreed that both parents should provide for the child; or, in case they deserted and left it to the parish, should be liable to imprisonment. A law of James I., in a severer tone of morality, made all such breaches of chastity penal. The mother was condemned to be imprisoned for a year; and, on a second offence, until she could find good securities for her future conduct. But as the mother often absconded, and the child was left on the parish, a law was passed in the reign of Charles II. empowering the magistrate, before the birth of an illegitimate child, to seize so much of the property of the parents as would suffice for its support. Lastly, by a law of George III., it was enacted, that if a woman declared herself pregnant, and named the father of the child, the magistrate, at the request of the overseer, might immediately imprison the man till he had given security for its maintenance. The declaration of any woman was sufficient ground for such a proceeding; the magistrate was not bound, nor even authorized, to make the least inquiry as to truth or falsehood, guilt or innocence, nor even to listen to the defence of the accused.

The consequence of this senseless and unjust law of course was, that loose women soon learned to regard natural children as an easy source of gain; and, according to one witness, out of ten such, nine were sworn to wrong fathers. The accused had only the wretched alternative of marrying or paying. The parish allowed much more for illegitimate than for legitimate children, so that two or three such were a good portion, by means of which many women got husbands who did not scorn to live on the wages of their wives' shame. "I am persuaded," says one wit-

ness, "that three-fourths of these women would not be seduced, had they not the certain prospect of allowance or marriage in consequence." Mothers have even been known to facilitate the seduction of their daughters, in order to get them off their own hands upon those of the parish, or of a husband.

The notion that any good can be done by foundling-hospitals has long been given up. In the magnificent and expensive establishment of that kind here, at its very commencement, (between the 2d of June, 1736, and the 31st of December, 1737,) not less than 5510 were received.*

I pass from this brief survey of the existing evils to the measures for their removal, which have been proposed, accepted, or rejected.

Firstly. Some, as I have mentioned, thought that they had discovered a remedy in the return to a small paper currency. This extravagant scheme was, however, with great justice, rejected.†

Secondly. Others proposed that the care of the poor should be entirely taken from the parishes, and be under the sole management of the Government, as a state charge. Thus all the difficulties respecting settlement, want of work, over population, &c., would be put an end to; time and money saved; unity introduced, instead of the innumerable different modes of management; burthens equalized and lightened, &c. To this it was replied, that between the distinct parish system, and a general government system, a middle course might be taken: that innumerable details could not be managed by a central authority; the operation of parishes and counties was useful, indeed necessary; and that the Government should beware of assuming the least appearance of being able to establish a sort of universal insurance office against misfortune and poverty, improvidence, laziness, and vice. Moreover, the workhouse would then remain almost the sole, and yet the inadequate, form of equal relief; and the supply of money would be neither certain, nor to be taken out of the ordinary funds of the empire, since Scotland and Ireland have no concern with the poor-laws.

Thirdly. Many thought it the most simple and effectual mode to grant the poor small allotments of uncultivated or common land. In this manner, they urged, the poor's-rate would be, if not entirely abolished, yet gradually diminished; suitable labour provided; a taste for work engendered; production increased, &c. The obstacles to the scheme were alleged to be, that farmers or peasants of this kind would be regarded by the parish as an inconvenient new body, within itself; that such allotments of

* Quarterly Review, No. cv.—*See* Translator's note, p. 137.
† Hansard, xvii., 497.

land could not be made in the existing state of the laws without great difficulties, &c.* If, indeed, all these obstacles could be removed, great good might be expected to result from such a scheme.

Fourthly. The system of a labour-rate was warmly recommended. According to this, every payer to the poor's rate should have, instead of that rate, a proportionate number of persons allotted to him to employ and to pay ; or, in case he did not employ them, he should pay the amount of their wages to the poor's-fund. This system has worked well in certain cases, but is liable to great objections. Every sort of compulsion to employ persons at a certain rate of wages diminishes or disturbs the difference between free labourers and paupers ; confounds wages with relief ; and gives work to a man, not because he is a good labourer, but because he is chargeable to the parish. Every man is subjected to a disadvantage, indeed to a tax, as long as he has any property, or has too much pride to put himself on the pauper list. Besides the division of paupers, according to the poor's-rate, presses most unfairly and unequally ; while, for instance, it is light to the manufacturer, the farmer has insufficient employment, the clergyman or physician none, for the men assigned to him.

Fifthly. But the heart of the evil was much more clearly laid open by the following principles, than by any of these or other particular schemes:—

That the condition and the fare of the poor man receiving relief ought to be, not better, but, on the contrary, more rigid and scanty than that of the independent labourer.

That the system of raising wages by means of the poor's-rate is utterly bad.

That the number of children, and the price of corn, affords no just standard whatever for the relief of able-bodied persons.

That the system of management of poor-houses, as well as the laws of settlement and bastardy, stand in need of essential reforms.

As these and other propositions formed the basis of the new Poor-Law Bill, laid before the House on the 14th of August, 1834, I will proceed to give you the most important contents of it, and then close my long report with a few general remarks.

1st. Three commissioners are to be appointed to direct and control the whole system of pauper management throughout England. They are empowered to nominate nine assistant commissioners for the several districts ; to issue directions for all measures and changes connected with the poor ; to remedy abuses, inspect accounts, to order the erection of poor-houses, &c. In a word, they form an effective and powerful central authority, but are of course subject to Parliament and to the ministry.

* Hansard, i. 1319 ; ii. 606 ; iv. 262.

2d. Wherever the union of parishes appears advantageous, several may be united for the management of the affairs of the poor, and, with the aid of chosen guardians, render the levy of the rate more uniform and equable.

3d. The three chief commissioners to decide on the appointment, dismissal, and pay of the officers of the poor, and on expenditure and affairs generally.

4th. Persons able to work who come upon the parish, to be taken into the workhouse, and compelled to work hard; out-door relief, generally, to be gradually abolished.

5th. Persons unable to work, to be maintained by their relations; natural children, by the man who marries their mother.

6th. Hired servants and apprentices to gain no settlement. This can only be gained by payment of poor's-rates.

7th. The laws concerning the parents of illegitimate children to be repealed. The child to follow the mother's settlement, and she to be chargeable with its whole support, and to have no legal plea against, or demand on, the father. If the child become chargeable to the parish, the parish to have the power of compelling the father to pay for its support; but the mere declaration of the mother as to the paternity must be supported by the testimony of at least one witness. This money paid by the father to go exclusively to indemnify the parish for the support of the child, not to the mother.

These few principles do not indeed give the contents of the one hundred and four printed pages of the law, but they show the main points and general tendency.

London, April 30th, 1835.

In the debates on this bill, a few obstinate voices were raised against that, as against all other alterations. These persons were of opinion that the existing laws were sufficient; the more so, that they were certain to be better administered in future. The great majority, on the contrary, were convinced of the necessity of new laws; and directed their objections only against certain points, which led to various modifications of the first scheme. Objections were, and still are, made; which, however, did not change the decision of the majority in Parliament, and of which I give a few by way of specimen.

Objection 1st.—The central board will be all-powerful, or utterly powerless; either superfluous, or mischievous; and the authority of the established magistracy is too much abridged and degraded by that of the assistant commissioners, and by other provisions of the bill.

Answer.—Without a vigorous central control, it were impossible to have any general inspection, or to put an end to the boundless disorder and caprice which has hitherto existed; nor is it

very consistent in those who see such immense advantages in the centralization of all judicial business, to be the vehement opponents of centralization as regards the affairs of the poor. There can be no danger of the omnipotence of public functionaries who are subject to the control of ministers, parliament, and public opinion; nor of their powerlessness; since their powers are established and accurately defined by law. The authority of the magistrates is not, as hitherto, decisive in the last resort; for the precise reason that the incoherence and anarchy resulting from it were the very things to be removed. It was only under such a system that it would have been possible for the south and the north of England to take a totally different course, and for the consequent misery in the former so far to exceed that in the latter. While the poor's rate (calculated upon the income and property-tax of 1812) rose in the south to 6*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, in the north it fell to 1*s.* 7*d.*, and, on an average, the difference was as four to one. All this was not the effect of existing misery, but the misery was created in the south by the adoption of all the false principles which I have explained above. By prudent, though, indeed, very rare measures, the immoderate poor's-rate was reduced again. In Ashford, it amounted in 1818 to 3,450*l.*, and in 1834, to only 1160*l.*;* and in Manchester and Sheffield it was in ten years reduced one-half. It will be the business of the new laws and the new authorities to convert these scattered examples into a universal practice.

Objection 2d.—An equalization of the rate, and a union of parishes is impossible.

Answer.—It is by no means the aim of the new system to introduce an absolute, and, indeed, impracticable, equality, without regard to local circumstances, but to abolish the innumerable and senseless diversities which prevailed under precisely similar circumstances, and oppressed the one whilst they unduly favoured the other. Thus in ten neighbouring villages, there were nine different modes of assessment, and in seven districts of the same city, five. The difficulty of uniting several parishes for a beneficial end generally arose from these diversities: thus, a well-ordered village refused to unite itself with an adjoining one, which was overrun with paupers and dissolute persons. In future, most of these objections will be removed, and many useful objects, such as the building of poor-houses, be facilitated to each.

Objection 3d.—The new law lays far too great a stress on these workhouses. They are too expensive, and lead, in another way, to the old evils.

Answer.—If the labour in them is harder, and the diet more scanty, than an able-bodied man can obtain out of them, the

* Quarterly Review, No. cvi., p. 517.

pressure upon them will diminish; and also, after the removal of all restrictions on the free circulation of labour, it will be much easier for a man to maintain himself.

Objection 4th.—The abolition of allowances is cruel and impracticable. Wages have been depressed by the maladministration of the laws, and will rise again very slowly, and the father of a numerous family reckoned on legal relief which ought not to be suddenly withdrawn.

Answer.—The law empowers the authorities to proceed gradually, and free intercourse will soon equalize wages in the north and south of England.

Objection 5th.—Some provisions of the new law are contrary to the laws of God and nature, which impose the support of children on both parents. The law of God commands the man to marry the woman he has seduced, of which nothing is said in the bill. The mother of a natural child justly looks to its father for support. If this is denied, either she grows hardened in vice, or she destroys the child she despairs of being able to support. The new law is repugnant to all the natural feelings of the people, and gives the men a licence for profligacy.

Answer.—The ordinances of the Mosaic law are not to be regarded as the absolute laws of God. The compulsion on a man to marry any woman who declares herself with child by him is not the way to produce many good and Christian marriages. That all natural and moral feeling impose on both parents the duty of maintaining their offspring, no one has ever thought of contesting; the only question is, how far *legal* compulsion is expedient or practicable? Where that feeling exists, all compulsion is needless; where it is wanting, experience shows that unchastity, recklessness, perjury, and a host of evils are produced by an attempt to force it. When breaches of chastity are not the way to pecuniary aid, or to marriage, seduction will be better and more constantly resisted. Lastly, if the parish chooses, and the father is ascertained, he may be made to pay, as before; only, as is just, for the sole advantage of the child. But, in general, the new law will probably operate as a wholesome check on vice.

So much for the several objections and their confutation. On the whole, matters stood so that they could not be worse, and that any alteration must be an improvement. I hear, too, that the first annual report will exhibit very satisfactory results.

And here I should close my long report, but if you have followed me patiently thus far, you will allow me a few general remarks.

First.—There is an idea widely diffused on the continent, that England, spite of her apparent wealth, nay, in consequence of that wealth, is falling into inevitable poverty and decay. This is a great error. There exist no natural causes for such poverty,

and as soon as the mistakes in the poor-law system are corrected, it is far more probable that the natural condition of the country will prove to be far better than even Englishmen anticipated. But where, from absurd institutions, the pauper lives better than the free labourer, the thief better than the pauper, and the transported felon better than the one under imprisonment,* how is it possible, that all the bad results I have enumerated should not ensue? and what less opulent country would not have gone to utter ruin in a much shorter time, under such a system as that pursued in England? Unquestionably England's progress and elevation is, in some respects, attributable to her laws, and her customs, which have almost the force of laws; but it is impossible to repeat often enough, or emphatically enough, that these laws and customs have, perhaps, as often impeded, cramped, nay, destroyed; that therefore all sweeping admiration or sweeping condemnation are shallow, and all imitation or rejection founded upon those sentiments are erroneous and mischievous.

Secondly.—Just as unfounded is the common assumption that manufactures have created and enhanced the poverty, and that agriculture would have led to less suffering; from which a vast many hasty inferences have been drawn, about the value or the worthlessness of manufactures, about protective or prohibitive legislation, and so forth. In the year 1826, on the contrary, the poor's-rate was highest in the agricultural county of Sussex, and lowest in Lancashire, the centre of manufactures.

Another common assumption, that pauperism always increased with the increasing population of a place is equally destitute of confirmation. In the hundred largest cities in England, the population of which amounts to 3,196,000, the poor's-rate amounted to 7*s.* 6*d.* per head. A hundred smaller towns, with a population of 19,841, paid 15s. per head. The hundred smallest villages, with a population of 1708, averaged 1*l.* 11*s.* 11¼*d.* per head. In the first hundred, 1 in 13, in the second, 1 in 8, in the third, 1 in 4, was a pauper. The increase of pauperism was, between 1803 and 1813, in the first, 1½, in the second, 2½, in the third, 8½, per cent. In Liverpool and Manchester the greatest manufacturing towns, the poor's-rate amounted to only 4*s.* 2*d*, and 5*s.* 8*d.* per head.†

But that people may not, from these facts, rush with equal precipitancy to the very opposite conclusions, I must say this:—The greater distress in the country seems to me to proceed, partly

* Bulwer's England, i. 222. This is the reference given by Herr von Raumer, who was doubtless ignorant that the original source of the information he quotes is to be found in the "Selections of Reports on the Administration of the Poor Laws," p. 261, Report of Mr. Chadwick; by whom the evidence establishing these facts was collected.—*Translator.*

† Extracts concerning administration of poor laws, p. 345.

from the far more general adoption of the bad system of allowances there than in the towns; partly, from the far more injurious consequences of the restrictions imposed by the law of settlement on small places than on populous ones. Under a rational system, the greater apparent distress of the peasantry would be gradually removed, or the contrast would at least be diminished. The fact, that landed property is much more heavily charged with poor's-rate than fluctuating income, has had some, though not much, influence on the numbers of the poor. In June, 1823, 1,760,000*l.* of the poor's-rate was laid on houses; 4,602,000*l.* on land; and only 247,000*l.*, (or about a sixth) on manufactures.* This difference appears still greater, when the question is, whether the landowner or the manufacturer be most highly taxed? whether they want prohibiting duties or corn laws, &c.? Doubtless, however, the burthen on the land will be considerably lessened.

It is objected that any legal provision for the poor is destructive of all Christian piety and beneficence. That this is not true is proved by the example of England, where those sentiments have never ceased to operate; while in Ireland, where there is no poor's-rate, so little is done by the wealthy to alleviate the sufferings of the poor.

We come now to the general and inevitable question—whether the poor have a *right* to relief? If the main end of all society is the protection of the helpless, and the increase of the total sum of civilization, happiness and virtue, it seems to me that it is impossible to deny to the poor this right; nor to the rich the corresponding duty.

A more intricate and difficult question is that of the measure and limits of the claim; and how far it is expedient to enforce it by the legal sanction. Nothing can be predicated generally, or *in abstracto;* in every case it must depend on a thousand considerations. It is certainly heartless and stupid to look with indifference at distress, under the pretext that it is inevitable, and means may be devised (without falling into the extravagances of some systems of poor's-taxes) to extort something from those rich, who will give nothing voluntarily; and it is equally certain that the funds so obtained might be usefully applied without increasing idleness or vice.

I must close these remarks with the—*radical*—assertion that most of our laws and institutions have a tendency to favour the rich and the powerful, and to bear hard on the poor; and hence follow arguments for changes, alleviations, voluntary alms and for the imposition of poor laws. As a proof of this I will only mention a few facts. All immoveable direct taxes cease with

* Hansard, xxii. 444.

time to operate as taxes ; all indirect press proportionally more on the poor than the rich. Machines and horses, those arms of the rich, are not taxed equally with the arms of the poor man ; while a large proportion of the earnings of the latter go to the capitalist. Mr. Bulwer* affirms that every labourer pays a third of his earnings in taxes : if this be true, that opulent man does not enjoy an immense advantage over him ? Besides, the corn laws raise the income of the landholder at the cost of the poor ; and the fundholder has made corresponding gains by the rise in public securities.

In order, therefore, that well-meaning benevolent men (like the St. Simonians) may not run into essentially absurd theories, and the poor into wild and destructive practices, it is the duty of our lawgivers to call to mind the example of Moses, Solon, Lycurgus, and Servius Tullus, and to endeavour to find out remedies or mitigations for this fundamental evil. To refuse to do this altogether, or to give it up in indolent despair, would be no less wrong than to attempt to regulate every detail by countless laws, and thus to throw everything into confusion by over-governing. A wise direction from the supreme authority, a lively feeling of humanity in the opulent, and a Christian resignation to certain diversities of outward condition in the poor—all must combine to ensure a real progress towards security and happiness, and to avert a dissolution of social order.

England has made important steps in the career of improvement ; may other states consent to learn from her example before the evil reaches an equal height with them, which perhaps they may not find equal resources to overcome.

LETTER XVI.

Party prejudices of England—Peers for Life—Aristocracies of France and England—Lawyer Peers—Eligibility of Peers to sit in the House of Commons—*Ex officio* Seats in the House of Commons—Difficulties attending the formation of a Ministry—Balance of Parties—Negro Slavery—Objections to Emancipation—Notions on private Property—New Ministry—Causes of Changes in England—Tory Blunders—"Measures not Men"—Freedom of the Press—English Newspapers—Speeches of Sir R. Peel and Lord John Russell—Lord Melbourne and O'Connell—Corrupt practices at Elections.

London, Saturday, April 18th, 1835.

Recent events in England have given occasion to the agitation of questions and the starting of possibilities which were not so

* England, vol. i. 187.

much as thought of in the last century, mainly because the Revolution of 1688 was held to be "a final measure." But this security, this faith in the immutability of human things, together with the general admiration of English institutions, were precisely the causes that many defects passed unnoticed—many measures were left incomplete—many which had a principle of life were allowed to petrify: till at length the censure grew louder than the praise, and the demand for change more powerful than the principle of conservation. Doubtless much of what is attacked is still valuable and vital, and the problem often consists only in the means of freeing this vitality from what oppresses and chokes it; yet there are also such crying evils, such mischievous chasms in legislation, such rooted prejudices, that to a German, and especially a Prussian, it is often impossible, at first, to understand the facts or the arguments he hears. I find here a world of violent contradictions, which require to be solved and harmonized by more lofty and comprehensive principles. But so long as most Englishmen regard their own point of view as the sole, unalterably, and inviolably right, and that of their opponent as absolutely wrong, each party loses sight of that higher ground which overlooks both, and which it ought to be the aim of all civilization and all government to reach.

I am brought back by these reflections to my last letter but one, and to the question of the expediency of peers for life. This has been discussed in the French Chamber of Peers, with a depth, solidity, and real liberality rare in Paris. The state of things in France, however, materially differs from that in England. The hereditary aristocracy there enjoys nothing like the consideration and influence of the English. It is poor, and not strengthened by the laws of inheritance as this is—not to advert to other causes. Hence it sunk under the weight of the opinion of the day; and the people in their anti-aristocratic fervour, did not perceive that their new institutions greatly increased the once dreaded power of the king.

The introduction of peers for life into the Upper House is vehemently opposed by many, for no other reason than that it is new. But it may be maintained that there is long and abundant precedent for such an institution. The English and Irish bishops, the Scotch and Irish peers, are nothing more nor less than peers for life; the former, nominated by the king; the latter, by the whole body of the nobles of Ireland, for life, and by those of Scotland, for only one parliament. The abstract principle, that one chamber should be hereditary, and the other elective, has not therefore been strictly adhered to: a middle course has for years been the practice. These nominated or elected members of the House of Peers are by no means untinctured with aristocratical opinions; on the contrary, they are often their most vehe-

ment champions; while many of the heads of the oldest and richest families incline strongly to the opinions generally called liberal. It is remarkable that new-made lords are more commonly violent aristocrats than men who are more tranquil on the question of their descent, as well as more familiar with the possession of wealth. No class, for instance, contains such stiff-necked defenders of all existing things (existing abuses included, *bien entendu*) as the lawyer-peers. One cause of this is that from the habit they have acquired of regarding law exclusively in its administrative details, they find it impossible to attain to the comprehension of the variety of, and the necessity for, national legislation: examples of this may be seen in the debates on schools, churches, and universities. The French Jacobins fell into the contrary faults.

The Reform Bill has certainly stripped the aristocracy of many of its means of influence; these, however, are still very great, particularly in the counties, as the nearly equal strength of the parties shows. The eagerness to be admitted into their circles is still extreme in the higher *bourgeoisie*, and marriages between nobles and commoners tend to render the line which divides them less striking. Unquestionably open war between the two Houses cannot long endure without evil consequences to each; but it is quite a mistake to imagine that England is on the verge of equalization, *à la Française*. There is far too much *à plomb* in this country for people so lightly to turn things topsy-turvy.

That lords should not be able to sit in the Houses of Peers and Commons at once is obviously reasonable. But whether they might not be admitted into the latter, if they were elected and chose to resign their seats for the time in the former, is a question deserving further consideration. The effect of this absolute and unqualified separation, is, to throw many distinguished men out of their places. Who deserved the peerage more than Burke? yet he would have been as little suited to the House of Lords as Chatham or Brougham. Both these distinguished men were taken off their natural ground, and their extraordinary powers, to a great degree, crippled. The question mooted above only goes to this—are there no means of conferring the reward, without cramping the activity?

The inquiry becomes still more important when we regard the constitution of the ministry. Lord Althorp's elevation furnished the reason, or the pretext, for dissolving the Melbourne administration, in a manner as precipitate as it was *maladroit*. If the constitution permitted a peer to remain at his post in the House of Commons, on a temporary renunciation of his hereditary seat, every statesman might be employed in the place for which he was best fitted. Sir Robert Peel's self-devotion—or his mistake, if you will—in the struggle for the Tories, surely gave him a

stronger claim to the peerage than most men can urge; but would not this be putting him into a false position for the rest of his life?

Another inconvenience is, the necessity for those of the ministers who are not peers to be members of the House of Commons. This limits the king's choice; indeed, it makes it depend upon the will of the electors. You may say that the man who cannot secure a seat at a general election must be insignificant or unpopular,—in short, unfit for office; but temporary unpopularity is no proof whatever of unworthiness; and a minister ought not to have to consult the opinions and the wishes of any particular constituency. The simplest remedy for this inconvenience seems to be, that ministers appointed by the king should, in virtue of their office, have seats in the House of Commons. But this would probably appear to many Englishmen an awful violation of the representative system; just as, from fear of the power of the crown, almost all magistrates and official men are ineligible; though the royal prerogative is the last thing from which danger is now to be apprehended.

All these things add to the difficulties attendant on the formation of a ministry,—which are extreme. The two great parties are now so violently opposed, and at the same time, so nearly balanced, that the division rests with the Radicals, or rather, with those victims of long injustice, the Irish. Without their co-operation, Lord Melbourne will be as little able to command a majority in the House of Commons as Sir Robert Peel; and thus the main question is—how far the former and O'Connell can or will act together? If Lord Melbourne and his friends cannot form a ministry, probably Sir Robert Peel, with a somewhat different following, will return to the weary way he left. But how he can succeed, after his open hostility to all changes in the Irish church, is just as unintelligible, as how the Duke of Wellington could imagine that all political reforms were to be disposed of by such means as his unqualified opposition.

To a man who is placed without this English party circle, what is here thought impossible appears so easy. If Whigs and Tories would agree on the only wise and just policy with regard to the Catholics, there were an end to all talk of injustice, spoliation, agitation, rebellion, and what not. If they will not, no ministry can last, whoever be at its head.

Strange!—the so-called private property of the West Indian slaveholders has been annihilated; twenty millions have been applied by the nation to indemnify them, and to secure freedom to some hundreds of thousands; yet, to apply any part of the property of the church or the state to the giving a sound and religious education to five or six millions of Irish, is called impious and revolutionary!

Now that I have touched on the subject of slavery, I must say a few more words on it. That it is a necessary or salutary institution, as the great men of antiquity thought, nobody now maintains. The modern objections to its abolition turned entirely on two points. First, that the slaves were well treated and happy;—that the humanity and kindness of their masters rendered their condition not a hard one, &c. These speeches are the echo of those of our shallow defenders of villenage. The slave upon whom duties are imposed while no corresponding rights are conferred, is subject to force alone; and it is the indisputable office of legislation and of civil society to constitute for him a legal status which may indicate the rules and the limits of that force. It is true that law will not do every thing; but the abolition of slavery will by no means remove occasions for the practice of the virtues and the charities which the slave-owners are said to possess in so eminent a degree, and which will be sure never to want exercise.

These flowery descriptions of the happiness of the slaves are not however always confirmed by nearer investigation, which too often discloses, on the one hand, the barbarism and demoralization resulting from ill treatment, on the other, the cruelty begotten by power. The black population, since the importation of slaves into the British Colonies has been prohibited, is said to have fallen off as much as twenty-two per cent. in ten years; while the white and coloured population, notwithstanding the unfavourable climate, increases.* These facts are sufficiently significant.

It is most lamentable that, in spite of all prohibitions, the slave-trade to the colonies of the Continental powers continues. Between the years 1815 and 1830, six hundred and eighty thousand slaves were imported into the Havannah and the Brazils; and between 1824 and 1827, ten thousand eight hundred and fourteen slaves were captured by British cruisers and set at liberty.

The second main objection to all interference of the legislature in this affair is based on the assertion of the planters, that the slaves are their private property, with which no one has any right to interfere.

This notion is a perfect focus of confusion, injustice, and absurdity. In civil society, it is by no means true that every man may "do what he will with his own;" on the contrary, the very idea of law includes *restraint* as well as *protection*. Abusive employments of property are forbidden; divisions of it are sanctioned, or prevented; incomes are taxed, and so on.

But if this argument of absolute private right is stupid and uncivilized as applied to things, how much more barbarous when

* Hansard, iii. 1410.

applied to men! and what a *salto mortale* do these defenders of slavery make from Christian benevolence, to the depths of such inhumanity as this!

In the year 1823, the British Parliament required of the colonial legislatures to draw up and submit proposals for the cure of these evils; but the mother country was afraid of interfering too much with the colonial legislatures, and thus the latter did nothing effective. The Whig ministry, therefore, in 1833, took this important matter in hand, with the purpose of cautiously abolishing slavery and of indemnifying the planters. Hitherto no slave could purchase his freedom; and the severest punishment for the utmost cruelty of a master was, that he was compelled to sell the slave—and pocket the money.

The two principal points of the plans adopted by Parliament are,—

1st. The master receives a compensation calculated upon certain average prices of slaves.

2d. The slaves are at once free; but are bound to serve their masters for a certain time, at certain wages—which are determined by the sum the master demands as compensation.*

The Duke of Wellington opposed the emancipation of the slaves, on the ground that they were no better prepared for freedom in 1833 than in 1830—a position which is equally true of 1933, if their condition remains unaltered, and no attempt is made to educate them. The Duke further asserted that the abolition of slavery would cause only ruin to all parties. Even Peel opposed it; yet in the last King's speech they were compelled to insist upon the happy consequences of this measure of their opponents.†

Great have been the controversies about the relative merits of ancient and modern forms of government, and the real progress of mankind in the higher regions of policy and legislation. But it can hardly be denied, that freedom, independence, humanity, and the education of the masses have advanced; and particularly, that the abolition of slavery is an immense stride. I can only agree with one objection of the opponents; *i. e.* that the sum granted as compensation is too high. In the same way the loss sustained by the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and of other feudal privileges among us, was over-rated. But better be too generous than grudging and unjust.

So the new ministry is launched, and with few alterations, and without any coalition with the Tories. This re-appointment is a fresh proof how great a mistake was their dismissal, which has had the worst results; personal offence, universal irritation, dis-

* Hansard, xvii. 1194.

† Hansard, xviii. 518. Edinburgh Review, lii. 297.

solution of parliament, loss of time, &c. Whether or not the Whigs be enemies of their country, their opponents have clearly lost the campaign, and they remain (for the present) masters of the field. This is a serious loss to the Tories, for whatever the future may bring forth, their means of warfare are permanently diminished, and will be yet further impaired whenever the laws on Ireland and the corporations pass.

The events and wants of the age have, doubtless, mainly hastened on the changes which have taken place in England; but next to these, the most active cause has been the bad tactics and strategy of the Tories: just as the French Revolution was precipitated by the opposition of the French nobles to Turgot's plans of improvement. Of this I will only mention one or two proofs.

The Tory system stood unshaken and triumphant during the French war, and even up to the time of Lord Liverpool's death. Canning, a Tory, Pitt's ablest disciple and follower, and an opponent of parliamentary reform, was disdained and rejected by Wellington, professedly, because no true Englishman could ally himself with a minister who advocated Catholic emancipation. Canning was thus driven into the arms of the Whigs, while the very men who denounced emancipation as ruinous were those who carried it. The Whigs very properly supported a measure they had always approved, and which, at the same time, strengthened their chances for power, by removing an obstacle so long existing between them and the king. The high Tories, on the other hand, were offended with Wellington and Peel for deserting long-cherished principles on the ground of necessity; and predicted, very truly, that Catholic emancipation would not be a final measure, as Wellington and his allies believed, or at least affirmed.

This ecclesiastical question was closely connected with political ones,—especially with that concerning East Retford. Instead of transferring the franchise from this borough, convicted of gross corruption, to a large manufacturing town, (as Mr. Huskisson proposed,) it was given to a county, where it went to increase the aristocratical interest. This denial of even the smallest reform drove people to keener inquiries and higher demands. Another blunder of the Tories,—which occasioned the rupture of Mr. Huskisson and his friends.

The last and most fatal was the Duke of Wellington's declaration against all and every reform. This mistake was the ruin of his ministry, and opened a free course to the Whigs. All attempts to arrest the Reform Bill were fruitless. If we regard this as an evil, the Tories have to bear, at least, half the blame; if as a good, they can claim none of the merit.

Precisely in the same manner, the rejection of the Tithe Bill

last year,—that boasted triumph of the Peers,—has been no less injurious to their own interests than to those of the Irish,—Catholics and Protestants. So much, by way of proof that the Tories, in spite of the greater knowledge of business for which they have generally credit, frequently act with all the imprudence and *maladdresse* of passion; often injure themselves, and sometimes prejudice a good cause. Never would such men as Pitt and Canning have so ordered a campaign; never so pertinaciously have defended an indefensible post.

We may conclude that the new ministry have come to some understanding with the king and the Irish. From the latter they have probably little opposition to dread, as they must see that Ireland has nothing to hope but from the Whigs.

It is assumed that the choice of the ministers rests with the king. It is, however, in a great measure, dependent on the electors. This has, no doubt, its good side; it shows confidence, gives occasion for a sort of popular assent, justifies a man from the charge of giving up principle for place, and so on. But on the other hand, it places the dicision of a general question in the hands of a particular constituency; and (not to mention objections I have before stated) gives peers who are appointed to office an undue advantage over commoners. So long as both parties had boroughs at command, there was no difficulty, but now it may become a serious one. It were certainly advisable to inquire into the expediency of this institution, as well as into that strange chronological rule, that no man can be elected to serve in Parliament who accepts a place created since 1705.

The favourite cry of "measures, not men," is unmeaning. At the fountain of authority they must be one,—inspired by one spirit. Where they diverge, some serious objection lies, either against the measures, or the men.

A just mean must result from the perfect unison of measures and of men, and must rest on broad and comprehensive foundations. Both must have positive (not merely negative) objects and purposes. These conditions are wanting, when (for instance) Stanley and his friends support all political, and oppose all ecclesiastical, reforms. They do not form the living, vigorous, and all-ruling Aristotelic *Energeia*, but a fluctuating party, which, though it may come in here and there to decide in favour of a sane opinion, is totally incompetent and inept for the consecutive and harmonious direction of *the whole* machine of government.

I cannot believe in the justice of the opinion which a clever man expressed to me the other day, "that this was all mere talk, and that the sole source and end of all movements and changes was, desire for place." This desire may co-operate with other

causes, but, in England, the questions at issue are vast, real, and important; whereas, in France, the *objects* of the strife are often scarcely intelligible.

Unfortunately, so much time is lost here in debate, that, of many important and needful laws, not above one or two can be got through the Commons. What will happen in the Lords, nobody knows.

After what I have said concerning censorships of the press, and what others, without my knowledge or consent, have printed of mine on that subject, I have a right to say, on the one hand, that I am a friend to freedom of the press, and, on the other, that I am not ignorant of the difficulties which attend all the means hitherto used to check its licentiousness. I see, then, that *here* matters cannot be otherwise than they are; but I am as little delighted with the results as with those at Berlin.

Let us, this time, put aside the *form* and the legal supervision, and look only at the *matter:* we shall find that, in the newspapers of this country (of which I see a great number at the clubs), either in jest or in earnest, with reflection or with passion, eloquently or vulgarly, acutely or stupidly, everything possible and conceivable, for and against ministers, is said. Every truth, every incident, presents various points for thorough investigation; and the many-sided is (as the higher) justly opposed to the one-sided. England thus certainly enjoys the great advantage of more varied and profound inquiry, than if a censor erased before, or a magistrate punished after, printing. It by no means, however, follows that the sum of all these discussions involves no error or no passion. Every newspaper has its own spectacles, and represents the colour under which objects appear to it as the only true one; while readers attach themselves with violent partiality to one of this or that tinge. It is astonishing how dexterous these writers are in seizing every fact or argument, principal or secondary, under this one colour, and presenting it so to the eyes of others. They trouble themselves much less than with us about rival political colourists. This practice engenders the most intense, the most unconquerable prejudices and oppositions; such as have existed among the English (spite of all their wisdom) for centuries.

If the judgments pronounced on ministers rested on careful examination and profound thought, these diversities would be, if not just, yet pardonable; but one too often sees exaggeration and sinister intention; and one is, to use the gentlest term, displeased: till, after long familiarity, one comes to regard these party clamours as mere empty and discordant sound. But how can we expect that, in so plenteous a harvest, there should not be some blighted ears and some worthless grain? That mode of culture is still the best which produces the largest crops.

The addresses of Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell to their constituents rise far above this gossip of the day, and have a historical importance. They exhibit a remarkable difference, even in form. The one, eminently clever, employing all the arts of language, form, and power of expression ; the other, written with more feeling than rhetoric, and trusting to a simple chronological enumeration of facts. The one suggesting the fairest hopes, showing the brightest, noblest aims in the remote distance ; the other distinctly pointing out the immediate and the necessary, with its essential conditions. Lord John has one great advantage over Sir Robert: namely, that he quietly pursues the same path he has trodden for years ; and that the future is, with him, only the immediate continuation of the past. Peel, on the other hand, had, in fact, to give up his earlier course, and to promise to pursue a new one, more enlightened and more suited to the times; which promise some hear with incredulity, and others with disapprobation. Lord John Russell spoke out decidedly on the two subjects which must now be disposed of before all others,—the Corporations and the Irish Church ; Sir Robert Peel said, in fact, nothing about either, and only mentioned his project of reforms in the English church. This was putting forward a lesser evil in order to slur over a greater ; and it has not succeeded.

Lord Melbourne denies having come to any compromise with O'Connell ; and no doubt his assurance is *literally* true. Both, however, know what they mutually wish, and what they have to expect from each other; and upon this alone rests the possibility of the duration of the present ministry. The applause with which the Tories received this assurance of Lord Melbourne's was given the moment before he declared, to their astonishment, that he should bring in Lord John Russell's clause as a *government measure.* It was evident, therefore, that the king had consented to it; and that the support of the Irish members depends on it, follows of course.

Why all the several posts are filled as they are, and no otherwise, can be satisfactorily answered only by the initiated ;—but Lord Palmerston's appointment, by preference, to the post of Secretary to Foreign Affairs, proves that his popularity (which was not great before, even in England) has increased, precisely because he is disliked by the three great Northern powers. On this ground he has, perhaps, a better chance at this election than at the former; most assuredly all insinuations from abroad will be perfectly thrown away upon English electors.

There is one fact which shocks me; namely, that the papers mention, with great praise and exultation, that patriotic societies have subscribed large sums to pay the expenses of the new elections. Ordinary and inevitable expenses, for travelling, loss of time, &c., electors and elected might surely defray themselves ;

and that expenses of any other kind should be publicly acknowledged as at once necessary and ruinous,—that no disgust at this should be expressed,—is the greatest scandal, and the way to resolve all popular representation into a traffic and a system of corruption, analogous to the Polish regal election, and equally fatal. The hereditary boroughs, bestowed by a few individuals at their pleasure, were a great evil ; but not a greater than this monstrous abuse, which seems to have increased with the change of the elective system. Perhaps a time will come when people will discover a bright side in this defect of the English constitution, as they did in that. Then it will be, a fair tribute or tax which unfair riches pays to oppressed poverty ; a laudable, voluntary means of equalizing unequally divided burthens ; a sabbath or jubilee year for the children of toil ; joyful saturnalia for those who have otherwise no share in the pleasures and luxuries of "high life."

These corrupt practices inevitably lead electors daily more and more vehemently to enforce upon their representatives the duty of voting for annual parliaments ; and will make the whole business of election, and the form of government, depend upon the accident whether, in the struggle between buyers and sellers, those who pay or those who receive shall get the upper hand. At present all parties are agreed in finding plausible excuses, or in passing over the evil in silence, because each hope to have the *elixir vitæ* of the heavier purse on his side.

LETTER XVII.

Climate of England—Houses—Fires—Museum—St. Paul's Cathedral—St. Peter's—English Drama—English Law.

London, Sunday, April 19th, 1835.

I HAVE often, and with reason, described and boasted how much I see and learn here ; but that you may not fall into the foul sin of envy, and undervalue the comforts of your country and your home, I must send you a few hints of the shady side of the picture.

The root of most of the miseries is the London climate,—such, at least, as it has exhibited itself to me from my arrival up to the present day. It is true I see the sun, but not in his golden radiance ; for though here is wealth enough to gild every thing else,

he alone appears red as a copper kreuzer, or pale as a silver groschen. The atmosphere of Italy is so transparent, that it heightens all colour, but this bounds the view, or quite conceals the distance. The thick fog which generally prevails is thoroughly impregnated with water, and this, blended with the air, is chilling and penetrating to a degree of which we, in Berlin, have no idea. I must now admit that clear dry frost is, without comparison, less injurious than this damp, wetting, ice-house air. The doors and windows are not quite so bad as in Rome, but much less carefully constructed, and less close than ours. We do not want them, say the English; and when I try to contradict them, my voice trembles with cold. Although the grates consume a monstrous quantity of coals, the temperature of the rooms is never equal. If by dint of a great deal of heaping on, stirring, raking out ashes, &c., I have at length succeeded in making a good fire, I am scorched on one side, while, if I turn my head on the other, I see my own breath. If I let the fire go out, the room is cold instantly, from the constant draught through the enormous chimney.

When I go to the Museum there is an end to all these sufferings—for there is no fire at all; or, if there is one, I have never been able to find it. In spite of woollen stockings, my feet are ice-cold, and I am obliged from time to time to warm my hands in my pockets. The consequence is tooth ache, with all its agreeable caprices and varieties. To-day the tooth is quiet; and now the climate has seized upon one leg, so that I can hardly walk.

London, April 20th, 1835.

I went yesterday to St. Paul's Cathedral, which I had only seen from without. The effect it produced on me was, I confess, very meagre and poor. It forces comparisons with St. Peter's, and every one of these comparisons is to its disadvantage. In the first place, every imitation falls short of its original. That this is the case as to size, is less important than the total want of variety, of internal decoration, of harmony or grandeur of colour, or of pictures; which is ill compensated by the cold white monuments to Britain's naval heroes, scattered through the cold white waste. As often as I entered St. Peter's church, a feeling of harmony, of a sublime satisfaction and enjoyment, took possession of me. The architecture, without any distinct influence on the mind, vaguely excited pleasurable emotions, and called up thoughts and feelings which other places had never produced, and which St. Paul's church is certainly not calculated to give birth to. It is a *puritanized* St. Peter's; and however great may be the excellencies of puritanism in other respects, to Art it is, if not fatal, at least barren and cold. These impressions are heightened by the very poetical situation of St. Peter's, the utterly prosaic, of St. Paul's.

Yesterday I became acquainted with Mr. R——, a lover of German literature; our opinions coincided on a number of literary questions. Unfortunately he confirmed the report of the decline of the English stage, and the monotonous reign of the modern Italian opera.

Mr. H—— assured me that the structure and administration of English law were so intricate, so unsystematic and irregular, that no foreigner could possibly understand them: bad hearing for me—but worse for Englishmen. Yet I think I have learned many of the more important points from Blackstone, though not the quirks and finesses.

LETTER XVIII.

Exchange—Bank—Lloyd's Coffee-house—Naples and London—Commercial Spirit—West India Docks—Absence of Soldiers—Standing Armies.

London, April 22d, 1835.

Yesterday as I was on my way to visit B——, I met Mr. N——, in an omnibus, and he had the goodness to show me the Bank, the Exchange, and Lloyd's Coffee-house,—the centre of the world of money and of trade. What one sees, and what, though unseen, necessarily presses upon one's thoughts and imagination, make an impression as peculiar as it is vast. When Sir Roger Gresham founded the Exchange, his most sanguine wishes or his boldest conjectures could never have anticipated the mighty amount of business which has since been transacted within these walls. Boundless treasures flit invisibly from side to side; gain and loss, prosperity and adversity, joy and grief, pass in rapid and often unexpected succession. All the arrangements bespeak the greatest simplicity, fitness, and completeness. The numbers and letters of the bank-stock, or public funds, are inscribed above the head of each clerk in the Bank. At Lloyd's, close to the dial which tells the hour, is one still more interesting here, which tells the direction of the wind, and is connected with the weathercock on the roof. Intelligence of the arrivals and departures of ships, of the existence and fate of vessels in all parts of the world; reports from consuls and commissioners resident in every foreign town; newspapers and gazettes from every country, are here to be found, arranged in such perfect and convenient order, that the entire actual state of the commer-

cial world may be seen in a few minutes, and any of the countless threads which converge to this centre may be followed out with more or less minuteness. The whole earth,—or the whole commercial machinery of the earth,—appeared to me to be placed in the hands of the directors of Lloyd's Coffee-house.

Mr. N——, whose principal business consists in underwriting, *i. e.*, insuring ships, remarked to me how much there was for them to learn, to know, to reflect, and to decide upon ; for example, the ship's build, her lading, the time of year, the place of her destination, &c. How often they are obliged to draw elaborate conclusions from vague and scattered accounts of danger or of safety, and how much might be won or lost according to their decision. It is, he concluded, an incessant intellectual activity and excitement. Where can anything like this be found except in London? and how small does everything else appear in comparison with the magnitude and extent of these operations!

I was in the best disposition in the world to find out and observe all this for myself, but the last remark flung me suddenly into opposition ; and I said to myself,—And so, then, these pursuits which, whatever be their vivacity or magnitude, go at last only to split the world into two parts, the debtor and the creditor ;—these views, which resolve everything into questions of distance and of money,—do really embrace the highest possible intellectual activity and excitement! And all former nations and races of men were intellectually poor and contemptible, because they did not devote their whole souls to the business of catching the ships of every sea in the nets of Lloyd's Coffee-house, and of pocketing premiums on insurance! And the human mind, then, has attained its widest reach when it embraces the papers from Hamburg and New York on the one hand, those from the Cape of Good Hope or Calcutta on the other, and the next moment can learn whether or not thievery goes on flourishingly in the rogues' colony of Sydney!

With all the rapidity of an underwriter, I put on my wishing-cap, and transported myself to Naples. When the Neapolitan stretches himself on the shores of his sea of chrysophras, and indolently sucking the crimson pulp of his golden oranges, sees Vesuvius in its glowing and awful magnificence before him, and over his head the eternal blue, would he exchange this "excitement," this enjoyment, for all that Lloyd's Coffee-house, all that dingy London, could offer him? And then, turning my arms against myself, I asked, with melancholy and vexation, why I could not be satisfied with my little hazel-bower, but must run after English "excitements," like a fool?

Commerce has been the grand discoverer and conqueror of the world : it has produced a community of knowledge and of interests, which is invaluable, and which will strengthen the bonds

between man and man : but its apparent boundless extent, all the calculations of latitude and longitude, all the hopes built upon the points of the compass, vanish before one glance into the starry firmament, before one pulse of generous love, nay, before one sigh from the breast, which, like Memnon's pillar, responds to the touch of some ray from heaven.

April 22d, 1835.

I rose this morning in better strength than if I had raked away more of the night at———g ; and, indeed, I wanted it, to go through a London day. I was in a mercantile English humour, and susceptible enough to everything new and remarkable. I have delivered a great number of fashionable letters to fashionable people here, who, being occupied with more important things, naturally take no cognizance of me, and will readily forgive me for doubting whether I have any great loss. Mr. C. B. (an eminent merchant), with whom I accidently made acquaintance on the road between Prague and Dresden, on the contrary, devoted to me a whole day of his time, here so precious, and has appointed another for a similar undertaking. We drove first to the West India Docks, an immense basin, artificially dug or hollowed out by machinery, long, broad, and deep enough to contain a great number of the largest merchantmen, and flanked on both sides by immeasurable warehouses for sugar, coffee, rum, dye-woods, mahogany, &c. There were some trunks of the latter of such enormous size, that, in our country, pilgrimages would be made to an oak of the same dimensions. From hence we crossed the Thames to see the Tunnel, a wonderful work of human audacity and skill, compared to which, the cave or passage cut through the soft mountains at Pausilippo appears a mere trifle.

We next went to the celebrated brewery of Barclay and Perkins. As to the Tunnel, the plan gives a short but sufficient account ; the brewery has been described by all travellers, so no repetition. I saw a hundred and fifty gigantic horses for carrying out the beer, in the stables. The carters here do not yet seem converted to the faith in the superiority of the thin-legged blood-horses for draught. This brewery contains and supports more men than many small towns ; and far surpasses them in capital. It was here quite clear to me that the English, with their unrestrained competition, have the start of the continent for a long time to come, from their immense capital, and the saving effected by the minute division of labour in the great machines and manufactories ; and that they make large incomes with small profits, whilst many a manufacturer in other countries will starve with high interest on his small capital.

While rowing up the Thames, from the Tunnel to London

Bridge, our boatman told us that, on Easter Sunday, a steamer had taken 2375 people from London to Greenwich, where the sum of 50*l.* was taken from 12,000 persons, who paid a penny a head for seeing a new railway.

From the brewery we went to the Custom-house, to see the great room, where the principal duties are paid. The proceedings are as simple as they are expeditious. The merchandise is unloaded in the docks, valued, booked, and warehoused. As soon as anything is to be withdrawn from the warehouse for inland consumption, the merchant pays the regular duty at the Custom-house, and receives the goods on showing a receipt or order. Almost all sales follow immediately upon examination, and always with the intervention of a broker. The usual difficulty of taxing goods according to their value, is diminished by the great experience of the sworn officers, and by the forfeiture of the goods, with a fine of ten per cent., in case of too low an estimate being given. For example ; about six sorts of sugar of different qualities were laid out as samples ; the hogsheads or bags were brought in rapid succession, and the valuer pierced a hole in each with a semi-circular iron, and drew out a sample : this he compared with the sample on the table, and called out the number on the hogshead or bag according to which the duty was fixed. All this passed with the greatest quiet, uniformity, and rapidity.

Not a soldier or sentinel is to be seen ; generally speaking, soldiers are hated, and their interference still more so. A just respect for liberty, a just feeling of the necessity of maintaining order by law, and by the civil power alone, is certainly at the bottom of this. Doubly just is the aversion to a paid standing army, which often consists of very ignoble soldiers. On the other hand, a national force is absolutely necessary to the nations of the continent ; and our system destroys all antipathy between citizen and soldier, inasmuch as every man unites both characters in his own person.

It would be easy to show that this union and reconciliation of the civil and the military spirit, thus giving tone and firmness to the one, and humanity and mildness to the other, is a higher form, and produces a better result, than can be obtained by severing them, or leaving them to take different directions.

LETTER XIX.

Radical opinions and Tory saws—Concession—English Church—Incomes of Bishops—Voluntary system—Education Expenses—Steam Printing-press—Intellectual power—Westminster Abbey—English Manners—Education of Women—Covent Garden—Macbeth—Richmond—English Architecture—Fashion and Flattery.

London, April 23d, 1835.

I FIND it much more easy to appreciate and understand the exaggerations and mistakes of the Radicals, than the principles which I hear from many high Tories. Thus, for example, when the former cry up the United States, overlooking the dark parts of the picture, such as slavery; or the peculiar geographical advantages, such as boundless space for fresh colonization, and draw inferences which, as applied to England, are false. Here I have something before me; I see land, and can pursue my inquiries into the details; such as, what institutions are worthy of imitation? what require to be modified or altered? whether those of Europe be stronger or feebler through age? whether an elective president be preferable to an hereditary monarch? which is the best system of taxation, provision for the poor, &c. &c.?

But what can I say when well-meaning, and, in other respects, sensible men daily preach to me that in a state (and more especially in England,) nothing whatever must be conceded, because every concession excites fresh demands, and general ruin will be the inevitable consequence.

When such saws as this appear to my adversary pregnant with truth and wisdom,—when they seem to him the point from which the world can be firmly held together, while I, on the contrary, think them absolutely null—"without form and void,"—how can we come to any understanding? I must doubt, if I do not contest, every word he says. In the first place, what does he mean by "concede?" Do I "concede" that only which is entirely dependent on my own will? But what in the world does depend on one will, without reference to the wills of others? Or if I concede that only which is agreeable to me, why, then, all one can say is, that the unconceded comes to pass quite as often as the conceded. Is it with my consent that time rolls on and that every thing changes with time? Did the Pope consent to the Reformation? or did his non-consenting retard it? Did the Venetians consent to the new direction taken by the commerce of the world? or did the English "concede" independence to America? If concession depends upon individual will, that surely has its limits. Within these limits I may have some influence; without them, my efforts are but wasted.

The first question therefore is, how far our powers extend; and this is the true starting point of all political inquiries. The Impossible can never be a rational object of endeavour. When this first question is decided, the next that offers itself is, what is right or just? If I owe a man a hundred pounds and have not a farthing, I cannot, in practice, "concede" to him what I owe; but my inability in no way affects his right. If I say, "If I grant him ten pounds, he will only ask for more and more, till at last, I shall be obliged to pay him the whole hundred—therefore, I had better grant nothing," I am a fool, or a knave, or both.

In like manner, in public affairs, a concession is generally the consequence of a demand; and neither is the result of any individual will. The *formal right* of expressing the will (such as possessed by the lords, or the king, of throwing out bills) has no effect in deciding the *thing*, and gives no answer to the question of wisdom or folly, justice or injustice. It is often maintained in letter, when it is dead in spirit. Such maxims as, that a government ought to grant no demand, or to grant every demand, are equally null. Because it is *possible* that the concession of a just demand may be followed by an absurd and unjust one, I am in no degree absolved from the first;—on the contrary, the concession of the just, is precisely what will give me strength to withhold the unjust. When, on the other hand, one just principle gives birth to a whole series of new conclusions, we ought not to be alarmed, but should learn to understand how and why such was the natural, the inevitable, and the proper result. This ensued upon the abolition of the slave-trade, of villenage, of commercial restrictions, of exclusive class or corporate privileges, and so on. New forms of disease, as well as new vital energies, are doubtless connected with every new stage of development, but the latter cannot be repressed, nor can the former be cured with old nostrums.

Never was a universal ruin brought about by the concession of what was just and suited to the age (which, indeed, inquiry proves to be identical); what was destroyed by such means had lived out its life. Never, on the contrary, have senseless and untimely changes borne the fruits hoped for by lovers of revolution. Therefore let every man who has a share in public affairs exert his understanding to the utmost, and lay aside his prejudices, that he may see *where* it is fit to concede and where to withhold; and not fancy himself a statesman because he can repeat a few phrases out of Haller or Bentham.

General changes, moreover, are not effected by mere personal springs of action. If Luther's opposition to the sale of indulgences proceeded (as some Catholics falsely assert) only from envy and avarice, the Reformation would not the less remain a mighty turn in human affairs—an event belonging to universal history.

Supposing that O'Connell's efforts in behalf of his countrymen spring from ambition or from avarice,—the discovery or the proclamation of this fact will neither tranquilize Ireland, nor settle the question of the justice or injustice of their demands. If immoral springs of action are really at work, the way to render them impotent is to withhold nothing that ought to be granted.

The first part of the Report of the Commission on the English Church has appeared, and confirms, in the main, what people knew before. For instance, the vast disparity between the bishops' sees. The number of parishes they contain varies from 94 to 1234, and the population from 127,000 to 1,688,000. The incomes, which are in no degree regulated by the business, are no less unequal. The least favoured of bishops has only about 924*l.* a-year, the richest 19,000*l.* The see of Canterbury yields the latter sum; York, 12,000*l.*; Winchester, 11,000*l.*; London, 13,000*l.*; Durham, 19,000*l.* The gross amount of all the sees in England is 157,000*l.*, thus twenty-seven individuals receive 1,090,000 thalers. This indeed explains the zeal with which certain aristocrats assert the inviolability of ancient institutions, and the duty of regarding church property as private property. A Presbyterian division of these funds would rob many younger sons of their fairest prospects. The commissioners observe that bishops are subject to many expenses; that those incomes only should be reduced which exceed 31,500 thalers, and that none should be raised which now amount to 38,500. This seems to them the maximum of possible or prudent reform. How would our bishops and superintendents rejoice if it were possible to put them on such a *reduced* establishment as this!

I do not deny that ecclesiastics may have, and may usefully expend, incomes like those formerly possessed by our prince-bishops; that ecclesiastics very often expend them better than laymen; that an equalization of all benefices is unjust and inexpedient; but it does not at all follow that reforms are needless in the English church, or that trifling reforms will do. Those who deny that certain individuals have too much, will hardly deny that a vast many have too little; and, indeed, taking these into account, the Church of England seems to me rather too poor than too rich.

Several people to whom I have said that the present system seemed to be impractical if carried to its full extent, immediately replied, "Oh, *then*, you are an advocate for the 'voluntary system?'" This "*then*" is, however, utterly unsupported by any of the opinions I have expressed. On the contrary, I repeat, that a really worldly, that is, a careless dissipation of church property is an abomination in my eyes; that the alienation of it from really spiritual uses can be excused only by absolute necessity; and that I look upon those recommendations to leave the church of

Christ to the chances of voluntary contributions—like a card club or a reading-room,—which some seem to consider proofs of the highest wisdom and intelligence, as proofs of nothing but either misguided fanaticism or covert hostility. What would become of all our schools and colleges, if they were left entirely to the voluntary contributions of the scholars? And yet many people who think School necessary, regard Church as superfluous.

April 24th.

A well-informed man observed to me, that this report on the incomes of the bishops included, in fact, only their fixed incomes; and that if the immense patronage, the undetermined dues, which are seldom estimated high enough, and especially the large sums paid on the granting of new leases were calculated, the estimate might nearly be doubled, or certainly greatly raised. Moreover, that a great part of the aristocratical power of the bishops rests not on their personal office, but on their patronage.

Doubtless, patronage is frequently abused; but election is equally liable to objections; and if there is no church property, no endowment, the clergy fall into a very pernicious dependence on the opinions and the wishes of their flocks.

* * * * *

I mentioned to you the impression which the public subscriptions for defraying the cost of elections made upon me, and the inferences which suggested themselves to my mind. It is, therefore, my duty to communicate to you what I have heard on the other side of this matter. You must carefully distinguish bribery (said a man who knows England more accurately than I do) from necessary and legally recognised expenses. Since the number of polling places has been increased, and the time allowed for voting abridged, these expenses are, indeed, considerably diminished; but by no means abolished. There is the cost of the booths, hustings, desks, travelling and board of voters, law expenses, and so on. If these were thrown on the voters, the partition and collection of them would be attended with great difficulties, and many would abandon all share in the business of elections; thus leaving the whole in a few, and by no means the purest hands. It is better, therefore, that the candidates should be left to pay something for the honour and advantage of a seat in the legislature. That poor men are thus deterred from offering themselves the English think an advantage; they wish that none but opulent men should represent them. The facility for individual bribery has been greatly lessened by the Reform Bill, because the number of voters is greatly increased, and it is easier to buy few than many.

I could but defer to the justice of some of these remarks—and,

indeed, even the defenders of rotten boroughs have a good deal to say for themselves: yet thus much I must maintain in spite of them. Certainly morality and disinterestedness cannot be forced by laws; but these forms, and this doctrine of expenses legally and necessarily thrown upon the candidate, lead almost inevitably to *indirect* bribery; and it is hard to prove exactly where the limits have been transgressed. How can 280,000 thalers (40,000*l.*) be spent in the lawful expenses of an election? How can it be necessary for one individual to subscribe 1000*l.* for planks for polling booths, and such like? As to the second point, it is certainly good that legislators should be men of property; but this might be secured by much better means than extravagant election expenses, the direct effect of which is to diminish the very wealth regarded as a recommendation.

Thirdly, the exclusive predominancy of money is as one-sided as that of birth; and if it is true that it is more difficult to bribe many electors than few, it is also true that small gains are more important to the mass, than larger ones to persons of a higher class; and perhaps, therefore, the sum required may be the same, only more subdivided. But that the great question of the duration of parliaments should turn so much upon money, is a very serious, not to say alarming, thing. From all this it seems, that a mere general, abstract view of the English law and customs of election will not suffice; and that, in practice, many things work very differently from what one would anticipate. Nevertheless, I cannot but maintain that both theory and practice exhibit something essentially false and artificial; and that here exists morbid matter of which both parties are conscious, and which both turn to account; but for which both ought to combine in devising a timely remedy.

April 24th, Evening.

When I have closed or sent off my daily register of events, I always recollect a number of things which I ought to have mentioned. Then it is too late,—what I have omitted finds no appropriate place. But it is really impossible to devote more time in a day to writing than I do. This being Easter week, I have, indeed, literary holidays at the Museum; but I have visits to pay and various things to see, for which I have no leisure at other times. Lastly, you must not forget that, from the enormous distances, everything takes double as much time as in Berlin, even if you ride. Of this I had experience yesterday.

I went with Messrs. M——— and O——— to Lambeth, to see the steam printing-presses by which the "Penny-Magazine," among many other things, is printed. It was a very interesting sight, both as a whole and in detail. Twenty presses, moved by

steam, worked with such unwearied rapidity, that a thousand sheets were printed in an hour; *i. e.*, in ten hours, by the twenty presses, 200,000 copies; the number which the "Penny Magazine" sells.

Revolving cylinders are covered with printers' ink, which they spread over a horizontal surface, with greater evenness than could be accomplished by the most careful hand-labour. The machine takes the sheet, passes it over the types (after these have received the necessary quantity of ink from the blackened horizontal plate), prints it on one side, then turns the sheet in the most intelligent manner, prints the other side, and deposits it before the hands of a workman who has nothing to do but to take it away. And all this goes on more rapidly than one can tell it! In the time required to write these few lines, the machine prints some hundreds of sheets.

If we compare the snail's process of transcribing with this communication and communicability of thought, idealism and realism—those reconciled antagonists,—seem to have acquired such force as no human being could have imagined, even after the invention of printing. How do the rapidity and operation of speech, which can extend but to so small a circle, sink in the comparison! how feeble seems the influence of eloquence which can act upon hearers alone! A steam printing-press like this would strike terror into an army of censors; they would flee before it as the savages of America fled before the new and terrific horses of their invaders. You will tell me, that the Indians no longer run away from the horses; but you must remember that they ceased to fear them, because they learned to ride and to master them. Horseman against horseman, then; that is to say, an enlightened steam-press sending forth wholesome knowledge, is the only equal, nay, superior, force by which to make war upon steam-error and licentiousness. Two hundred thousand sheets read by some millions of people may become the source of such infinite blessings, or such infinite calamities to mankind, that a society of high-minded and enlightened men, combining to diffuse really "useful knowledge," would exercise a far more powerful tutelary influence in the state, than the whole body of those negations, censors and censorial boards.

After I had seen and admired the operations of the machine as a whole, I learned many curious details: for instance, how the single types are formed, how they are placed together and transformed into stereotype plates; how plaster-casts are taken from the blocks of wood-cuts, lead and antimony again cast into these matrices, and thus plates produced, which are used as substitutes for the blocks.

I said just now, or I meant to say, mind alone can advance or impede mind. A positive force must be met by positive means:

otherwise little or nothing is effected, and the ground gradually slips from under the feet. All the censors in the world could not stop the movement of the steam-press, but would be hurried along, or torn in pieces by its resistless force. If there *were* a force which could effectually obstruct this infinitely accelerated power of diffusing thought, or could direct its operations at will, this would involve the possibility, indeed the actual existence, of a tyranny such as is unknown to history. In comparison with this, the red ink of censors were but milk and water.

So, then,—these excerptors will say,—you are a defender of the licentiousness of the press; you think that it is right and wise in a government to allow the poison of pernicious doctrines to be disseminated among masses, and to infect the whole people. On the contrary, gentlemen, I have the greatest disgust not only at what you strike out, but very often at what you leave in: but I am of opinion that these ineffectual restraints serve but to whet the desire for the forbidden fruit. The wagon, heavily laden with poison, rolls down the hill with resistless rapidity, while the fly of a censor, perched on the wheel, fancies that his weight will be sufficient to avert all danger. Vain presumption, or well-meaning delusion! A Penny Magazine of really valuable and useful matter were a far more effectual drag-chain!

From the present and the future we turned to the past;—to Westminster Abbey and Henry the Seventh's Chapel. If what I have just written gets me into disgrace with some, what will others think of the confession I am now going to make? Westminster Abbey, as I saw it in Paris,—the painted Westminster Abbey of the Diorama,—made a grander, more sublime, and more harmonious impression on me, excited and touched me, far more than the reality. There I saw the solemn edifice at one glance; the whole extent was before me, and an awful stillness seemed to invite the mighty dead from their tombs, although those tombs were not visible. Here, on the contrary, is a perfect labyrinth of wooden partitions, doors, screens, railings, and corners. Nowhere a grand general effect; nowhere a feeling of congruity, and of regard to the main object,—the architectonic character of the building. It seemed as if all these nooks and swallows' nests were contrived merely to increase the number of showmen and key-bearers who lurk in them. I made all possible efforts (disregarding the building or intentionally looking away from it) to elevate my thoughts and feelings by the recollection of the immortal dead who rest within its walls; but most of the prominent monuments are so utterly tasteless, so devoid of all artistical beauty, that one inevitably falls into a discordant key from a feeling either of the ridiculous or the vexatious; I could hardly keep my mind in the right frame even when look-

ing on the altered face of Mary Stuart, and the stern features of Elizabeth. Both were no doubt intended as portraits.

If Shakspeare and Handel (the two greatest among the artists immortalized here) were such pretending, affected coxcombs as Roubilliac has made of them, the French of the last century, and the Italians of this, must be right. If their works were to be judged by these statues, small indeed would be the truth or the beauty of either. It is no answer to this to say that they are likenesses—if, indeed, that be the case.

The style of Henry VII.'s Chapel has been justly called rich; but is not the interior somewhat overloaded? Do not the traceries, and the short interrupted lines on the outside produce an effect rather of littleness than of variety? But I am fallen into such a strain that if I do not break off I shall be stoned. Chantrey's monuments in the abbey have certainly a very different character from the others; his statues are human beings: yet in my opinion they are still far behind the German school, both in poetical conception and in technical finish.

Yesterday I went to call on Miss G——, whom I met at Lord M——'s. She has a handsome person and a cultivated mind, an air of great good nature, and is rich into the bargain: in short, she combines every quality fitted to inspire a fatal passion,—if I were my own son. Her mother too made a very agreeable impression on me; her father was not present. The daughter was better informed about German literature than many German young ladies. Indeed I hear on all sides that young Englishwomen are generally educated with great care, and learn more in proportion than their brothers. This would at once explain why Englishmen are so pre-eminent in some things; in others, for instance, the fine arts, so far behind. But I have spoken of this before. You must pardon occasional repetitions; these very repetitions show that circumstances have called my attention to the fact anew, and confirmed my former opinions.

When I went away, mother and daughter cordially shook hands with me, as is done with us on great occasions only, and scarcely ever by young women. I know that the custom is universal here, and means no more than "Guten tag," in Germany; in spite of that, it gave me great pleasure. I felt as if our acquaintance had thus made great progress, and as if a ray of human sympathy had fallen upon me in my solitude.

I was afraid yesterday, as I went rather late to see "Macbeth," at Covent Garden, that I should not get a place. What a mistake!

The house is just like Drury Lane, only rather less ornamented, and rather dirtier. And the performance?

Mr. Vandenhoff had certainly caught some of the psychological features of Macbeth; the subtle, sophistical inward debate, the doubting, wavering purpose; but nowhere did I catch a gleam of

that originally heroic nature which alone could have rendered him an object worthy of such high and elaborate temptation.

Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Sloman, a fiendish shrew, who must have been the torment of her husband's life long before the predictions of the witches. Even in the sleeping scene she betrayed only fear of discovery and of punishment; and the exaggerated action, the rubbing of the hands, and seeming to dip them in water, and the rhetorical "to bed!" were very little to my taste.

To sum up my impression of the whole—an excess of effort, of bustle, and of accentuation; with every now and then, by way of clap-trap, a violent and yet toneless screaming. Exactly those passages in which these stage passions were the most boisterous and distressing were the most applauded. There is not a single well-frequented German theatre (such as those of Vienna, Berlin, or Dresden) in which so bad a performance as this would have been exhibited. The three witches were represented by three men; and to give greater variety and interest to Shakspeare, a long unmusical singsong was introduced, which only retarded the action of the piece. Well as I know Macbeth, I often could not understand the clipped and compressed English articulation; if the fault is partly mine, it is also partly that of the language. Why did I understand every word last year in Venice? Why did Erminia Gherardi intrance me as she did, while Mrs. Sloman produces no effect upon me? I have no passion for playing the dissatisfied. After Lady Macbeth's last scene I went home, and lost the rest of Macbeth and a grand melodrama—or lost nothing. Carlmilhan, from what I read in the newspapers, is one of the tasteless monstrosities of the modern unschooled school. My indulgence in dramatic art cost 1 thaler, 8 gr. It was not worth so much as the mackerel I had at dinner.

One other observation about Macbeth. In the banquet scene two tables were placed along each side of the stage, and thrones erected for the king and queen, in the centre. at the back, Neither of them took any share in the feast; there were neither places for them at these side-tables nor any table of their own. Lady Macbeth remained seated alone upon her throne, and declaimed from thence till she led out her husband. He, on the contrary, took a chair, brought it to the front of the stage, and seated himself upon it, till he became engaged in the dialogue with his wife. When he rises, Banquo glides in from the side-scene, and sits down in this same chair. The second time, he calls out from the opposite side-scene and places himself in front of Macbeth. The whole action and combination of this scene is far better ordered in Berlin; though even there the appearance of the bloody ghost savours a little of the peepshow. If Macbeth sees a dagger and clutches it, without the necessity of suspending one by a wire from the ceiling before his eyes and the public's,—

might not he and they see an invisible ideal Banquo and tremble at his presence? Or if this be too much to ask, could not a shadowy figure be produced by some optical means, as Enslen once did? The effect of this, if properly managed, would be far more ghostlike and supernatural.

Sunday, April 26th, 1835.

Yesterday, after I had very industriously written letters, I bought a map of the environs of London, studied it, and then drove to Richmond with Mr. and Mrs. T. We went first down Oxford Street, then to the left through Hyde Park, through Kensington and Hammersmith, and past Barnes and Mortlake to our place of destination. The country is, as you may imagine, highly cultivated, and exhits a universal neatness and elegance. The numerous villas and gardens are very inviting, and often have an Italian air, from the luxuriant ivy and creepers, the balconies, verandahs, and the like. Though in Italy many things are more striking and poetical from the favouring climate, the forms of the hills and mountains, the character of the ground, and the luxuriant vegetation, yet the melancholy observation obtrudes itself, that the proprietor is poor, and that the poetical charm but too often resides in ruins, ancient or modern. It is thus in the neighbourhood of Rome, along the Brenta, and around Venice. Here, on the contrary, every door and window, the most trifling arrangements, show that the greatest care is bestowed on them, and can be bestowed, because wealth is universally diffused.

The Hammersmith Suspension Bridge is a fine and useful work. In whatever depends on mechanical fitness and precision, the English are masters; where taste is required, they seem frequently to confound the merely extraordinary with the poetical, and to prefer the fantastic to the artistic. A very severe judgment may be passed on many of the London buildings; they only produce effect by mass, and by being surrounded with other masses: what an extraordinary *coiffure* is that stuck upon the Mansion House! And where is one to seek the school of architecture in which the man studied who is now constructing those strangest of buildings at Charing Cross? Vicenza, within her narrow walls, contains a greater number of beautiful and stately palaces than are to be found in all gigantic London.

From the terrace at Richmond the eye wanders or reposes with delight over the expanse of country as far as Windsor; and the winding course of the Thames, and the changing lights and shadows of England, increase its variety and beauty. Unfortunately the weather was extremely cold, which contrasted strangely with the splendour of the bursting spring. The plants seemed as if they would wait no longer, but would defy the unusually long

and obstinate winter. Everybody says that such weather at this time of year is quite extraordinary.

——— told me that admission to a party at the Duke of D———'s was a thing so eagerly sought after, and so important, that I was most fortunate in having obtained it; and that, if I could prove I had been there, I should pass for a man of fashion all over England—if, only, my fashionable, does not share the fate of my literary, celebrity! A short time ago a gentleman, who presented me to a company, mentioned my name, and most politely added that it was unnecessary to say more, for that this was sufficient distinction, recommendation, and honour. But before I had time complacently to pocket this *testimonium morum et diligentiæ*, I heard my host (for my ears are sharper than my eyes) whispering, not to Englishmen, but to some Germans, that I was the author of the "Hohenstaufen," and so forth. So I was preserved from having my head turned, and had the joke into the bargain.

LETTER XX.

Museum — Philharmonic Concert — Police-office — Summary Proceeding — Morning Concert—Concert-room—English, French, and German women—Royal Military Asylum—Chelsea Hospital—Hyde Park.

London, Monday, April 27th, 1835.

To-day, after a week's holiday, I resume my labours at the Museum, with which I am very well satisfied. I shall continue thus to divide my time between the past and the present, as it beseems a Professor historiarum.

If I could but divide *myself*, and read manuscripts in the Museum, the Chapter House, and the State-Paper Office; books and newspapers in the clubs; make visits, look at galleries and collections, wander about the parks, and write letters at home, at one and the same moment! In spite of the utmost economy of time, I do not know how all these things are to be accomplished.

Last night I went to the Philharmonic Concert, and heard—

1st. Beethoven's "Symphony in B." It went very well,—better than before.

2d. "Dies Bildniss ist bezaubernd schon," sung by Rubini. His voice is twice as powerful as that of Mantius, and his facility in executing trills, roulades, and quavers far greater. But as he thought proper to introduce all these tricks, and entirely to disregard the simple musical elocution, he produced far less effect upon me than I expected. Here this imperfect style, which, spite of its apparent variety, brings down everything to the same level, is extremely admired.

3d. Concerto Hummel in "A Flat," played by Neate. Extraordinary clapping, because the performer is an Englishman. In Berlin people would say, the touch wanted power, the expression was indistinct; in short, that there was much still to learn. It seemed to me as if I could play so after a week's practice;—and my vanity is not great on the side of music.

4th. Terzetto from Otello,—"Ti parla amore," sung by Grisi, Lablache, and Rubini, and much admired; though the composition, as adapted to those words, is perfectly absurd—particularly the running passages.

5th. Overture to the "Jungfrau von Orleans," by Moscheles; with the three principal elements, the Pastoral, the Martial, the Religious. Conception and execution meritorious, but perhaps not sufficiently intelligible to those not previously acquainted with the drift.

6th. Symphony—Haydn.

After such a musical supper, and that at the close of such a day, you will not wonder if I had enough, and left the rest unheard. Otherwise I should not be sitting here, but must have lain in bed. It is also my firm persuasion, that nobody can listen with full attention and enjoyment to music (especially undramatic music) for more than two hours, or two hours and a half.

Wednesday, April 29th, 1835.

To-day Mr. S——, police magistrate for the ——— district, took me to his office or court. Most of the affairs that concern the police are decided by one magistrate, the more important by two, and those which require the decision of a jury are referred to the law courts. Questions of police and of law are not so rigorously divided as with us—indeed many are referred to the same persons. The magistrate sat at a table; before him, at another, were two clerks or protocollanti. Behind the bar, or separation of the room, was the complainant; on the left, in a place assigned, the accused. The business was conducted with great quietness and acuteness; questions asked, defence heard, and judgment pronounced. First were brought in the persons

who had been apprehended and confined in the course of the night.

A. B. was so drunk that he could not stand. Does he admit this?—Yes.—He must pay 5*s*.—Dismissed.

This gentleman broke a pane of glass in my omnibus.—When did you see this pane whole last?—I can't exactly say.—Has he any witnesses?—No, but the gentleman was drunk.—Fined 5*s*. —Dismissed.

C. D. was drunk, and is very often drunk.—Fined 5*s*.—The next time to be sent to the House of Correction.

Remarkable :—that the shabbiest-looking fellows could all pay down their 5*s*. at a moment's notice ; and that men very well to do,—"respectable men" as the English call them—were found drunk about the streets.

That woman brought me a begging letter with testimonials, which, for such and such reasons, are false.—That man writes petitions complaining of his extreme misery, his wife is ill, his children without food, &c. &c.—Where does he live?—I don't know the exact house.—Shall I send for his wife and children, and hear?—No.—Guilty of deception, and obtaining money under false pretences.—Both sent to the House of Correction for three months.—And they went off without any attempt at reply or remark, and the business was done ; and all the decisions seemed to me, and, as far as I could observe, to the offenders themselves, perfectly just.

After I had heard these summary and efficient proceedings with great interest, and had postponed kings and queens to knaves and drunkards, my historical conscience took alarm, and I went to work at the Museum from two to four.

Saturday, May 2d, 1835.

Although I was greatly delighted with the spoil I gathered yesterday at the Museum from the letters of Randolf and Bedford during their embassies, and would gladly have stayed longer, I was obliged to break off after three hours' work, because Mrs. T—— had had the goodness to promise to take me to Moscheles' *morning* concert, which began at two in the afternoon.

Though I am no friend of concerts in general, yet as Mr. Moscheles' is one of the choicest and the best attended, I determined to hear it, as a sample of what the London public likes, and what it can obtain, in the musical way.

The Concert-room in the King's Theatre has a steep orchestra, reaching to the ceiling at one end, and tiers of boxes at the other. On the right is a bare wall ; on the left, three narrow windows for lighting the whole room. The space in the centre is filled with benches, but only every other row has a back—a sort of

training for the outside of the stage coaches. The room has neither size nor beauty to recommend it. The walls are shabbily and tastelessly painted with arabesques, more like those on a china tea-cup than those of Raphael's Loggie. So rich a people as the English might really afford to have these scratched out. A white wall would be better than such pitiful scrawls. The concert began at two and ended at half-past five, for there were no less than seventeen pieces. I shall give you a list of them, accompanied by a few scholia, or marginal glosses.

1. Overture to the "Jungfrau von Orleans." I prefer the peaceful and religious part to the warlike; or at least I should strike out some resolutions and discords from the latter, in order to give greater simplicity to the whole, and perhaps greater historical consistency with that period of musical art. For musical war and peace have a different character in different ages, and yet each belongs to the other—relates to, and illustrates the other. The martial part of this overture employs all the arts of music in use at the present day, and is thus out of keeping with the pastoral music, which is manifestly of a former age.

2. Scena from the "Freischutz," Miss Robson. I have bad luck with this scene in foreign lands. In Paris, I heard it sung very accurately, but without the least expression, by Damoreau Cinti; and there are at least a hundred Demoiselles in Berlin who could accomplish the task as well as Miss Robson.

3. Duet from Rossini's "Donna del Lago," sung by Grisi and Rubini. Grisi's voice is powerful, and cultivated according to the true rules of art; but her musical elocution, nay, even her tone, has, occasionally, something vulgar, which you never hear in German singers. Less voice, with more elevation and sentiment, would produce more effect. Rubini trembles when he holds a note; whether he takes this defect for a beauty, or whether his voice is growing old, and he cannot help it, I don't know. Much less lungs, voice, art and expression are required for all that trickery of whispering and shouting, piping and quavering, than good-natured admirers think.

4. "*Concerto pathetique*" for the piano-forte, by Moscheles. I will only put two questions as to this. First, would not every piano-forte concerto be the better for being delivered from such powerful accompaniments as drums and trumpets? Is not the contrast too violent, and the effect of the principal instrument enfeebled?

Secondly, the piano-forte is, in many respects, inferior to all stringed and wind instruments; but it has one great advantage—that the player can execute several parts at once, according to the rules of harmony. Why is this peculiar advantage, of which the old German school invariably availed itself, now utterly neglected both by composers and performers?

5. Air, "Ah quando in regio talamo." by Donizetti, sung by Madame Caradori Allan. A hodge-podge of unconnected phrases, tacked together with solfeggios, sung with accuracy and facility, and greatly applauded.

6. Aria, "Largo al factotum," sung by Lablache as admirably as before. But it is better suited to the stage than to a gentleman in black, with white kid gloves, in an orchestra.

7. Quintet, the dirge of "Rosabelle" composed by Horsley, Mus. Bac. A simple ballad, requiring a simple lyrical, touching melody, cut up into recitative, solo, trio, and quintet; and to my taste, utterly spoiled by the employment of all sorts of complicated scientific expedients.

8. Terzetto, "Ambi morrete," from Donizetti's "Anna Bolena," sung by Grisi, Lablache, and Rubini. One must have resigned all idea of dramatic music, and have lost all memory and trace that such a thing ever existed, before one can give one's admiration to the senseless roulades, the dancing rhythm, the starts, screams, and die-away whispers, with which a royal tyrant, his wife, and her lover amuse themselves and others in the hour of death. The stupidity of opera composers has now become so audacious, and their audacity so stupid, that art will probably once more raise itself from these disgusting tricks to a pure and noble style. At the present moment this cholera rages, as it seems, all over Europe.

9. Concertante for piano-forte, violin, and violoncello, Beethoven, played by Moscheles, Mori, and Lindley. Beethoven's daring flights occasionally border on lawlessness; but he is a man who has a right to ask of Art what he pleases; or rather Art must ask him in what new dress and adornments she shall present herself. With dithyrambic frensy does this high-priest of Art cast the jewels of his vast treasury into the air; and even the broken fragments which fall to the ground would suffice to compose many a costly ornament. But when impudent bajazzos fling dirt and stones at our heads, are we to fall on our knees and humbly thank them for their favours?

10. Duet "Cedi al destin," from Meyer's "Medea." Miss Masson and Rubini. Dramatic intentions, means and ends, thank God, not so entirely vanished as in more recent productions. For the fourth time I heard Rubini conclude with exactly the same cadence; thus:—violent effort in the lower notes, then a soft squeaking up to the very highest—sugar on sugar—and, last, a very forcible accent which set the hands of the audience in motion, with as much certainty as the foot of the bellows-blower moves the bellows of the organ.

11. New ballad, "Go, forget me," by Mortimer, sung by Parry. The composition simple and appropriate, enounced with feeling and expression. More of vocal music, that is the human

voice speaking to the heart, than in a thousand instrumental pieces for the voice.

12. "Heart, the seat of soft delight," from "Acis and Galatea;" —say, rather, from another world of music; well given by Miss Clara Novello.

13. Scene, "The Battle of Hohenlinden," by Smith. I was glad when peace was restored.

14. Concertante for four violins, by Maurer. A difficult task, considering the small compass of the instrument; but if such must be set and undertaken, well enough accomplished.

15. Aria, "Dal asilo della pace," Costa. A "solfeggio," perfectly sung by Grisi. Formerly people sang solfeggios as a preparation and training for singing; now, it seems, the solfeggio is the beginning and the end of art.

16. "*Fantasie improvisée*," by Moscheles, in which, among others, an air from the "Muette de Portici," and one out of "Euryanthe," were introduced and treated—all with great skill and science; round, clear, brilliant, attractive. The question whether different themes should be blended in a fantasia is intimately connected with another; whether, in an overture to an opera, various *motivi* from the work itself should be introduced? The greatest masters have adopted opposite principles, and I have not now time to discuss the merits of the two methods.

17. Instrumental piece of Mozart—omitted, indeed, the quantity was already too great; though it is most certain that the quality would have been materially improved by Mozart. Donizetti is not a dish from which any man of sense or discrimination will endure to be helped twice; and Rossini's operas have been so often repeated, that any thing else would have the charm of novelty in the comparison. But the public, perhaps, will have it so; and, still more, the one-sided and meagre education of the singers may make it inevitable.

What infinite odds between such a concert and Sebastian Bach's mass in A flat, well executed!

The greater part of the audience were ladies, as is generally the case at morning concerts. The men are too busy to go. All, even the youngest, wore bonnets; their dress was simple, but rich and elegant; without eclat,—nothing extravagant or glaring.

I must say, in general, that I cannot detect any trace of personal vanity in English women. This sin, or passion, or what you will, seems to give more trouble to the French and Germans. It appears to me that the women and girls here bestow less time on their persons; esteem it less of a duty or an important business to dress and trick them out, and then to delight and exult in them till they cry "*Vivat sequens!*"

Monday, May 4th.

Yesterday I worked at home till eleven o'clock, and then (as a relief from my sedentary employments during the week,) I was six hours on foot. First, I saw the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, that is, the great establishment founded by the Duke of York for the sons of soldiers. It formerly contained a thousand boys, but, in consequence of the peace, there are now not above three or four hundred. Every place was remarkably clean, orderly, spacious and airy. The boys make every article of clothing that they wear, and are trained to different trades, and then bound out apprentice. They looked uncommonly healthy and full of fun; I only wish I may see the children in factories wear the same appearance. There was a place for gymnastic exercises, and the old woman who showed Mr. B. and me about, invited us to go some Friday and see the boys' feats.

From hence we went to the hospital for invalids hard by; a large building, with beautiful gardens and convenient arrangements. It would certainly cost less to pension these invalids at home; but it is more humane to have such an asylum for those who would rather stay among their old comrades, and, as far as in them lies, keep alive the tradition of the glories of the British army.

We returned to the beautiful St. James's Park, went through the Green Park to Hyde Park, then into Kensington Gardens, and back again to Hyde Park, favoured by the weather, and cheered by the freshness of spring. A man like Laine might beautify Hyde Park very much. To-day the grand thing to see was the endless line of equipages, the beautiful horses, the riders, good, bad, and indifferent, and walkers of every kind and degree, who thronged the park from four to six o'clock. All the women of the lower classes very simply drest, chiefly in black or dark colours; but few remarkable for beauty.

LETTER XXI.

French Communicativeness—English Reserve—Prussian "Staatszeitung,"—"Wochenblatt"—Exhortations to Peel—"Thorough"—Insignificance of the Theatre—Political Press in Berlin and London—Whigs and Tories—Primogeniture—Husband-catching—Religious Bigotry—New interpretation of the Apocalypse—Hansard's Debates—English Society—German Joviality.

London, Tuesday, May 5th, 1835.

Your remark, or reproach, that my letters contain very few personal details, has some justice. But, in the first place, I have such a hearty disgust at the practices of several modern travellers, that I could not even think, much less write, such ungrateful gossip. I am afraid every company I go into should suppose me capable of entertaining such designs and principles. In the second, within the last few weeks, scandal sent to Berlin in private letters (I do not choose to give any names) has travelled back to London, and produced very unpleasant consequences. In the third, the English do not give themselves out like the French, who let you into their whole history and sentiments at the first sitting, so that you have nothing to do but to pack it up and send it home. The English neither feel the same want to make these immediate and circumstantial disclosures, nor have they the same facility in making them. I learn from everybody, and everybody touches on various topics; but if I wanted to connect what I have learned with the persons of my informants, and give you an account of every conversation, every dinner, &c., this mosaic would have no unity or coherence, and would afford no general view of any subject. I must collect the scattered details and opinions; examine what is contradictory; sift the truth, wherever it is possible, from party evidence; and not connect this with persons, but gradually gain a distinct view of the great questions which are here under discussion.

This reminds me of ——'s article in the "Staatszeitung." Excellent intentions, and generous feelings,—only too English; that is to say, all directed towards one person and one side; the opposite views either not mentioned at all, or in such a manner as if they were not worth mentioning. Nevertheless, ——'s representations and opinions are a hundred thousand times better and more enlarged than the absurd lecture which the Berlin Wochenblatt, with its condescending pedagogical air, reads to such a man as Peel; telling him that, with the support of the King and the Lords, he ought to have blown the whole reformed House of

Commons to the winds, and have restored things to the condition they were in at I know not what good old times. Such a scheme supposes an incredible ignorance of the state of England, and a stupid *borné* fanaticism into the bargain. Peel has more sense in his little finger than such politicians as these in their heads; his patriotism, his humanity, his disinterestedness, his moderation, would all conspire to preserve him from so desperate a course; just as Wellington laudably relinquished his opposition to the Catholic claims, rather than incur the risk of civil war. The defect is not in the place where the Berlin tinker thinks he has spied it. The alarming thing is, that certain British prejudices push opposite opinions to a point where they can no longer mutually serve to correct and to develop each other (like the regular and alternate action of the lungs,) but where their excited and irregular motion becomes wearing and destructive Were I inclined to look on the black side and play the prophet of ill, I should say that as the *royalistes purs* and the constitutional royalists ruined each other, and thus became subject to the Girondins and the *Terroristes*, so Whigs and Tories are here playing the game of the Radicals. It grieves me to think (and this grief is more generous than the indoctrinations of the Wochenblatt) that Peel, under different circumstances, and with modified—I will say, with Germanized—views, might have commanded a majority of two hundred, and have put an end to all these pernicious vacillations; that the best that can now happen will be, to reach the point by a circuitous road, which those who had the power had not the capacity or the knowledge to reach by the straight. Such heads as Peel's (a very different one from that of the theorist Posa*) connot be inactive whatever be his situation. Lord Stanley is in a still more false position when he opposes all changes in the church, and supports them in the corporations. Very naturally, replied some one; he would have to give up livings worth 22,000*l.*

The sage of the Wochenblatt concludes somewhat in this wise: —Our proposal is certainly contrary to the usages of Parliament, but the whole origin and course of the Reform was contrary to them; and it is necessary to make head against revolution by those portions of the constitution which are yet unreformed. What logic! what a hocus-pocus of words and ideas, made with greater rapidity than the conjurer, Philadelphia, could have done!

In the seventeenth century, however, wisdom was reduced into still smaller compass; squeezed into a nut-shell. The one word "Thorough" was used as the ruling substantive, the pass-word, the expression of the aim of the initiated. Strafford and Laud, the

* This alludes to the character of Posa, in Schiller's Don Carlos.—*Translator.*

hight priests of civil and ecclesiastical absolutism, conclude their letters with this word, as if it were a charm, a *salve* against all dangers.

And what were the consequences of their so-called anti-revolutionary "Thorough?" That they brought on the revolution they pretended to avert, and lost their own heads. God grant that those who fancy themselves statesmen may not attempt to carry matters in the same way!

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Here, where the theatre is so insignificant, its importance in Berlin might perhaps appear to me puerile and ridiculous, did I not reflect that the enthusiasm of the Greeks for the drama, and for art generally, was far nobler than the military enthusiasm of the Romans; and that there has been no lack of the latter in Germany when the times required it; nor ever will be. I shall therefore return with great complacency from this capital of the world to stall No. 102, and shall not even be deterred by the ——, which has such a contempt for my criticisms on art.

At any rate I understand more about that than about England, spite of all my pains to get at a broad and clear view of it. When I see what nonsense many travellers write about Germany, I lose courage to say anything about England, though I may venture to say, that I came here better prepared by previous study than many come to Germany.

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Political hand-weaving has long been abolished here, and not only the presses, but the pens and brains employed on the newspapers are moved by steam-engines, which send out the greatest possible quantity of goods to order, in the smallest possible time.

At Berlin, a newspaper article, a la ——, is an outpouring of the whole heart for the writer, an *évenément* for the readers; here one such wave courses over another, and all break and disappear upon the shore. But then there is indeed a political ocean, whose depth and contents must be tried by other means than by a mere observation of the surface, curled or tossed by the winds. As the times are over when the writer on religious questions could assume that Catholics or Protestants were exclusively right or wrong; so ought the political observer of Europe to endeavour to raise himself above the region of those subordinate differences which, arrayed in opposition, mutually annul and destroy each other, and leave a mere vacuity of thought, a paralysis of action. But certainly nothing is so convenient and so easy as one-sided predilections, combined with a sublime determination to ignore all other modes or points of view. If, unluckily, these measures of security do not suffice to preserve from all attacks, a loyal or a liberal mantle (as the case may be) is thrown over the armour,

and this is more impenetrable to reason or conviction than india-rubber cloaks are to rain. Let nobody laugh at the ostrich for hiding her head in a hedge, when span-new nobles who travel to Paris make it their wisdom and their glory not to see or speak to any but Carlists. Just as silly as if some democratical *privat docent* would not visit or listen to anybody but the editor of the "Tribune."

Where so many see the sole reality and truth of a subject, I can hardly ever see *a whole*. Viewed in this manner, it seems to me a mere semblance; and one semblance opposed to another leaves, as I said, nothing behind. Tories without Whigs, conservatism without any principle of movement, republicanism without monarchical bond of union, landed interest without monied interest, and so forth, are quite unintelligible to me. The very existence and significancy depend on their antithesis; they belong to each other like body and soul; day and night, right and left, income and expenditure, right and duty, ruler and subject, rich and poor: in short, like all ideas which can only attain their full existence in their contraries, and can never by any possibility have an independent being.

Thus, for instance, the author of the eulogy on Peel forgets that the sower's labour is as useful as the reaper's, and that the living movement of the political body must proceed from the centripetal force of conservatism, and the centrifugal of Whiggism. It were not difficult, indeed, to represent such measures as the repeal of the Test Act, the deliverance of Ireland from the long-continued tyranny, and the like, as the true sun-light of political wisdom; and if people must reduce every thing to halves, *this* is certainly the one in which lies the pulse and vitality of future Europe;—not in the close corporations, the exclusion of dissenters, the maintenance of slavery or commercial monopoly; not in the exclusive schools, the church patronage, or the law of primogeniture of the aristocracy.

I have studied the middle ages more attentively than most men; I have defended some of its institutions, which many, both wise and foolish, joined in abusing, and have placed them in their true light; I have, therefore, a right to be regarded as, at least, impartial, when, resting on a knowledge of the past, I endeavour to investigate the character and the wants of the present.

The contest really is, whether England shall Germanize herself;—shall enter, at least in part, on the German career of civilization. This is the real point for which Whigs contend and which Tories resist:—though neither know enough of Germany to be aware of the fact. In regard to all the measures just alluded to, Germany stands exactly at the point towards which the Whigs are steering, and at which Tories can discern no land. Without helm or motion the ship is lost; with bad pilotage he

may, indeed, be run on the French rocks, instead of reaching the German port: but to avoid this danger by doing nothing, is a very ostrich-like means of security. The same danger impended over us; we did not shut our eyes to it, but have averted it by vigorous and efficient changes, and by dint of these have attained a powerful and positive security against the invasion of foreign opinions or foreign swords. And so (I end as I began) the writer of the Berlin Wochenblatt is no statesman, because he does not understand that to refuse reform is to precipitate revolution; to remain motionless is an indication of disease or of approaching death.

Yesterday somebody, I know not who, sent me a pamphlet on primogeniture. This is just one of the points I alluded to, in which some different direction requires to be given to social institutions. The question is, whether the aristocratical policy which attaches such enormous advantages to the accident of primogeniture, is to be adherred to, or the democratical regard to individual justice, which enjoins an equal division of property, is to be preferred? In Germany and France, the latter (with the exception of the reigning families) has conquered; in England the former still prevails. The author of this pamphlet is of opinion that the laws are defective in allowing a father to leave his whole property (with few restrictions) to his eldest son: nay, more, if the father die intestate, the oldest son takes the whole of the real estate. It is not only possible, but actually in practice, that one of ten children may have 10,000*l.* a year, and the other nine be destitute. This remnant of feudalism is productive of so many evils, that it must be removed, since the causes of it, which were to be found in the nature of feudal service no longer exist. The increased wealth of the elder sons has no effect in stimulating them to greater mental exertions; on the contrary, its natural tendency is to make them indolent and indifferent. Society would gain by a more equal division, and the powers and talents of all its members be more equally and efficiently called forth and encouraged.

It is unquestionable that large accumulations of wealth are productive of many advantages which are incompatible with divided property; such as the erection of castles, mansions, the forming of collections of pictures, &c.; but these are often only useless demonstrations of pride, and distressing contrasts to the miserable dwellings by which they are surrounded. In many families, too, the law of primogeniture has afforded motives and temptations to mortgaging property to a ruinous extent.

National galleries contribute much more to the enjoyment of the public, and to the cultivation of taste, than the splendid but inaccessible collection of the English nobility.

The law of primogeniture is an artificial elevation on the one hand, which necessarily involves a corresponding artificial depression on the other. The worst of its consequences are those which regard the relation of the sexes, and marriage. I must give you some idea of the extraordinary picture the author of this book draws of the state of English society in this respect. The competition for high prizes in marriage; the intrigues and manœuvres of mothers to catch elder sons and to keep younger ones at a distance from their daughters; or, if a girl have the folly or the magnanimity to prefer the latter, the tyranny or the falsehood resorted to to separate them;—in short, as elder sons alone are considered eligible husbands, the supply of wives in the market, in economical phrase, exceeds the demand. Hence arises the noble science of husband-catching. The more generous and amiable half of the human race is transformed into baits, with which to catch heirs. Frivolous accomplishments are substituted for solid instruction; care of the person, for culture of the mind; and instead of singing being pursued as an agreeable relaxation, or dancing as a graceful exercise, they are made the great ends of existence. The whole soul of the mother is absorbed in schemes for procuring for her daughter a good "establishment;" no time must be lost, and the girl must apply herself diligently to the business of captivating a husband. But as the market is notoriously over-stocked, invisible lines must be laid out in various directions. The youthful and inexperienced object of these arts bites, the bait is drawn up, and he is caught. Too often follows the discovery of the manœuvres by which he has been caught, and of the objects by which they were prompted; his wealth and station, to which the empty, heartless being to whom he is united considers him a mere appendage. The consequences may be imagined. Perhaps this picture is too hardly coloured. However, the writer persists in thinking that this law of primogeniture nourishes a spirit of rapacity, and of animosity in families, where the interests of all the others are sacrificed to one. Such are the statements of the English author; for which he (not I) is responsible.

Thursday, May 7th, 1835.

Mr. —— described the way in which the Catholic priests in Ireland try to induce parents, in mixed marriages, to bring up their children in that persuasion; a thing which, as Prussia shows, is determined less by law than by custom and the habits of the clergy.

The cry of "No popery" is stimulated by means of every kind. Thus, for instance, a political writer demonstrates, by figures which seem incontrovertible, that the number of Catho-

lics in North America has, of late years, increased in a vastly greater proportion than that of the Protestants. These millions, it is said, are reduced by the diabolical arts of proselytizing, and have fallen away from Christianity. A similar danger now impends over England, and must be averted by the overthrow of its author, Lord John Russell, and his party ! &c. &c. This is the cry.

I rather doubted the boundless power of proselytism ascribed to the Catholic priests of America, and looked beneath this array of figures for something like reason and coherence. And what came to light ? That this increased proportion of Catholics was not the work of the priests at all, but resulted, first, from the shoals of Irish immigrants, who are nearly all Catholics ; secondly, from the fact, intentionally suppressed or carelessly overlooked, that Louisiana and Florida, with some millions of Catholic inhabitants, have been annexed to the United States since the former calculation was made.

And these are the arguments with which party men seek to oppose the Christian doctrine of toleration and charity, and to defend their prejudices, or more frequently their incomes.

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I told you that Mr. ———, my companion at dinner, defended my views concerning Elizabeth and Mary, and that I was delighted with his acute historical criticism. Yesterday I was quite alarmed, when, at the end of our dinner, he told me in confidence that he was going to publish a new explanation of the Apocalypse of St. John. The seven trumpets, he said, were the fall of Paganism, of the Roman empire, the Albigenses, Luther's Reformation, the English Reformation, the expulsion of the Protestants from France, and the revolution of July. With as much certainty as he knew that I was sitting opposite to him, he knew that, on the second day of some festival, I think Easter, in the year 1843, Christ would re-appear in Jerusalem. Nobody, he added, or very few, would believe in this interpretation, but this is the very *proof* of its truth ; for Christ says, that he should come unexpected, "as a thief in the night." Spite of all his seriousness and conviction, he did not take amiss a little raillery.

Although Mr. ———'s inferences and explanations were unmeasurably more daring on this subject, than those of Mr. ——— on the oft-mentioned controversy about the two queens, yet his conviction had to me something imposing in it. Not that I attached any importance to his interpretations, analogies, calculations, historical comparisons, and so on ; but in the *thought*—*Christ will appear in* 1843 !—or be it when it may—lies such

power—such omnipotence, and infinitude of new conditions of human existence,—that all the parties, passions, and agitations of our days vanish before it like the most miserable trivialities. Were He to appear,—were He to be, and to be acknowledged as the Christ, what another world must arise! Where, then, would be the petty arts, the articles of faith, the party feuds and persecutions, the French *coté droit*, and the *coté gauche*, the English Whigs and Tories, Conservatives and Radicals, the Berlin watchmen of Zion and demagogues? All this would be scattered like froth before the wind, and all who would not turn to him would be destroyed; or better, all would be rescued by the almighty power of regeneration. Dreams—or perhaps not—for what thought or fancy here compresses into a moment, lies hidden in the future history of man, to be gradually evolved by the hand of time. The seed-corn is in the ground, and the race of man cannot all be lost, or all go astray, so long as His word and His promise endures,—to abide with us to the end of time. So far as we live together in love, this promise is daily fulfilled. Let this, then, be the corner-stone on which the new legislation for church and state shall be built; not on the delusive calculations of the statisticians, or the false inferences of Ultras of any party.

Friday, May 8th, 1835.

As I accidentally remarked to Mr. ———, that I had been assiduously reading Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, by way of gaining information, he exclaimed, "Hansard is a hateful, abominable book." "How so?" "If you said a word ten years ago it is picked out, taken from its connexion, misinterpreted," &c. Bad, thought I; but not so very bad either. What if we could quote ———'s vote for the abolition of the censorship, and ———'s recommendation of the sale of the royal demesnes, out of some Prussian Hansard?

If I compare English society with that of other countries, many remarks present themselves. If the number of guests exceed three, there is seldom any general conversation; that is to say, I do not see or hear that any individual, whether from talent or from conceit, takes upon himself to lead the conversation, makes himself the prominent person, keeps possession of a particular subject, or battles it out with some other intellectual fencer; people very seldom address themselves further than to their next neighbour, and the conversation is carried on in so slow a voice, that those who sit at a distance can hardly hear it. Subjects of great general interest are, as it seems to me, very seldom subjects of social talk. What an eventful time! A change of ministry! the approaching opening of a new parliament! &c. &c.

Not a trace of all this in society: the saying, out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, seems not to apply to the English. In such days as these, even if their mouths were corked tight and sealed down, the French would have gone off like Champagne bottles, their thoughts and feelings would have forced a way. In parliamentary discussions the French are very inferior to the English, in social, superior; and I should have learnt more if the English were, in this respect, more like their neighbours. What passes in parliament we get from the papers; but a foreigner is glad to pick up in company the commentaries and additions of individuals. To have to extract everything by questioning, *tête-à-tête*, is always somewhat disagreeable and "boring."

What is more, eating and drinking seem to produce no effect upon the English. I do not applaud inordinate and boisterous talking after dinner; but that people should be just as cold, quiet, and composed at the end as at the beginning, that the wine should produce no apparent effect whatever, is too dry and formal for my liking. Perhaps the old-fashioned tippling was so disgusting, that people now shun the slightest approach to joviality; or perhaps sherry and port oppress rather than elevate, and have little power in transforming gloomy fogs into sky-blue fantasies. In short, I am for the German plan—frank, lively conversation, even though it be a little too long and too loud; light wine and a light heart; and at parting, joyous spirits, and only just mathematics enough to perceive that *five is an even number*.

LETTER XXII.

English Society—Scene in an Omnibus—House of Commons—English Oratory—Irish Poor Laws—Devonshire Elections—Sir Robert Peel's Speech—Birthday—King and Constitution—King of Prussia—Fogs—Conversation—English Orthography of German.

London, Sunday, May 10th, 1835.

My observations on many English societies are, with reference to the point from which I contemplate them, and to the feelings with which they inspire me, unquestionably true at the moment. But are they not, for that very reason, one-sided? and have I not neglected to seek for the causes of the appearances that strike me? That no Englishman may come and set me right, I will, therefore, rather compose an answer to myself, and put it into his mouth.

"The French conversation which Herr von Raumer seemed so much to admire and covet, is generally a light and insignificant bandying of words, 'a chit-chat,' which it is very easy to carry on in general formulæ and phrases; the more so, as the speakers flatter each other's vanity, and studiously avoid all sustained argument and all violent opposition. But a man who regarded this as the highest and most instructive, or even the most agreeable, sort of conversation, were greatly mistaken; the German seriousness and prolixity, nay, sometimes blunt and graceless manner, would be more to our English taste. The important events of the time are not so entirely passed over in silence, but as they are the subject of daily discussion in speech and writing, out of society, a few words are sufficiently intelligible to the English, though they almost escape a foreigner, with his inadequate acquaintance with the language. The English, who have occasion, nay, obligation, to speak their sentiments on these points in a thousand places, do not make society an arena for discussion, merely for the pleasure or instruction of ignorant foreigners; and an 'English gentleman' would as soon think of boring people with what they had already thought, heard, and read, as a well-bred German employe would entertain them with the details of his official business. An Englishman, if Herr von Raumer will address himself to him, *tête-à-tête*, will reply to all his questions with pleasure and courtesy; but will give them no

encouragement in a place where they would be tedious to other hearers. Lastly, if Herr von Raumer exults in his countryman's enjoyment of wine, we will not seek to spoil his pleasure; but we must observe, that the chief cause of this is, that the poor Germans drink but little wine, and that therefore it produces upon them an effect to which we have long been insensible, and which we are not disposed to purchase by abstinence, or by drinking Berlin *Weissbier*. We fancy the loss might be greater than the gain."

After this speech I might surely play the judge, weigh each side with great dignity, and pronounce sentence; but it seems to me better to show my impartiality, and leave the judicial functions to others.

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Soon after I had seated myself in the omnibus, a well-dressed man got in, and was instantly followed by an equally well-dressed woman, who seized him by the hair with her left hand, while with the right she gave him a box on the ear which made the omnibus ring. As she was proceeding in her ill treatment of him, the neighbours, like good Christians, interposed. To my shame, I confess I was more inclined to call out "go on," that I might see the end of this "untoward battle," and then hear the history of it. The man sat quite still, like a *pauvre honteux;* from which I inferred, spite of the sinister appearance of the slap, that he was the offending party. The lady promised him, with very significant gestures, that the performance should be resumed at home, and played to the end.

Wednesday, May 13th.

Yesterday I was present at the opening of Parliament. The House of Commons is a long square room, lighted by lofty semicircular windows by day, and by chandeliers at night; the walls wainscotted, and painted of an ugly ochre-colour; benches on either side for the members, and galleries for the public. All the members were in their ordinary dress, most of them with their hats on; the Speaker alone, as a sample (or rather as a caricature) of former times, was adorned with a long white wig of great amplitude, and was perched on a high seat. Below him, a table with clerks, papers, &c. Probably the noise to-day was greater than usual, from the number of new members taking their places; it was, however, not always accidental, but increased beyond measure with the growing ennui. The members seldom listened; probably because what was said did not seem

to them of any importance. The only persons whom I understood at all were Messrs. Hume, Cobbett, and Spring Rice, and those I could not follow. I was only conscious that the others were speaking from their gestures. Two Englishmen near me were in the same predicament; so that, this time, it was not the fault of my ignorance of the language or the pronunciation. None of the speakers seemed to attempt to produce effect by external demeanour, attitude, gesture, or such arts of oratory. Demosthenes, Cicero, and Quintilian, would have been sent back to their schools of rhetoric. The imposing effect of the English House of Commons by no means lies in externals; it lies in the thought of the results to England, nay, to the whole globe, from words thus unartistically and negligently uttered.

I must now pass to other subjects; for though these starts and breaks prevent any profound or connected discussion, you must be content to take what the day forces upon me, and make what you can of the Mosaic.

In the first place, I wish to add a postscript to my letter on the Poor Laws, with reference to a speech of O'Connell's just printed. He abjures his opposition to the Poor Laws on grounds of a most singular nature, and which are closely connected with the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, and with the future government of Great Britain. When he calls the Poor Laws "a solecism and an anomaly," and declares it to be highly dangerous and destructive to all civil order, that one man should have a claim to support out of the private property of another man, he is much less of an "Agitator" than he might be, indeed than he *ought to be*. This doctrine (which I have so often attacked), of an absolute, unconditional, exclusive private right, is far more destructive of social order; and, if followed out to its consequences, leads equally to helplessness and heartlessness. No state can either avow this doctrine in theory, or follow it in practice; as the daily demands made on life and property by all governments, more than sufficiently prove. Its duty is only to set legal limits to the claims of selfishness, injustice, and violence; and, among other things, to put an end to robbery and to beggary by means of a legal provision for the poor. That the very words should frighten people here is natural enough, after the abuses I have detailed to you; but they ought to distinguish these from the essence of the thing, and not to cover hardness and selfishness under a veil of political economy. O'Connell's conversion, therefore, is no solecism, but a renunciation of errors.

The course of his conversion, however, is a proof of my favourite opinion of the reciprocal influence of public and private law, and the necessity of looking at the consequences of every

individual enactment on both sides. So long as the elections in Ireland depended on the ten-shilling voters, the landowners subdivided their land in order to secure to themselves a preponderating influence. Since the constitutional law has been altered in this respect, and the qualification is raised from ten shillings to ten pounds, the small farmers and cottagers are, in virtue of an unqualified civil right, relentlessly driven from their homes, in order that the landlord may consolidate his farms, and thus secure ten-pound voters. Thus this public reform leads to incalculable private misery, and O'Connell is right in saying that the national legislature must, in some way or other, interpose. It were unquestionably just, humane, and Christian, to enact poor-laws, purified from errors and abuses, which should compel wealthy land-owners to support those whom they have plunged into such unequalled wretchedness, by availing themselves of a law so favourable to their own interests.

Lastly, O'Connell's declaration is politically important. He entirely relinquishes the idea of the Repeal of the Union;—indeed, he avows that he has only regarded it as a means of extorting justice from a reluctant government. It is now clear to him that Ireland will never obtain this from the Tories, and that the effect of his opposition to the Whigs would be to bring them back to office. The present ministry, for the blessing of Ireland, will therefore stand better with the Irish members than ever it did before.

Another matter I wish to call your notice to, is Lord John Russel's defeat in Devonshire. The county has given him a "*dementi*," which, in France, would be seriously injurious; here he is elected for another place, and, in general popularity, he gains by being a sort of martyr to the rancour of an intolerant party. The thing is clear enough. Wherever the largest landed properties are in the hands of Tories, a Tory member must be returned. The tenants are threatened with being turned out of their farms, and their wives are privately advised to keep their husbands from ruining their families; they had much better go to such a shop where they may choose clothes for their children; they need not trouble themselves about paying, and so forth.

My third topic is, the addresses to Sir Robert Peel, and his speech in the city. The latter is certainly, in a measure, sincere; but you seem to attach a far too great political importance to it, in Berlin. Peel knew better than you, that he had no chance of founding his power upon this incident. The address of the lawyers, say many, proves nothing but the inveteracy of their prejudices, and the extent of their selfishness; they dread reforms that may diminish their gains. The city address comes chiefly from persons connected with the old East India monopoly, West

India slavery, and so on. All see in Peel the champion of their prejudices; but altogether have not votes enough to return one of the six hundred and fifty-eight members to parliament. They are, therefore, in this respect, quite insignificant, and can do no more than express their opinion and give it influence,—or not,—as it may be.

But does Peel then really share their opinions? This it was hoped he would declare at the dinner. But has he declared it? Certainly, say some of the papers; his speech is only the old Tory *refrain*. I cannot assent to this. Peel calls his speech simple, artless, unrhetorical; to me it appears extremely dexterous, artful,* and rhetorical. It was a most difficult task to satisfy his hosts, himself, and the future electors, and to hint at a future administration according to his own views. This task he has fulfilled with great effect. But when we extract the real contents, the *argumentum*, from this work of art, what does it amount to? Nothing more than that the entire old system of the high Tories is impossible and irrational. Reform with its necessary consequences, must be adopted, and a return to old principles is not to be thought of. Their own influence on the elections is quite insignificant; the royal prerogative cannot afford them any protection; the king cannot appoint any ministry at his own pleasure; the House of Lords cannot maintain any struggle with the House of Commons. The great business, on the contrary, now is, to win back a majority in the Commons by moderation and talent, and by conciliation and union with the moderate.

It is only on the subject of the church that Peel seems to cherish all the old opinions; but this is only *seems*, for he acknowledges the right of parliament to legislate for the church; he would govern the church according to the standard prescribed by law, but would maintain the Protestant as the predominant, granting to the Dissenters equal civil rights. All this is in perfect conformity with the principles and the practice of the King of Prussia, and can hardly be made to stand for a profession of intolerance. In short, since Peel has gotten rid of his tail, he moves in a very different manner; and whatever compliments the Tories of the old school may pay him, he has, in truth, shaken them off. The wisdom of the Berlin Wochenblatt, in particular, has been as entirely and singularly confuted by him as if he had had its presumptuous schooling in his eye. This unknown Berlin writer will

* I ought to remark that the word *artful* is not used here in the corrupted sense it usually bears in English. It means the skilful application of art to a given end, and neither implies censure of the end, nor of the means, as it does in English. A few lines further on, in like manner, the speech is called a *kunstwerk*,—a work of art.—*Translator.*

hardly have a colleague and *socius malorum*, even in the D—— of C———.

London, May 14th, 1835.

To-day I miss your friendly morning greetings, and feel more lonely than usual; yet I hope you will think of me as affectionately as I think of you. A fifty-fourth birthday gives occasion to long and serious reflection; above all, the *carpe diem* is pressed upon one,—and more in this place than anywhere. The mass of work before me, instead of decreasing, grows with every day, so that I hardly know where to begin, or how to get on. The past asserts its right, and not less the present; I can give up neither, nor society, and any of the three would suffice to fill the day.

At a party at ——'s, the toast "King and Constitution" was vehemently attacked, and in part by Germans. It was abominably Radical; the second part was superfluous, and was understood of course. I took the part of the proposer; as even the objections showed that the objectors perfectly understood the sense, and did not regard the two halves as synonymous, though they are inseparable. In like manner man and wife are one, drinking the health of both is no offence to either, but an equal compliment to each. Such pointed contrasts and nice distinctions bring on the very thing they seek to avert. England's political health rests on the totality of her great institutions, and the man who drinks cordially to the actual constitution, can hardly aim at its overthrow. At last it came to my turn to give a toast; I gave the "King of Prussia, the greatest and best Reformer in Europe." The latter half of my toast of course excited the scruples of the opposition; but I knew what I said, and what I meant; and my meaning was a good one, and farther details concerning England will prove that the King of Prussia has a greater claim to be placed "*à la tête de la civilisation*," than many (especially on the other side the channel) who pay themselves this compliment with great self-complacency.

Friday, May 15th.

I cannot say much in favour of my birth-day yesterday. In the first place the weather was horrible, as it has been for several days. Thick fog, rain, everything cold, wet, grey, miserable. On my complaining of this in company, a gentleman maintained, that there had not been a fog in London for the last two months; that nobody thought of calling it foggy so long as he could see the houses on the other side of the street by day, or the lamps burning by night. Another added, that last winter, out of a party of two-

and-twenty invited to dine in the Regent's Park, only four arrived, all the others were afraid of losing their way.

Saturday, May 16th.

Yesterday at P———'s the conversation was much more lively than the day before, among the "gelehrten." These gentlemen are generally not the best or the most amusing company. Their mill will grind no corn but what is of their own growth. The varied and many-coloured world interests them little, and they have seldom the facility and address requisite to vary their own intellectual position, or to talk on any subject but their own. Of course, minds of the highest order are in a very different category from those exclusively addicted to a particular science.

Among other things we talked about the poor Irish, the English system of letting farms, and Lady Macbeth.

My English seems, like an ague, to have a good and a bad day alternately. Yesterday, I heard and spoke with much more ease, perhaps because I fell into the right step. But, even on the fever days, I should not spell the titles of English books quite so badly as they are spelt in the Report of the Education Committee, printed by order of government: I give you a few specimens—not to mention names which are entirely wrong. Schmidts Kleine Biblische Geschulter, und Grosse Biblische Gerschichten. Ferrenner Volksshulrunde. Rauscherbusch Gotielungs Buchlein (I cannot guess what this means); Krouse Versuch plaumussiger und naturlicher Deskubengen. Turk die sinnlichen Walvnehmungen. Anleitung zu Dew und Sprechubungen. Harnisch Roumlehre. Pestalozzi Tapeln. Raweron Leitfoden, &c. &c.

If the Prussian government were to print such things, what an outcry there would be (and justly) about negligence—if not ignorance!

LETTER XXIII.

Reform in Parliament—Historical Sketch of English Parliament—Spiritual Peers—Creation of Peers—Changes in the House of Commons from Edward I. to George III.—Projects of Reform—Mr. Pitt—Duke of Wellington's resistance—Its consequences—Lord John Russell's Bill—Remarks on the Debates—Rejection by the Lords—Resignation and Return of Whig Ministers—Final passing of the Bill.

London, May 1 *to* 16, 1835.

All I have hitherto communicated to you concerning reforms in the church, the poor-laws, the corporations, &c., is essentially connected with the subject of reform in parliament, out of which, indeed, those measures mainly sprang. For this reason, and because the recollection of old and scattered newspaper articles is not sufficient, I must venture to say something on the history, character, and consequences of this most weighty and difficult measure.

Though a history of the English parliament can find no place here, it is necessary to revert to a few of the incidents which have recently been the subject of praise or blame, and have called forth the conflicting demands for conservation or for alteration.

Since the end of the 13th century, parliament has consisted of the king and the three estates of the realm, viz., the spiritual and temporal Lords, and the House of Commons. The two former, however, have long constituted so completely one body, the Upper House, that a division of the votes has never taken place, and a decision of the majority is binding, though all the spiritual Lords vote against it.

There was a time in which a number of the latter was greater than that of the temporal lords. Their number and influence, however, greatly declined at the Reformation, thirty-six being abolished, while the kings were continually adding to the nobles. Under Henry VII. only twenty-nine Lords sat in the House; under Henry VIIIth, and Elizabeth, fifty-one; under James I., ninety-six; in the year 1640, one hundred and nineteen; in 1661, one hundred and thirty-nine; in 1826, three hundred and so on. There are now three hundred and fifty English peers, twenty-eight Irish, sixteen Scotch, and thirty-two bishops including the Irish—in all four hundred and twenty-six. These numbers sufficiently show how extremely weak, compared with its condition

in the middle ages, is the spiritual part of the House of Lords; and yet many are of opinion, that it ought, as at the rebellion, to be entirely thrown out, and the whole power left in the hands of the temporal lords.

I can by no means adopt this opinion. When in our days every grocer and pastry-cook lays claim to political rights, either immediately or by representation, and must have a voice and a hand in every thing, why should the highest interest of society, that of religion, have no voice? Certainly every man is or ought to be, in some sort, an organ of this interest; but he is so in the same sense only as, of law, or of agriculture, trade, &c. The clergyman has his peculiar knowledge and calling; and this calling by no means lies so out of the world and the state, that no point or direction of salutary influence, and useful co-operation could be marked out for him. If this is denied in theory, and yet permitted in practice, an illegal interference is almost inevitable, and generally becomes more powerful and more dangerous, than when it is moderated and controlled by its connexion with other parts and powers of the state. The objection that "Christ's kingdom is not of this world," has its just and good acceptation, and even in the middle ages, the powerful clergy knew that there were some things, such, for instance, as the command of armies, which were not suited to their character. But it does not the least follow from this, as many infer, that a poor and dependent clergy existing merely upon voluntary contributions is desirable; that the temporal legislature needs no spiritual aid; that state and church have no connexion whatever, and so forth. Abuse of wealth, partial interference, exclusive power and privilege, ought to be prevented, but it were very inconsistent in an age which vaunts its liberality and universality, to exclude altogether from public life the most important element of civilisation; and were equally at variance with all historical experience.

It is not the twenty bishops in the House of Lords, it is not this inconsiderable minority, which has occasioned the defects of the English Church. It is, that the temporal lords have seen their own advantage in maintaining every thing as it is; as, in the 17th century, others found theirs in overthrowing everything. On the other hand, the bishops are frequently men of aristocratical connexions, and generally vote with the government. That they have deviated from this course several times lately, more on party than on religious grounds, has not tended to make them popular, and has altered their position with relation to the government.

If, however, the spiritual portion is to be entirely excluded from parliament; instead of giving it a broader foundation and more liberal views, either some form of convocation or synod

must be devised, or that must be abandoned to accident, which ought to be guided and governed by law. The same thing does not suit all, and I am far from wanting to fit all institutions to one exact model; but the war with the clergy carried on with mere common places and abstractions is a shallow proceeding, and may be turned by analogy against the temporal peers; professedly for the interest of the House of Commons; till this latter becomes the prey of a Cromwell, or a Napoleon, and apparent omnipotence is suddenly changed into miserable nothingness.

I have already mentioned in another place propositions of individual reform in the House of Commons, and will no longer refrain from looking at the subject in a more general way. The House of Lords was certainly wrong, in endeavouring, in George the First's time, to limit the right of the king to create peers. The bill was thrown out by the Commons, who perceived that an exclusive narrow-minded oligarchy, predestined to speedy decrepitude, would have thus arisen; and any renovation or any introduction of popular opinions would have been rendered infinitely more difficult. Once only in the time of Queen Anne, peers were created, in order to secure to the ministry a majority in the Upper House; since that time this perilous expedient has been avoided, and affairs stand so, spite of all threatening appearances, that collisions and disputes of the two Houses are settled without any fundamental alterations in the constitution of the peers. But that things may continue on this footing, both parties must preserve reason and moderation. Whether the Lower House required reform is the question we have now to discuss; a question which has received such contrary answers.

The House of Commons was generally regarded by the one party as a body which had been unchanged from time immemorial, and, therefore, as one in which no change was ever to be made. Setting aside that, the principle, "a certain state of things ought to be preserved, *because* it is old," may (like most abstractions) be converted into the equally true, or equally false, proposition, "a certain state of things ought to be altered, *because* it has been so long without alteration;"—setting aside this, history shows a very gradual and various development of the elements and powers of the House of Commons. At first, for instance, the latter were so trifling, the expense of sitting so great, and the office of voting supplies so ungrateful and disagreeable, that many endeavoured to avoid being summoned by the king. So long as the summons depended on the king, this involved a principle of change and mobility; and it was not till the restoration of Charles II. that a general conviction arose, without any express law to this effect, that the balance and the significancy of

the several powers of the state would again be lost, if the king could call members to the Commons as well as create peers.

In the time of Edward I., about one hundred and fifty members sat in the Lower House; in that of Henry VIII., about two hundred and twenty-four.*

Henry VIII.	restored	2	votes, and created	33
Edward VI.	„	20	„	28
Mary	„	4	„	17
Elizabeth	„	12	„	48
James I.	„	16	„	11
Charles I.	„	18	„	6

Since Charles II., no king has, as I have said, granted new charters; but the addition made by the Scotch and Irish unions in 1706 and 1801, was a great and important reform of the English House of Commons. Since that time it has consisted of the following members:

[These numbers are so familiar to English readers, that it has been thought advisable to omit them. The author goes on to describe the form of election which existed before the passing of the Reform Bill, the different sorts of qualification for voting, and the qualifications for sitting in Parliament. These details, also, I have taken the liberty to omit, and to pass on to the observations.]—TRANSL.

These short notices will make many of the attacks on the one hand, and the defences on the other, which I shall soon lay before you more intelligibly. I must find room here for two or three prefatory remarks:—

First,—Up to the latter half of the seventeenth century, the House of Commons was subject to still greater changes than the House of Peers; and the settled and immutable character which it afterwards assumed, rested neither upon express laws, nor upon philosophical reasons, nor upon practical necessity; or it would be easy to invent arguments to show why the aristocratical, conservative House of Lords must be more unchangeable and inaccessible than the democratic House which represented the progress of opinion among the mass. Although George III. did not create Lords *en fournées*, for certain definite purposes, yet, in the course of his reign, two hundred and thirty-five new peers were added to the House, while seventy-four became extinct, thus leaving an augment of one hundred and sixty-one members! Such a proceeding as this would have appeared, to the hereditary nobles of Venice or of Berne, or even to Queen Elizabeth (who

* Hallam, iii. 50. Archenholz, Annals v. 15—43. Stockdale, xxx.

was so sparing of elevations of rank, a reform of the Upper House more radical than all that has been effected, or even proposed, in our times, for the reform of the Lower. But these large additions tend to correct the defects of an hereditary nobility, introduce into it the greatest talent of the Commons from time to time, (especially the holders of the highest legal offices,) and thus give to the peerage a great and appropriate weight. But in whatever way we view this matter, we can collect from it no historical nor philosophical indication why the Upper House should be moveable and changeable, and the Lower immoveable and unchangeable.

Secondly,—The same applies to forms of elections and qualifications of electors. It is just as absurd to run into an idolatry of an abstract uniformity on these points, or of a useless variety, which is generally the consequence merely of accident and caprice. Increase or decrease of population, of wealth, of education, &c., which, in all the affairs of life exert their influence, cannot be wholly inoperative on the member, and the circumstances of the electors or the elected. Or,

Thirdly,—Those vast changes which enter into all the relations of private life, cannot remain without influence on public affairs; and it is one of the greatest and most fatal errors, completely to dissever public and private law, as many high Tories desire; or completely to mix and confound them, as the Jacobins attempted to do.

The idea of reforming the House of Commons is by no means a mere modern offspring of selfishness and rancour; it is old, and proceeded immediately from the desire to restore that principle of life and motion which, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, lay in the hands of the king, but, from that time, fell asleep, or died. From this it is clear, that no measure relating to forms could possibly be a "final measure," since that idea exactly plunges things back into the lifeless immobility out of which the object was to draw them. The assertion, that the adoption of this principle must inevitably throw every thing into ruinous confusion, that nothing would be secure or stable for an hour, is just as rational as that the House of Peers is threatened with a swift destruction, because no new made lord can be a "final" lord, since the king retains the *droit du mouvement* here, though he lost it in the Commons. If the Upper House had remained, from the year 1640, like the Lower, shut against all renovation, the aristocracy would long ere this, have declined to nothing.

But how I speculate, instead of narrating! Since Pitt's repeated motions for a reform in Parliament, the idea has never been dropped. If that great statesman renounced his own projects during the most frightful years of the French revolution,

this was no proof of inconsistency; it only proved that he, like Solomon, saw that there is a time for everything. But the reasons which were valid in the year 1793 did not exist in 1830. When, therefore, Wellington declared, on the 1st November, 1830, "that he was opposed to all and every reform, because the existing forms were sufficient for every purpose, and possessed the perfect confidence of the country,* he said what was agreeable neither to prudence nor to truth. This was the firebrand, or, if you will, the safety-bringing light, for England for many years; it produced the very spirit it meant to quell, and was more pregnant with consequences than the speaker imagined. In October, 1831,† he said, in justification of his former declaration, "that he had spoken as the king's minister, whose duty it is to maintain the institutions of the country." This seems to contain the *petitio principii*, that everything he thought right to maintain was worth maintaining. But the office of the statesman is a quite peculiar one; he has to facilitate the birth of present events, and to prepare an honourable grave for the past. The Duke's protest put an end to legislating on the subject; the contest now became merely one of time. A conditional declaration would have placed the course and shape of the reform in the Duke's hands; an unconditional one threw them into the hands of his adversaries.

The East Retford business, which the Tories celebrated as a victory, appeared to every clear-sighted observer a defeat, inasmuch as it increased the number of their enemies; but this and similar things were mere matters of detail.

Wellington's general declaration of war, naturally and necessarily led to a general rising. It has often been said in his defence, that he spoke in haste: I cannot be of this opinion, when I look at the course of things, the circumstances, and the words. I have rather explained the matter to myself thus:—In 1829 the Duke carried the question of Catholic emancipation, by the help of the Whigs and the Radicals. In 1830 he kept his place by granting a repeal of taxes, after having refused it. In the third year, the Whigs demanded reform, but the Tories would agree to no further concessions, and the Duke was forced to adopt their views or lose their support. Whatever were the motives that decided him, he was mistaken in thinking that a display of resolute resistance would change public opinion. His ministry fell; and on the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought forward a comprehensive plan of reform. I abstract for you the most essential contents of his speech.

* Hansard, i. 52. † Hansard, vii. 1187.

[I have thought the reader would rather not go through this abstract of the debates on reform, however clearly and concisely it may be made. They are so recent as hardly to need recalling. After the sketch of Lord J. Russell's opening speech, the following remarks occur.]

This scheme, which indeed exceeded the hopes of the one party, and the fears of the other, excited the most intense interest throughout the country, and the struggle between its opponents and supporters lasted for above a year, within and without the walls of Parliament, till at length it was decided in favour of the latter. It was my intention to make you acquainted with the whole progress of this struggle, and to that end I had drawn together all the arguments for and against, in two long speeches; but this plan is attended with great inconveniences; it exhibits what was gradually evolved, and arose historically out of various opposing arguments, as simultaneous. It changes the dialogic and dramatic into the epic, and leaves no trace of the individuality of the speakers, which was here so remarkably conspicuous. I only wish you may not find what I have compressed into a few pages, from volumes of speeches, either too dry or too fragmentary. I must crave your indulgence if I perform my task neither to your satisfaction nor to my own.

[Here follow the leading topics urged by members in the following order:—Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Twiss, Lord F. L. Gower, Mr. Shelley, Lord Darlington, Sir John Walsh, Sir Charles Wetherell, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Baring, Mr. Croker, Sir R. Peel (of whose speech a somewhat longer account is given than of the others), Lord Althorp, Lord Newark, Mr. Jeffery (Lord Advocate), Mr. Gisborne, Sir James Graham, Messrs. Harvey, Tennant, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Macauley.]

Such were the most prominent arguments for and against the Reform Bill. On the question, whether it should be read a second time, there was a majority of only one—302 for, 301 against. The members for the universities and the threatened boroughs were in the minority. On the 22d of March, 1831, there was also a majority. On the 19th of April there were 299 against, 291 in support of General Gascoigne's motion, that the number of members of Parliament be not diminished.

This motion was closely connected with the project of maintaining unaltered the old system of rotten boroughs; *i. e.* of rejecting one half of the Reform Bill. In all other respects a diminution of the members of Parliament would have been in favour of the aristocracy and the monarchy, and the king was accordingly inclined to it: but the more immediate object of the Tory opposition was to undermine and blow up the ministry. The latter inclined more to concession than the king; but their defeat was soon turned into victory,—since, of the two alterna-

tives, to dismiss them, or to appeal to the people, the king chose the latter. On the 21st of April, 1831, parliament was dissolved. This dissolution has been called a tyrannical and perverse exercise of royal and ministerial power: it appears to me quite otherwise.

The momentous question of parliamentary reform had been agitated with an unexpected violence. It was discussed in the amplest manner, and every man had therefore every possible means of forming or correcting his judgment. The two parties were nearly equal, and a majority of two or three votes could not be received as a final and complete settling of the question. Nothing, therefore, was more natural and more consonant with the spirit of the English constitution, than that, after these pleadings of the great cause, recourse should be had to the electors,—the jury of the nation,—in order to ascertain whether, in fact, a great majority of the people were for the measure, as one party affirmed and the other denied. Certainly more universal and pressing reasons existed for this dissolution of Parliament than for that of 1835, which had hardly any results. The debates, of which I have given you a slight abstract, had the useful effect of correcting errors, and of enabling the champions of the Reform Bill to make important alterations and improvements on their first project.

On the 21st of June, 1831, the new Parliament was opened, and a great many speeches were made, the views and the conclusions expressed in which so nearly resembled the former ones, that I may venture to pass them over in silence. Only the speech of Sir James Mackintosh deserves, even in this condensed sketch, particular mention. On this division, 367 voted for the second reading of the bill, and 231 against it. The majority was thus raised from 1 to 136. In the minority there were one hundred and sixty persons who had an immediate interest in the matter.

I must mention, as a very important subordinate debate which grew out of the main one, that on the motion of Mr. Hume for granting a place in the legislature to the British colonies, on the ground that it was absurd to concede political rights to small English towns, while they were denied to millions of subjects of the empire. The motion was rejected on various grounds; such as the impossibility of an adequate representation of such remote countries, and the like. On the 21st of September, 1831, the Reform Bill passed by a majority of one hundred and nine; and on the 22d was solemnly carried up to the Lords by Lord John Russell.

The objections which I have already quoted were there brought forward anew.

[Here follows an abstract of some of the speeches of the Lords.]

Without going into any detailed inquiry as to the possibility of amending the bill, it was thrown out by a majority of forty-one, on the 7th of October, 1831. Only two of the bishops—Norwich and Chichester—voted for it; a fact which excited great disgust. The Commons lamented the fate of the bill in the upper house, professed their firm attachment to the principles of it, and their unaltered confidence in the integrity, perseverence, and talents of ministers who had merited their thanks by the introduction of a bill affecting the weightiest interests of the country. The Duke of Wellington and the Tories saw the impossibility of forming a new ministry, and after the prorogation had expired in December, 1831, the bebates began a third time. That ministers had altered several not unimportant points in the bill, was cited by their friends as a proof of readiness to receive suggestions, and a desire to carry the measure; by their enemies, as a proof of precipitation and levity. The problem was to hold an equal way between obstinacy and weakness.

[Here follows a brief account of the further discussions.]

When the bill was sent up to the Peers this time, they did not reject the entire principle of the bill, but allowed it to be read a second time, and proceeded to an examination of its details.

On the 2d of May, 1832, they decided that the question should first be debated, to what places new franchises should be granted; by which the entire direction of the discussion would have fallen into the hands of the Tories, and the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs have become impossible. Although the King was reminded that, in the last fifty years, Tories had almost exclusively been raised to the peerage, and that therefore it was necessary to restore the balance by an addition to the Whig peers, he would not consent to a numerous creation, and ministers consequently resigned.

I can neither blame the King for refusing to create a number of peers, nor for accepting the resignation of ministers. Undoubtedly he lost his popularity for the moment by the latter step, but he adhered to the constitutional course and rendered a permanent service to his people. As public opinion had been sufficiently tested by the dissolution of parliament, no other means remained for accurately testing the strength of the Tory opposition, and for bringing this party to a knowledge of itself and its own position, but by encouraging its leaders to take the reins of government, and then, if experience should demonstrate to them the impracticability of the experiment, to adapt themselves to circumstances which they could not control.

The next day the (unreformed) House of Commons sent a pe-

tition to the King, praying him to confide the government to men who were determined to carry through all the material provisions of the bill.

Neither Wellington nor Peel were able to form a ministry; and the ministers who had gone out took office again, under the tacit condition that if the Peers offered a permanent stubborn resistance, it was to be met by new creations. Under these circumstances the Tories withdrew their opposition, the bill passed the Lords on the 4th of June, 1832, by a majority of one hundred and six to twenty-two; and after some few alterations, which however did not affect the main principles, formally passed the Commons.

[Here follows a statement of some few well-known statistical provisions of the Bill.]

LETTER XXIV.

Remarks on the Reform Bill—English attachment to Forms—England and France Constitutional States: meaning of those words—National Bigotries—History, Principles with their Consequences—Sir Robert Peel—Exclusive regard to Quantity, and neglect of Quality, in modern Political Schemes—Edinburgh Review—Reports of Commissioners—Royal Authority—Centralization—Relation of number of Electors to Population—Annual Parliaments—Ballot—Prospects of England.

London, 17th May, 1835.

I HAVE now endeavoured briefly to lay before you a statement of the views and principles of the two great parties, and here I might hold my historical duties fulfilled; but I trust to your patience, if I do not suppress some of the reflexions which the consideration of this momentous subject has suggested to me.

Both parties were entirely persuaded of the supreme and decisive importance of constitutional forms; not one single individual so much as alluded to Pope's well known and oft repeated maxim,—

> "For forms of government let fools contest,
> Whate'er is best administer'd is best."

The contest between Tories and Whigs turned almost entirely on the goodness or the badness, the value or the insignificance, of the *old* or of the *new* forms. It is true that Pope's negative view of the matter can never be conclusive for a long period of time: it may, however, be transformed into a positive and pregnant reflexion, when, without denying the importance here attached to *forms*, we also assert the importance of *persons;*

for nothing but the combination and co-operation of both can produce a living government, and a well-constituted, true social body. Instead, however, of striving after this union, men, in different ages, have worshipped at one time the one half, at an other, the other, with blind fanaticism and credulity; till, being disappointed in the expectations they had conceived from their idol, they flew to the opposite side, there to experience the same disappointment. Thus, for instance, the bigoted and delusive confidence in forms led to tyranny in many of the Italian states in the middle ages; the exclusive and mistaken republicanism of England and France, to the military despotism of Cromwell and Napoleon; and to this hour the most exaggerated expectations are entertained from what, without any accurate investigation of its details and results, is called, in one word, a Constitution, and extolled as a universal political remedy.

If this word were understood as comprising the endless variety of forms which history displays, from the most remote to the most recent times, it were, indeed, of the highest interest and importance; but if this variety be utterly disregarded for some darling scheme exclusively worshipped under the name of constitution, every deviation from which is regarded a damnable heresy, however high be the pretensions set up, it is certain that presumption and ignorance still reign supreme. With great justice did Europe resent the insolent pretension of the French to remodel all nations upon their own pattern. The charge brought against the French, that they acknowledge but one form of government, and attach the most one-sided and exaggerated value to it, is, however, but half true; for this *one* form has undergone numerous changes, and what was admired one day was held up to contempt the next. Even at this moment, only one party adheres firmly to the Charter, which a second wants to make more royalist, and a third more republican.

We are, say the French and the English, constitutional states: that is to say, there are in France and in England two chambers and a king. But, with this resemblance, what essential differences the moment one goes the least below the surface; even in mere constitutional forms, and far more in innumerable other institutions! If then I understand by constitution (as in the human body) the sum of laws, principles, and tendencies, legislation and administration, religion, church, art and science, &c., &c., France and England, spite of their common denomination "Constitutional States," are not only different, but opposite; and, in this sense, there is no state, nor ever was, that has not had a constitution, nor could such a one ever exist.

As men of opposite or different temperaments often find it im-

possible to understand each other, so nations and writers seldom understand those who differ widely from themselves. The Frenchman, for instance, assures the Prussian that he is a slave, because he has a censorship and no representative assembly, and no Paris journals, while on the other hand, the Prussian remarks, that most of the journalists are thrown into prison, that the towns and provinces of France are without any principle of political life or self-government, and the public functionaries dependent on ministerial caprice, consequently slaves, &c. The Englishman thinks a universal liability to military service tyrannical; while the Prussian is shocked at the aristocratical organization and the degrading punishments, which could not be endured in the English army, were it as equitably and nationally constituted as his own. The Prussian boasts the equal treatment of all religious sects; the English Tory sees in this the destruction of church and religion.

I will resist my inclination to argue the point, that true freedom in a state may assume very different shapes, and rest upon very different securities,—nay, that these differences are inevitable. He who contends that public law must be the same in all countries, has yet to learn the A B C of political science.

Hence it follows, further, that even in one and the same state, the constitutional forms cannot remain unalterably the same; and that it is as dangerous, as it is irrational, to confound reforms with violent revolutions. The latter are almost invariably the consequence of a denial or unreasonable delay of the former. It is only necessary to recollect the Decemvirs, the Gracchi, the Reformation, the Swiss Confederation, the Revolt of the Netherlands, the English and French Revolutions, &c. *Persistance* may be, and has been, as revolutionary as change.

All the general conclusions of this kind concerning the Reform Bill nullified each other; it was only in detail that they had any meaning. But even here there were errors. There is, for instance, a degree of diversity in local circumstances and usages which is agreeable and useful; there is a degree which leaves too much to chance, caprice, and injustice. To obliterate the former, were as bad policy as to maintain the latter, unconditionally. All government is, I repeat, mediation, and must be so in this instance. Many, struck with the errors and inconveniences arising from these anomalies, want to reduce every thing to one general rule, which they pretend should be decisive in all cases: it should be remembered, however, that if this is not thoroughly accurate, profound and exhaustive, the evil is only increased.

When a noble lords says, "do justice, and care not for the consequences," this seemingly brilliant truth involves a heap of er-

rors. Not to mention that what seems justice to him is injustice to another, the maxim involves a contradiction. The true and highest justice can have no bad consequences; and the oft-repeated phrase, "fiat justitia pereat mundus," has really no meaning. God has given man reason to look behind as well as before him, and it would be absurd to renounce the use of one-half of this faculty. The advantage of instruction derived from the past is, that we there see principles *with their consequences;* and whole systems once established by law, and universally regarded as justice, when viewed by this double light, are now condemned and unjust,—witness slavery. This is by no means an objection to a really philosophical study of law, but that is not worthy to be called so which rests upon mere abstractions.

I have the same fault to find with several of Peel's arguments. As, for instance, when he denounced the democratical tendency of the Reform Bill, and yet praised the sort of back door, if I may use the expression, through which the borough system admitted (in a strange way enough) some so-called democratic elements. He asserted that the *evil* did not proceed from the form of the elective system, and yet he wanted to derive the *good* from it; he said, that the consequences of every change were doubtful;—as if the consequences of every non-change could be distinctly foreseen to be beneficial: he said, *because* I do not choose to alter the constitution, I cannot grant the right of election to such cities a Manchester and Birmingham. Unless a man will frankly say, "stet pro ratione voluntas," this "*because*" has nothing to stand on; it supposes an entire renunciation of the functions of a statesman in favour of some pretended private rights, and loses sight of the important objection, that, setting aside the particular provision of the Reform Bill, the very nature and essence of the English constitution demanded the franchise of those large cities. Enough: all these assertions fall to nothing the moment you consider the other side, and only show the necessity for higher and more impartial views.

That many Tories wanted to fight out the battle on the field of private rights, was quite agreeable to their interests, but not at all so to the matter in hand. A political function can never be claimed as private property. If, however, traffic in it had been sanctioned by law, compensation for the individual loss which a return to the just principles of public law would have involved, would not unreasonably have been demanded. But in this respect the boroughmongers were less fortunate than the slave-holders; the slave trade having been hitherto sanctioned by law, whereas the trade in borough and votes, and indeed all influence of the Lords on the choice of the Commons, being illegal;—a fact of

which they were reminded at the opening of every parliament, when the law was read aloud.

These, however, are mere matters of detail. There remained one general objection.—The reproach that the reformers had reduced all political science to a sum in arithmetic, is unfounded: in every formula, *quantity* necessarily occupies a prominent station. Yet the question remains, whether this might not have been combined to a greater extent with *quality*. The development of modern political science, rests almost as entirely on this opposition between the Quantitative and the Qualitative. The revolutionary school since 1789 have thought they could effect everything with the former: we find nothing but numbers of electors, numbers of representatives, duration of public offices; as qualifications for voting, amount of property, amount of taxes, &c.; nothing but quantities to the utter disregard of qualities; such as political qualifications, associations, examinations, attainments, and so on. It is only in the most recent times that the French, by fixing their *catégories* and *notabilitiés*, and by the creation of their peers, have returned to the consideration of quality; and they will return to it more distinctly in future. In short, I entertain a perfect conviction that constitutional law must remain in an imperfect state so long as regard is not had both to quantity and to quality.

This idea, so fruitful in important consequences, stands directly opposed to most of the political doctrines of our days. It is impossible for me to go into any full and detailed development of it here. But one example taken from the Reform Bill will serve, in some measure, to illustrate it. The provision which confers the right of voting on all ten-pound householders is merely quantitative, and therefore, in my opinion, a one-sided and imperfect rule. The inquiry, whether the qualification should be twenty pounds, or five pounds, instead of ten, would be equally quantitative, and equally inconclusive. Arithmetically speaking, ten is always ten, and twenty, twenty, but this only true when we reckon with unknown quantities; not with any known ones; least of all when these are the circumstances of human life and the powers of political society. Ten, with the sign £. is a totally different thing from ten with the sign *d.* and ten pounds in the remote village is a very different thing from ten pounds in London. This quality of money, its power and significancy as an index to the condition and circumstances of its possessor, is not all attended to in the Reform Bill; every thing is measured by the same abstract arithmetical rule. The same applies to the French qualifications; it is the same for Paris and the avenues. Is not this arithmetical equality the greatest inequality, and is not this ine-

quality unjust and unwise? Instances in which the quantitative and qualitative are happily combined are afforded by the qualification for the Prussian Landstande, and in like manner for the South German elective assemblies.

But this will lead to another of my political heresies, about which I mean to write a book as soon as I have nothing else to do, viz., that both representative legislatures, and legislatures of which the members sit in virtue of their rank, office, profession, or other class qualification, are defective when absolutely severed or opposed; and that it is only by a combination of both that a government can be formed suited to the present and the future wants of society.

I return to a reform question which stands in close connexion with what I have just said. The one party complains that the number of electors is too great, the other that it is too small. It seems to me that the fitness of the electoral body does not depend on its numerical size, but on its character; and what, with reference to this, may be too great in one place, may be too small in another. For the benefit of those who are opposed to all participation on the part of the people in public affairs, I quote a passage from the "Edinburgh Review."

"There is scarcely a prospect in the world more curious than that of England during a general election. The congregations of people; the interests called into operation; the passions roused; the principles appealed to; the printed and spoken addresses; the eminent men who appear; the guarantees demanded and given; the fluctuations of the poll; the exultation of the victorious party—it is a scene in which there is much to attract the eyes and ears, but more to fix the mind. A person who understands the bustle before him, and thinks what it implies, sees in it the whole practical working of the constitution. He sees the majority of public opinion; the responsibility of representatives to constituents; the formation of the political virtues; the union of all classes and sorts of men in common national objects; the elevation of the popular character; the prodigious consolidation given to the whole civil fabric, by the incorporation of all parts of the state with the mass of the population; the combination of universal excitement with perfect general safety; the control of the people softened and directed by eloquence; the establishment of the broadest basis on which the happiness of a state can rest." *

* Edinburgh Review, No. LII. p. 208.

So long as this picture is not entirely devoid of truth, England's sun cannot set in eternal night, whatever certain augurs of evil may say. That night will, however, be at hand, whenever the abuses and defects of elections, the cost and the corruption, come to be treated, first as inevitable, and afterwards as convenient and justifiable.

It is remarkable that in 1835 only 114 elections out of the 658, were contested : in the other 544, no opponent appeared.

It might be said that the quantitative equality of the ten-pound householders leads immediately to an inequality of their character, and that this inequality has its good. But those who openly wanted either to extend or contract the elective franchise, pursued a much simpler and more straightforward course than those who said nothing, but rejoiced in the secret persuasion that this equality would work aristocratically in the country and democratically in the towns. Not to mention the danger of calling forth a democratic predominancy exactly in the largest towns, where the people and the mob are most easily united,—until a sound moral education, from the lowest class upwards, is more general, political authority must often be confined to ignorant and unskilful hands.

Altogether, however, the English representation (according to my system, the *one-half* of a complete constitution) is more equitably distributed, and more fitly established than before. But as it is become far more conformable with the spirit and will of the people, and a much more sympathising and faithful exponent of them, the power of the House of Commons is certainly greatly increased, and Peel was quite right when he told his city hosts that they could no longer steer the same course. So long as the borough system lasted, the Lower House sailed with a half wind ; but now the wind has changed, it is of no use trying to turn the vane with their fingers, as if Æolus cared for such tricks ; they must shift their sails, and make port as quickly as they can.

Expedition is not, indeed, often the property of large deliberative assemblies. The notion of some Reformers, that it would be an advantage to reduce the number of members of parliament is a perfectly just one, and nothing but the difficulties attending the execution of the project occasioned its abandonment. Every bill must be read and discussed three times in each House ; not to mention the irrelevant matter which grows out of every question, and the delight with which many men hear themselves speak. How many laws are of the most urgent necessity for England, and how many years will elapse before they are passed ! On the other hand, the second grand defect of all legislation, pre-

cipitation and carelessness are not so likely to occur in this way of conducting business.

Above all, it is impossible to say enough in praise of the profound and varied inquiries which have been conducted by the several Commissions appointed for special objects, and of the admirable reports they have laid before the government and the country. Here is a second most efficient, salutary and popular parliament acting as pioneer and ally to the other parliament. By this means the people will attain to a perfect understanding of their own character and condition ; public *opinion* rises to the dignity of public *conviction ;* the for and against are placed in juxtaposition and impartially balanced, and every fact and question upon which the legislator will have to decide is clearly, appropriately, and completely placed before him. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to particular points, these inquiries and reports, combined with the parliamentary debates and decisions founded upon them, will remain an eternal monument of the civilization, the intelligence, the clearness of mind, and strength of will,—in short, of the characteristics—of Britons ; a monument such as no other nation is competent to raise.

The progress of legislation in Prussia, for example, has been, in many respects, more summary, bolder, more consistent, better concatenated, more comprehensive ; but it presents no monument of a people deliberating with its government, and coming to a common understanding on its own affairs. With us the education of the people proceeded from the administration, so often unjustly accused ; but the reciprocal operation which manifests itself in these English reports and evidence, questions and answers, is wanting in the Prussian proceedings, and occasionally lessens the unison between what was wished and what was granted.

If the power of the House of Commons is unquestionably increased, while various expedients for giving weight to the royal authority have proved abortive or impracticable, the question arises,—Are there any safe and beneficial means by which the latter may be strengthened? It is impossible, say the croakers, we are advancing inevitably towards anarchy. To this it may be replied, rotten boroughs, sinecures, and such antiquated lumber, are gone for ever; but were these the true and solid props of the royal power? Were not a war for such excrescences more absurd than that of Charles I.? And is it a loss to a just king of England that the number of the standing army no longer depends on him? It was natural that, after the peace of Ryswick, William III. should feel this restriction galling and embarrassing; he

was right, looking only to the day, but those who resisted him were right for a century to come. In the seventeenth century most sovereigns held it to be not only their right, but their duty to prescribe to their subjects what they were to believe; has monarchy lost or won since this idea can no longer by any possibility occur to them? Elizabeth, even in her day, recurring to feudal laws and customs, interfered in the marriages of all persons of condition. Would the Tories, who bewail the declension of the monarchy, like to restore it to its pristine vigour in this particular? The simple truth is this: the king can no longer treat the noble, the noble the citizen, the citizen his apprentice or his servant, the priest his parishioners, as they severally could some centuries ago. If this is a loss, it is a loss which all share. It were stupid, as well as selfish, for one to want to call back from antiquity just what seems convenient to himself, and to deny to another what, on precisely similar grounds, he were equally entitled to demand.

I cannot persuade myself that, in the grand progress and development of the human species, nothing is perceptible but the mockeries of chance, or the consciousness of our own delusions. Faith and opinion are divided on the question how far Providence continues to manifest itself by immediate interference in particulars; but that the whole race of man is abandoned of God, and left to its own wanderings, no heathen, still less a Christian, can believe! If, however, I set up any one mode of government, state of society, or point of time, in short any one *form*, as the absolutely excellent, and contemn all others, I transform Providence into a capricious patron of a section.

Emperors like Tiberius, kings like Philip II., if they were to rise from the grave and see what is going on now, would bitterly complain of the degeneracy of modern times, and would affirm that the rights and duties of rulers were no longer understood. The position of a king of England must needs appear to them poor and contemptible. In them, this madness would have method and a certain grandeur in it; but what shall we say when Tories contend that a rotten borough and a sinecure are the corner stones of the world and of civilization? Or to mention still more miserable *mesquinéries* at home, when persons raised from the loom to a seat in the Landstande are violently exasperated against the Prussian laws of 1810, which deprived them of the privilege of flogging their peasants and servants when they liked? They forgot that, under the old laws, they would have remained *Canton pflichtig*, and would have had a few floggings themselves.

But I let my thoughts, or my pen, run on too freely. I must return to my text. In all the changes occasioned by the universal progress of society, and not by mere force, I can see no unqualified loss; not even in the present relation of the King of England to the Parliament. On the other hand, the old complaints of the dangers which threatened English liberty from the royal prerogative are now without a meaning, and, if put forward at all, are mere pretexts. The more varied and powerful is the influence and co-operation of the people, and the control of parliament, as well as of public opinion, the more vigorous an administration can the people bear, nay, ought they to desire.

And here it seems to me more possible indirectly to strengthen the royal power, than in many other ways where it has been attempted in vain. The centralization which (after bitter experience of the want of it) has been so beneficially introduced in the administration of the poor-laws, will perhaps become practicable and expedient for the direction of schools, corporations, &c., without falling into the French extreme. Above all it appears to me (as I have expressed elsewhere) a thoroughly erroneous opinion that corporations, societies, guilds, towns, colleges, endowments, or whatever they may be called, should be regarded as distinct independent bodies, inaccessible to the interference of the state. If no individual mortal member of the commonwealth can set up any such pretensions, still less should they be allowed to these great, influential, and undying organs of the social body. Their functions affect the whole, and should be in close and permanent unison with the whole; but this is incompatible with a doctrine which transforms them from living organs into lifeless parts, and contributes to the formation of isolated states within the state, in a manner which neither science nor experience can justify.

May 19th, 1835.

I have devoted too much space to speculations which, however, if they please you, are not out of place. I know that though figures are generally dry and tiresome, you will like to hear what is the relation borne by the population of the most important cities and counties to the number of electors. Many conclusions may be drawn from hence as to the wealth, the more or less democratical tendency, &c.

[Here follows a list of towns and counties with the numbers abovementioned annexed, which it is thought unnecessary to insert.]

This list, which comprises the most important towns, and the most considerable counties, shows that the number of voters in these places, though large, is yet very far from approaching to universal suffrage. You will see also that the population is by no means in the direct ratio, either of the property, or of the number of voters; and lastly, that the number of Members of Parliament is neither exactly apportioned to the population, nor to the number of voters. If, therefore, the English electoral system is far less based on an aristocracy of wealth than the French, it is still farther from being thoroughly democratical. But, by their fruits ye shall know them. What has the reformed House (according to the Duke of Wellington, a democratical assembly of the worst kind) proposed to do, and what has it done? It was in a difficult and unfortunate position, inasmuch as the most exaggerated expectations were excited in the people; and still more critical seems the position of the Whig ministry between Tories and Radicals. But in spite of these disadvantages, there has been nothing of that convulsion, that overthrow of all order, which many predicted; on the contrary, much has been effected, which, though at the time denounced as destructive by the opposition, is now approved by Peel and Wellington.

One of the most important, and at the same time, most difficult problems was, the measures to be adopted with regard to Ireland. Two ministries have already been wrecked upon this rock, and more will share their fate, until a perfect civil and religious equality be established. It is indisputable that, in 1832, the government was not sufficiently strong or vigilant, and the country must have fallen back into utter barbarism, if some energetic measures had not been taken. Scarcely, however, was the determination to maintain order by the severest means, known, when a very general return to it was made, and it was only found necessary to put the new regulations in execution in the county of Kilkenny: with what results the following figures will show. In January, 1832, the number of violent outrages committed there was 196; in February, 178; in March, 144; on the 10th of April the new law was promulgated, and the number of assaults brought before the courts fell to 47, and in May to 15. Some excellent reforms were also introduced into the juries, the schools, and the administration of the county-cess; an important law on tithes was lost by the opposition of the Tories, as I have told you elsewhere.

The new Bank charter, the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, and of West India slavery, (all of which the adversaries of ministers either definitely opposed, or tried to postpone to an indefinite future,) are three measures not only of decisive importance for England, but beneficial, both in theory and in practice, to the whole human race. To the enlightened and liberal men composing this ministry is the country also indebted for the boldness and firmness with which they grappled with the poor-laws,—that cancer concerning which so much had been written and spoken, but which no vigorous and earnest attempt had been made to cure. Other measures, which as yet there have not been time or opportunity to bring forward, or are only in preparation, such as the introduction of local courts, the establishment of a regular system of registration, (which is utterly wanting in England,) the reform of the church, of corporations, and universities: these, and other ameliorations will inevitably follow, and will in time complete the great fabric of improved institutions, which it is the appropriate business and duty of a reformed Parliament to demand and to construct. It was impossible to do everything at once; but even if we disapprove the measures, we must admire the industry. The Parliament sat for a hundred and forty days, nine hours a-day on an average; and if, on the one hand, some members were absent, or irregular in their attendance, on the other many had to work in the committees, and to prepare the matters for debate.

There are two important points which I might pass over in silence, until they assume a more decided and substantial form. But as I might be thought to shut my eyes, designedly, to impending dangers, I volunteer a mention of them—these are, Annual Parliaments and the Ballot.

The advocates for annual parliaments very truly assert, that this is the original form of parliament, and that in the earliest times elections for three, still less for seven years, were not thought of. But it by no means follows that this form is suited to totally altered circumstances. On the other hand, there is just as complete an absence of all those grounds upon which was founded the extension of the duration of Parliament from three years to seven. And, in fact, as twenty-three Parliaments have been summoned since that time, the average duration has been practically reduced to five years.

It appears to me that annual parliaments and annual elections would be extremely unfavourable to the cause of good government in England, for conclusive reasons which I cannot go into here. It is, indeed, a question which it is very unimportant

to discuss or to decide, since there is more reason now to complain of the shortness than the length of parliaments.

A more doubtful question, and one by no means so easily settled, is that of ballot, or secrecy of suffrage. This was discussed in Parliament in December, 1830.

[Here follows a brief abstract of the Debate.]

On the 25th of April, 1833, it was again brought before the House by Mr. Grote.*

[Another abstract of the Debate.]

Mr. Grote's motion was lost by a majority of 211 to 106. The question, however, will continue to be agitated and to be re-produced, so long as the "influence" of which Sir Robert Peel is the champion, is so often exercised in a tyrannical and pernicious manner. Both forms,—open suffrage and secret suffrage—have their peculiar disadvantages, nor will the remedy for these be found in form alone; the substance must be altered. On which side the evils are the lightest is a question not to be decided in general, and without reference to time and place. Certainly those who have not the courage to choose a member of an academy or of a club, by open voting, have no right to call the ballot radical and revolutionary. Still less fortunate as to comprehensiveness or freedom of intellectual vision are those, who, as Cardinal Richelieu said, look at the world through the mouth of a glass bottle and predict its ruin because all looks dark within. To sages of this sort (have you not a few in Berlin?) Great Britain is an abomination, a poisonous abyss, ruined, impotent, without influence, a blank spot in the map of Europe.

I, on the contrary, see this great nation resolutely bent on ridding herself of all her imperfections; the wasteful expenditure of her government, the corrupting influence of the poor-laws, the stain of slavery, the restrictions on commerce, the intolerance of her church, the narrowness, the prejudice, the bigotry of her schools and universities: nay, even were she to fall once more

* Hansard, xvii., 611.

into the violence and disorder of the time between 1640 and 1660, yet those years were not without fruit, or without a resurrection; neither would these be so. There is nothing in the elements before us which affords any certain prognostic of ruin.

I live, therefore, in the hope that England will not want skilful steersmen to pilot her through this rocky channel; whence she will come forth greater and mightier than ever; to the wonder of those who now understand her not, and to the salvation of the continent from the dangers of the east and of the west.

LETTER XXV.

English Civility—Hyde Park—Equipages—Westminster Sessions—English Procedure—Practical Eloquence—Prison—Tread-mill—Political Creed of a Radical—Specimen of an English Family of the Middle Classes.

London, Monday, May 18, 1835.

Mr. T——g introduced me to his father, who invited me to dinner for next Thursday, and offered his services in any way in which they might be useful to me. When I mentioned Waagen to him, who was perhaps to accompany me to Oxford, he instantly extended his invitation and his offers of service to him also. Such traits of manners as this are certainly not piquant dishes *à la* ——; but, at least, they are quite as characteristic as those which he has such malicious pleasure in relating.

There was a countless train of equipages yesterday in Hyde Park—the same in Regent's Park, and God knows where else; and yet, on an average, no one keeps a carriage who has not 3000*l.* a-year to spend. In comparison with the affluence which manifests itself here, the whole continent seems poverty-stricken Such wealth is very imposing, inasmuch as it is combined with so much industry, and is, indeed, chiefly its offspring. A combination of poverty and high-mindedness may have a very good effect on the stage, but, in every-day life, the union of affluence and high-mindedness is far more "comfortable." —— —— the high Tory preacher at the —— Chapel, complained that I lately talked in a very absurd manner at ——'s about things that I did not understand. From this may be inferred, that others thanked me for the part I took in the discussion. I have been longer in England than he; and twenty-five years dedicated to the serious study of a particular subject give me as good a "settlement" for

constitutional law and politics, as a longer residence in London gives to a parson. Just as little has S——'s correspondent become a sage, because he has been sitting, perhaps for years, on a three-legged stool in England. Is it assuming in me to speak thus, or rather to exhort myself to take courage, because I really have none? I do not pretend to know all about the Berlin hospitals, sugar-houses and gas-works, because I have been a citizen and inhabitant of that city for a long time; and yet every one thinks himself an adept in affairs of state, and in the fine arts! If, on the one hand, I feel how little I know, when compared with the really instructed (that is to say, the great statesmen that figure in history), on the other, I feel that I have learned something from them, when compared to the wholly ignorant.

Yesterday Mr. S—— took me into the Court of Quarter Sessions for Westminster. Often as these things have been described, by mouth and pen, and little as there is to be said about them that has not been said before, yet every impression must be new. I have often found that once seeing and hearing gives clearer ideas of certain things than long study without seeing them—so I will give an account, in the shortest possible terms. The room is high and spacious, and lighted from above and from the side, by very large windows, which open into another room; the air is perfectly pure, and every thing neat, and even elegant.

All matters which do not fall within the competence of the police, and which must be decided by a jury, but at the same time are not offences of the heaviest order, are tried in this court. The evidence taken before the police magistrate is laid before the so-called grand jury, which decides whether the affair is to go to a trial or not. If this has been determined in the affirmative (which is expressed by two words on the formulary, "a true bill,") the proceedings begin; if in the negative, the accused is perfectly free, and cannot be sent back to the police, or visited with any extraordinary punishment. This function of the grand jury seems to be performed with great expedition and brevity. As soon as the accused is brought up, the counsel for the prosecution states the case; when he has finished his speech, the accused is permitted to reply. The witnesses are then examined; and the accused is asked, whether he has any thing to offer in his defence. If the jury returns a verdict of 'not guilty,' the accused is instantly set at liberty; if of 'guilty,' the magistrates on the bench consult on the punishment, and the chairman pronounces sentence.

The class of attorneys and advocates (or barristers, as they are here called) whose characters with us are combined with those of

justice-commissaries (*justiz-commissarien*,) here appears divided. The former prepare the business, and then place it in the hands of the advocates, but never speak themselves in the courts. In most of the affairs which come before this court, neither attorneys nor advocates are employed ; the parties avoid all expensive assistance.

This is a slight outline of the course of proceeding. But each case has a peculiar character, and was dealt with in a peculiar manner ; and I cannot withhold my preference of these proceedings over ours in many respects. But I must relate to you a few of the particulars on which I found my judgment.

A woman, of otherwise good reputation, mother of four children, steals a piece of meat out of a butcher's shop, in a fit of drunkenness. Punishment, a few weeks, imprisonment.

A worthless fellow, well known as such, steals a snuff-box of small value. Transported for seven years.

A carman commits an assault on the woman who keeps a gate at which a private toll is collected. To pay *5l.*, or be imprisoned for a considerable time. He is allowed time to make his choice.

A boy of fourteen steals a pocket-handkerchief. Imprisonment for some months, with hard labour and whipping.

From these and similar cases I drew the following conclusions :—

1. That public procedure furnishes occasion both to jury and audience to sharpen their sense and talents for questions both of fact and of law ; and teaches them to estimate the value of a good and impartial administration of justice. This is an education to the full as important as any reading and writing can bestow. The objection, that in this way instruction is given in crime, and an inclination for it engendered, is absurd. Every thing unfit to be heard is avoided ; and certainly there is nothing very attractive in the punishment which inevitably ensues.

2. According to the Prussian procedure, every one of these trials would have furnished matter for a thick volume of *Acten*, compiled by some unhappy *Refendarius*, and would have lasted for months. Here it was decided in a few minutes ; and not only judge and jury, but even the parties, saw and heard that every thing was satisfactorily examined and investigated.

3. The English, it is said, adhere pedantically to the letter of the law; but those who make this assertion do not explain distinctly what they mean. The judge here has a far wider discretionary power than they imagine : for instance, when the value of the stolen property is nearly the same, the punishment is very different, in consideration of various aggravating or mitigating circumstances. This was new to me ; and hence followed,—

4. The correction of another mistake. When (as is generally the case in Germany and France) certain punishments are invariably attached to certain offences, the jury, in pronouncing the verdict of guilty, have, in fact, awarded the precise punishment. The distinction between the question of law and question of fact, does not exist: the one is unalterably decided with the other. If the jury disapprove the law, they transform themselves into legislators, and acquit (because the punishment seems to them too severe for the offence) where they ought to condemn. Thus, in France, in all trials of women for infanticide. But in the cases I have mentioned above, the verdict by no means involved the exact measure of punishment:—the apportionment of it lay with the judge, who had thus a peculiar office to fulfil, and a fair field for a discriminating application of the laws. There was a heart-rending case, in which a father had to appear as accuser of his own daughter, a girl of fifteen, who, after other profligate courses, had robbed him, and appeared perfectly irreclaimable. The grief of the old man at having to accuse his child—the manner in which, amid his tears, he rather sought to exculpate himself, than to insist on the guilt of the culprit—and, at last, the agony of remorse which burst from the youthful, and yet apparently hardened sinner; never did I see or feel any thing like it! All present seemed to feel their passions purified and chastised, and to be struck with so awful an example of human depravity. The sentence was transportation; and Mr. R—h, the chairman, or presiding magistrate, distinctly explained the reasons for this sentence, comforted the father, and solemnly admonished the criminal.

Throughout the whole proceedings, I remarked in Mr. R—h, one while a cheerful, affable, and encouraging air; then legal acuteness and discernment; then gravity and dignity;—always a manner appropriate to the circumstances, but never hard and austere. This practical appropriateness and eloquence the Englishman acquires from his practical life, and from the publicity which accompanies all his actions. He cannot drawl and mumble, and repeat things over and over, in the way which we are unluckily so often obliged to hear.

From the Sessions House, Mr. L—— conducted me to one of the principal prisons. Mr. C——, the governor, showed me every thing remarkable, with the most attentive civility. The main building, with its divisions or dependencies, was built on Bentham's plan: according to which, the governor can inspect the whole from a central point. There was another building which seems to facilitate still more the constant supervision of the whole. Here I saw the tread-mill for the first time. Hitherto,

the power and motion of this machine have been applied to no practical end: it has been used only as an instrument of punishment: it is more particularly applied to street-walkers. There is no want of cleanliness, fresh air, or wholesome food.

The most remarkable thing in the whole establishment is, that all the prisoners are compelled to preserve absolute silence. This order is rigorously enforced by overseers stationed in the midst of them; by frequent unexpected observation, and certain punishment. Compulsory Pythagoreans and Trappists! I saw above a hundred working in one room in silence, and twenty washerwomen washing in silence! This total privation of oral intercourse is said to increase the punishment, and to force every man to reflect upon himself: at all events, it cuts off the moral infection, in consequence of which many leave prison worse than they entered it.

Friday, May 22.

I began my career of yesterday, after four hours' work at home, with a visit to Mr. ——, member of parliament for ——. I had a great curiosity to hear the conversation of a man who universally passes for a most violent Radical. As what I said is nothing to the purpose, I shall convert the dialogue into a monologue, and tell you what Mr. —— said, with instructive frankness and readiness, in reply to my numerous questions and objections. What was not expressed, or only half suggested, in an essay on corporations, here assumed the distinct form of general principles.

After Mr. —— had thrown a glance of sympathy and compassion on the Prussian municipal organization (of which he knew nothing,) and had enlarged a little on the greater progress and higher station of England, even in this respect, he continued in this strain.

The English people have attained to such a practice and dexterity in the business of elections, that these are to be regarded as the true source of all reform, and indeed *of all government*. For this reason I desire annual elections—not only of members of the legislature, but of the magistracy. This is the best means of securing the services of the good, and of getting rid of the bad. It is unnecessary and absurd to allow the government any interference or control, or to give it any central jurisdiction. All abuses, disputes, and uncertainties would be removed by rendering all offices elective. I wish for only one judge in every tribunal: not at all because he has the aid of a jury, but because Ben-

tham has shown that all plurality of functionaries is useless and pernicious in this case. On the other hand, the electors ought to have the power of dismissing the judges at any moment, and without process. This is the only means of securing a good administration of the laws. The right of election is not to be intrusted to any select class or body, endowed with this or that qualification, but to the whole people; and the word *people* includes all,—for there exists in reality no such thing as populace. The whole people thus governs itself: it needs no other government; and all those distinctions and oppositions of sovereign and subject, the source of countless evils, are put an end to at once. The idea "people" admits of no differences; I reject all qualities; and, with a view to constitution and politics, acknowledge only quantities. Ten is ten, and a hundred is a hundred, and so they will ever remain. I reckon simply with numbers; and it is absurd to attempt to raise or lower quantities by means of qualities. North America is the first and only country which has right ideas on this subject—the only government which has exhibited a pure democracy. The majority decides every question, and always decides aright. There is no other means of ascertaining, developing, and enforcing Right, but by the majority; and, together with the opinions and the expressed will of the majority, Right changes, and assumes new forms suited to each succeeding moment.

These then (I could scarcely misunderstand what was so distinctly expressed) are the principles of a perfect Radical. To these few maxims, which are as easily handled as a Nurmberg toy, does the laborious variety of science and of history reduce itself;—this is the amulet which will avert all the evils and maladies incident to the social structure. With the four rules of arithmetic—nay, with simple addition, which will prove where the majority lies—we can answer all the questions, solve all the problems, which have puzzled statesmen; or, rather, we can show their emptiness and nullity. With one magic word, populace is every where annihilated; or, inasmuch as it forms part of this 'majority,' its empire is established, and its will hallowed. That inconvenient institution, Government, is transformed into the complaisant and obedient servant of the majority; and as a minority is nothing, as opposed to a majority (no matter what their respective qualities), politically and constitutionally considered, it no longer exists. Talent, eloquence, or any other quality, may seek to acquire influence by ingratiating itself with the majority;—for through it, and by its will, must every thing be done; that the fundamental principle of the sole supremacy of the Quantitative may remain immutable and intact. If a unit can contrive

to get a certain number of cyphers to range themselves on his right hand, it is well; but if they should choose to stand on his left, he becomes a mere decimal fraction, and falls into the minority. All else that has ever been thought, or invented, or organized, is of evil, and is a departure from the eternal laws of nature.

Remarkable—how nearly this code of philosophy and politics is allied to that of the Abbe Sieyes, and other political teachers of the year 1789,—however different the roads to it appear. As little, however, as a genuine and durable edifice of social relations could be built on the French philosophy which prevailed from Voltaire to Sieyes, so little could one be raised on this superficial doctrine of utility and of numbers. The labours of the greatest men, the experience of centuries, the happiness or misery of many nations, are thrown into a lumber-room; and one has only to put a ready-reckoner in one's pocket, and swear by it (as they do here by the thirty-nine articles), and one is an adept and a prophet.

The antagonists of this school of lifeless abstractions—the high Tories—on the other hand, can never get out of their individual facts for a moment, or take a large and historical view of any subject. But I see what a risk I run of a castigation from both parties, and hasten to take refuge in the security of the middle classes.

I yesterday made the acquaintance of a worthy family of the kind, on which more of the real existence, safety, and prosperity of England rests, than on the warfare of those paper kites which these parties send up into the air.

Mr. T——, an opulent merchant, had invited me and Waagen to dinner, with the most cordial friendliness. Our host was a well-informed, intelligent man, who, with his three daughters, has travelled over Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France. All spoke German better than I speak English, and had made a treasure of sketches and little drawings, as memorials of their travels, which showed as much sentiment and intelligence as technical skill.

A trio for the piano-forte, harp, and violoncello, was well executed by two of the daughters and the father; and so (you are inclined to conclude) another specimen of over-laboured education, for the purposes of effect and silly admiration. No such thing; these girls were in the highest degree natural, unpretending and easy in their manners: they united to all these attainments a cheerfulness of temper, resting on religious principles, and on a benevolence which (I have been credibly assured) shows itself in personal attention to the poor. I found myself more at

my ease than among Radicals, or than in the loftiest regions of aristocracy.

The same thing is not suited to all, nor good for all; and I am one of the last to wish that all trees should bear the same foliage. Yet one cannot help feeling that, though extraordinary specimens are interesting as natural curiosities, the trees which must compose the forest of the country—at once its strength and ornament must be like these.

LETTER XXVI.

Visit to Haileybury—English Sundays—Want of intellectual Recreation—Want of popular musical Education—Beer Bill—Beer Shops—Gin Shops——Causes of Drunkenness—Prostitution—Illegitimate Children—Population—Increased Value of Life.

London, Sunday, May 25, 1835.

Yesterday I went with Messrs. P—— and P—— to the East India College at Haileybury, neart Hertford, in compliance with the kind invitation of Pr—— V. S. The weather was perfectly favourable, both going and returning; two of the loveliest spring days. Horse-chestnuts, laburnum, hawthorn, lilacs, all in the most brilliant and luxuriant bloom; the whole way was a succession of elegant houses, neat cottages, and farms,—gardens, meadows, fields, richly interspersed with trees. Passing through Hackney, Stamford-Hill, Tottenham, Edmonton, Wormleigh, and Hoddesdon, we reached our journey's end in about two hours and a half. It was hardly possible to say where one village or small town ended and another began; so thickly sprinkled were the dwellings, the interval between which was never greater than was necessary to heighten the variety.

The East India College was established by the Company for the education of the young men destined to their civil service. The course of instruction is consequently special. The expenses of the students are not small, (the table, for instance, alone, costs fifty-two guineas a year,) yet the Company is obliged to contribute a considerable sum towards the salaries of the very well paid Professors. Each of these gentlemen has a pleasant residence

and a beautiful garden: the buildings, on the whole, however, can lay no claim to architectural beauty; on the contrary, they display a total inability to reconcile the objects of utility with the demands of art.

On Sunday I arose, while all the rest were asleep, and wandered into a wood of oaks, thinly scattered amidst grass and underwood: spring flowers were under my feet, and larks and other birds singing and fluttering around me,—no other sound to break the deep silence and the perfect solitude. After having for months seen and heard nothing but the restless motion and the ceaseless din of London, this sudden stillness and seclusion had the strongest effect on me: I felt as if there were no human being but myself on earth,—as if I were alone; and, excepting the birds, no other living creature existed. This, combined with my real separation from all my dearest and most cordial friends, and with the dim recollections of all scenes of home and country, threw me into a fit of unspeakable melancholy. But I shook it off and returned back to habitations and to men.

I breakfasted with Mr. J——, and had a long conversation with him on the condition of our agricultural population, and the relation of English farmers and their tenants to their landlords. It is only by degrees that I begin to perceive, from my own experience here, how difficult it must be for an Englishman to enter thoroughly into the nature and current of our institutions.

I attended Divine Service, and heard a very celebrated preacher; looked at the library, and returned home alone, as I was to dine with Lord M——.

So here again were two days full of instruction and variety. If I do not go into more minute detail, it is from the pressure of other labours. But I must indulge myself with an outpouring on the subject of the English Sunday.

I perfectly admit that the English ought to draw a sharper line of distinction, or rather contrast, between the sabbath and the week days, than any other people. After their intense devotion to, and ceaseless occupation about, the things of this world, they need to be more strongly reminded of another, than the Germans and many other nations. People of education, too, doubtless fill this day in a varied and intellectual manner. Nevertheless the contrast of the week-days and the Sunday appears to me too narrow, I might say too Judaical: the cheerful recreation and gladness of mind, which are more congenial with Christianity than many sects believe, are entirely wanting. The lower classes, who often have to toil wearily through every other

day, find Sunday (as it is constantly described) the weariest of all. Often, after serving an austere master, they are made to see in the Father of Love an austerer still. Singing, music, dancing, the drama, and all amusements which are addressed to our intellectual nature, are forbidden and denounced as schools of the devil. What is the consequence? That people of temperate, regular habits, conduct themselves in a temperate and regular manner; while a great number of the less sedate and less patient of restraint give themselves up to the grossest sensual enjoyment, and seek in that the distinction between Sunday and working-day. One set of people complain of the desecration of the Sabbath,—and in this they are perfectly right; but the only means they can devise for the remedy of the evil are still severer laws; and in this, in my opinion, they are quite wrong. If (the difficulty of which can hardly be calculated) all public-houses and gin-shops could be entirely closed on a Sunday, what would the common people do then? how would they get rid of their intolerable ennui?—By spiritual exercises? But are not two sermons, two services of religion, sufficient? Are they not as much as the mind of an ordinary man can bear?—By reading? But many cannot read, and more have not books which they care to read.—By sleeping; or what? In this way we should arrive at the conclusion, that, to avoid all these disorders, some millions of people ought every Sunday to be chained or locked up.

I am convinced, on the contrary, that drunkenness would decline, if music, dancing, and all the less sensual and animal recreations were allowed. These necessarily impart higher pleasures and more refined conceptions; or, at least, tend to generate a taste and an aptitude for them. A man who enjoys singing, dancing, or the drama, cannot possibly be very drunk; nor is brutal grossness of behaviour compatible with social recreation.

The utter want of all musical education for the people is doubtless another effect of this way of observing the Sunday; and where this broad foundation for the culture of any art is wanting, individuals seldom rise above mediocrity. It is only on masses susceptible of musical enjoyment, and endowed with musical perceptions, that the lofty superstructure of art is gradually reared, and from its height, reacts on the mass whence it sprung. I utterly deny that millions of Englishmen are better Christians because they sing badly, or because they do not sing at all. A few London morning concerts, or an expensive Italian opera, have nothing to do with the musical education of a people:

and just as little with pure taste, or a true perception of art.

As I have accidentally been led to the subject of drinking, I shall not quit it without telling you something about the new Beer Bill, which has been so much controverted, and on both sides with some degree of reason. The duties on malt, hops, and beer were so high that it was thought necessary to take off a part, and that on beer was accordingly repealed; partly with a view to lighten the general burthen, partly to procure cheap beer for the lower classes, and thus entice them from the more pernicious spirit-drinking.

A second aim of the law was to put an end to the monopoly of the great brewers; to facilitate the sale of beer by licensing a number of beer-shops, and to deprive the magistracy of the power of favouring a few at the expense of the many. Experience has proved that some of the objects aimed at have been attained, and others completely missed. The monopoly of the great brewers has been destroyed, so far as it arose from their exclusive right of sale; but it remains, of course, so far as it is the result of capital, and of the power capital gives of brewing better and cheaper beer. The consumption has increased, but not sufficiently to diminish the consumption of ardent spirits. On the other hand, the hope of easy gains, and the facility of getting a licence, has called into existence a host of beer-shops, and has caused a proportionate resort to them, and consequent corruption of morals.

It has therefore been suggested, that the price of licences should be raised; that certain securities should be required from persons who open beer-shops; that more power should be given to the magistrates to repress abuses; that the beer-shops be closed at an earlier hour, and that the proprietors be allowed to sell beer, but not to suffer drinking in their shops.

The defenders of complete freedom of the sale of beer pleaded, on the other hand, the difficulty of carrying into effect police-restrictions of this kind, and of enforcing morality and temperance by law.

The consumption of beer has not increased by any means in the same proportion with that of tea, coffee, and spirits; but the tax during the war was raised as high as 150 per cent. on the value; some diminution of it was therefore just and expedient. It was most unjustly levied on sold beer alone, consequently it fell almost entirely on the poor; leaving the rich, who brewed their own, untaxed.

In the last six years before 1830, the yearly consumption of malt amounted to 32,404,000 bushels:

In 1830 . . . to	28,844,000	bushels
1831	35,160,000	„
1832	40,344,000	„

In the year 1824 the duties on British and foreign spirits amounted to £5,403,000. After the reduction of the duties in

1825	£5,786,000
1826	5,474,000
1827	7,492,000
1828	8,000,000.*

There is no question that spirit-drinking is infinitely more pernicious than beer-drinking. Mr. Buckingham has laid very curious facts on this subject before the House. He asserted that the fourteen largest gin-shops in London were visited in one week, by

142,453 men

108,593 women

18,391 children

In all 269,437 persons.

Of these, the women and children had been more disorderly in their conduct than the men. In one part of Edinburgh there was one gin-shop to every fifteen families; and in an Irish town of 800 inhabitants, there were 88. In Sheffield, thirteen persons came by their death within ten days, from causes which were asserted to have sprung out of drunkenness.† An eye-witness

* Hansard, iv. 501; vi. 211, 543, 750; vii. 483; xvii. 270, 702.
† Hansard, xxiii. 1107.

says,—In one part of Ireland the inhabitants are dirty, ragged, and hungry; they live with the pigs and sleep upon dunghills. Without doubt this wretchedness proceeds in part from absenteeism, from the system of underletting, from high rents, and, in a less degree, from tithes; but I am persuaded that whiskey-drinking is a greater curse to Ireland than all these united.

The men too frequently go to beer and gin-shops, under pretence of getting something to strengthen and refresh them, and leave their families to starve. A petition from 220 women was presented to parliament against these places of seduction. Lord Brougham declared that spirit-drinking was a source of innumerable evils and indescribable misery.

Admitting (as some, I dare say with reason affirm) that there is great exaggeration in these statements, and that, in the middle classes, drinking has diminished instead of increasing, yet the picture they present is certainly among the most afflicting of modern times, and the legislature ought to use every endeavour to eradicate so dreadful an evil. Increase of duties, prohibitions, and all mere mechanical external means will effect little. The tastes and views of the people must be elevated; the moral sentiments and the nobler powers must be awakened and cultivated; and they must be won from bodily and animal, to intellectual and human, enjoyments. And so I come back to Sunday, and to the best mode of consecrating it to the glory of God and the service of man, from which I started.

Tuesday, May 26.

You ask whether the enormous wealth of England is not oppressive to the feelings of poor travellers. To this I could answer No, and Yes. No;—in as far as this wealth facilitates all social intercourse, and the thought never occurs to you that certain small expenses can be a burthensome tax to Englishmen, as they are to many a German, who ponders long whether he shall buy a bottle of wine for a stranger or not. Yes;—inasmuch as the great inequality of fortune, even where it does not lead the poor man into a ridiculous attempt at rivalry with the rich, yet compels him to think of a multitude of small expenses, about which it is not necessary for the rich to lose his time.

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I really think there are not in the whole world so many prophets of evil to England as in Berlin; the "Wochenblatt," the "Spikersche Correspondent," and even the clever, acute observer and elegant writer of the "Preusse." Great Britain, according to them, is rapidly and inevitably dying, not of one, but of ten different mortal diseases; reform and revolution, taxes and debt, poverty and ignorance, decay of agriculture, excess of manufactures, drunkenness, prostitution, &c. &c. All mere colouring—black upon black—or at the best an extravagant rhetorical Rembrandt.

But, you will say, have not I drawn a picture of this sort respecting drunkenness? Certainly, because I borrowed my colours entirely from the palettes of the complainers. I am far from thinking that figures and sums in addition are infallible; and even if they were, the healthy are far more numerous than the diseased. Since the poor-laws were altered, and the idle can no longer come upon the parish funds, drunkenness has greatly declined. It has never been so bad as in America, where the Temperance Societies are now effecting great good. They will doubtless be of use in England.

May the blessing of heaven rest on every attempt to extirpate this odious vice, here and elsewhere! But why this outcry about England alone? Is Russia a whit better in this respect? It is only in countries where a good beverage is very cheap, as in the south of France, Italy, and Spain, that the people do not get drunk. It does not seem to occur to any body that some approach towards this state of things might be made, by the removal of restrictions on trade, by alterations of duties, &c.; or that it is the imperative duty of governments to employ such measures. Any financial deficiency would be far more than made up by the increase of moral and physical strength.

Another subject with these dark colourists is the number of prostitutes. They are unquestionably very numerous; but when I hear it asserted that there are 50,000 prostitutes and 50,000 thieves in London, with just as much confidence as one states the

number of an army, I ask myself, who has counted them? and who knows whether an '0' might not safely be struck off? Such numbers are generally overstated by one party and understated by another. When we read some accounts, we cannot but believe that London is worse than Sodom or Gomorrah. I have often passed in an evening through those streets which are reckoned the very worst, and there were certainly a number of women about with no very chaste intentions. But the number is not greater than in Paris; and those in London are indisputably more decently dressed than the fair, or rather the ugly, of the Palais Royal. Even if the number of prostitutes be really greater in proportion to the population here than in Berlin, the fact is quite inconclusive as to the greater unchastity. Setting aside the consideration that the distinct and peculiar race of sailors, with their followers, ought to be separated from the regular inhabitants of London (which would make the proportion in favour of this city,) there is another observation which is confirmed by many facts. Prostitutes are a distinct, an unfortunate, and, too often, a completely lost class. But the 'contrebande,' which is carried on in private houses and families, is much rarer here; indeed, is almost impossible. In Berlin, where a number of lodgers inhabit one house, and the street-door is always open, not only have the male and female inhabitants of the house great facilities for meeting, but visits, assignations, running out, and so forth, are not attended with the slightest difficulty. Here, on the contrary, only one family occupies one house; the door is constantly shut; every knock, every one who goes out or comes in, is heard, and the master and mistress exercise a strict supervision, or *can* exercise it if they will. A maid servant who is discovered in equivocal proceedings, immediately loses her place, and finds it difficult to get another. The race of cooks and housemaids is therefore certainly more chaste and decorous than in Berlin, where many seek unlawful gains of this sort, and nobody observes or punishes them, because there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the newcomer will be better than her predecessor.

If a statement I have seen, is true,* that the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children, in England, is as 1-19, this evil is not greater than in other countries.

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* Browning, p. 342.

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For a time, England was the subject of extravagant admiration and praise on the continent, and every institution, every usage was held up to imitation ; now, as it seems, we are fallen into the opposite extreme. I try, at any rate, to steer between this Scylla and Charybdis. There are things which appear to me wrong and defective, but they appear to me, at the same time, susceptible of correction and of improvement.

The notion that an increase of population (without reference to other circumstances) is the greatest blessing of a nation, is now generally and justly rejected; but, spite of the doctrines of Mr. Malthus, I can see no cause for congratulation in its decline. A country like Great Britain, to which the whole world lies open, has, least of all, reason to dread permanent over-population. Indeed, the increase of people may generally be regarded as a sign of the increase of demand for labour, and of means of subsistence.

The population of Great Britain (exclusive of Ireland) amounted in

1801 . . .	to 10,942,000
1811 . . .	„ 12,609,000
1821 . . .	„ 14,391,000
1831 . . .	„ 16,537,000
And Ireland . .	„ 8,000,000*

From 1700 to 1790, the increase in England and Wales was about 28 per cent.

* Browning. 'Domestic and Financial Condition of Great Britain.'

From 1811 to 1821 . . .	17¼
„ 1821 to 1831 . . .	14

There were 10,000 females born to 10,435 males.

This increase of population is not in an inverse ratio with their physical well-being. On the contrary, they are, on the whole, better fed, clothed, lodged, &c. than before. This fact is sufficiently proved by the vast decrease of mortality. This was

In 1740	1 in 35
1780	„ 40
1790	„ 45
1800	„ 47
1810	„ 53
1820	„ 59*

People in the country lived longer than those in towns, but the increase of population in the latter has far exceeded that in the former. In England the men employed in agriculture are now 28 per cent., in Ireland 64 per cent.

	England.	Ireland.
In trade and manufactures,	42 per ct.	18 per ct.
Other employments	30 „	18† „

The progress of medical science has tended to diminish the number of deaths. In the great hospital of St. Bartholomew they were

* "M'Culloch's Dictionary," p. 1141.
† "Quarterly Review," No. cv. p. 64.

In 1689	1 in 7
1740	„ 10
1780	„ 14
1813	„ 16
1827	„ 48

From 1780 to 1826 the yearly increase of the population was 180,000 souls, but that of the productive power, especially by means of machinery, 680,000, consequently the surplus produce was much greater. Three centuries ago, perhaps 80 or 90 per cent. of the men were employed in husbandry, and did not create so large a surplus produce as the 28 per cent. do now. While the increase of population has been since 1780 about 90 per cent., the increase of agricultural production has been 86 per cent., and that of manufacturing and commercial production 400 per cent. The population was,

In London and its	1831.	1332.	Increase per cent.
suburbs	1,225,000	1,471,000	20
Manchester	154,000	227,000	42
Glasgow	147,000	202,000	38
Liverpool	131,000	189,000	44
Edinburgh	138,000	162,000	18
Birmingham	106,000	142,000	33
Leeds	83,000	123,000	49
Bristol	87,000	103,000	19

The average increase of population in these cities was 25 per cent., but for the whole of England only 15 per cent.

These are very different facts from those presented by France with her exclusive preponderance of Paris.

I must break off for to-day, as both room and time are at an end. Of the connected symptoms of vitality or of disease exhibited by England, another time.

The commentary on what I have reported to-day I may safely leave to yourself.

LETTER XXVII.

Municipal Reform Bill—Political Constitution of Villages—Report of Corporation Commission—Municipal Charters—Protest of Sir F. Palgrave—London Review—Radical scheme of Municipal Reform—Its resemblance to Municipal System of Prussia—Centralization—Royal Authority.

London, May 28th, 1835.

The most important act of the last session of Parliament was the new Poor Law; the grand question in the present, will be the Church. Of these I have given you such an account as my time and powers permit.

The second great question which will come under debate, in the course of the present summer, relates to the Corporation and Municipal institutions of England and Wales. Perhaps I should do better to wait to see what will be said in Parliament. But perhaps you would rather learn, beforehand, something of the nature of the establishments of which there are such heavy complaints here, and of which next to nothing is known in Germany.

I shall, therefore, first, give you the briefest possible sketch of the main points of the Report, drawn up by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and supported by three folio volumes of evidence; secondly, notice the dissentient opinions expressed by Sir Francis Palgrave, partly in favour of the old institutions, and in opposition to that of all the other Commissioners; thirdly, give you some account of what the so-called radical party, in their organ, the "London Review," requires; and fourthly, add a few remarks relative to the municipal institutions of Prussia.

First. Among the corporations to which the Commission referred, villages were not included, though these are by no means without political powers; either every parishioner has a voice in

the general vestry of the parish, or a "select vestry," or committee, of from five to twenty persons, is chosen by that body. The latter mode has often considerable advantages over the former; for a small number of picked men are more likely to inspect and administer affairs well than a large promiscuous body; the disadvantage, however, was, that they were apt to degenerate into party oligarchies, or, from indolence, to leave the management in very few hands. Hence arose disputes between the "select vestry" and the body of the parishioners. Of late years, therefore, the number of parishes whose affairs were under the management of representatives has gradually decreased.*

The worst, but the least frequent form, is that in which the ruling body are not chosen by the parish, but nominate their own members, and are subject to no control or responsibility. In October, 1831, a bill was brought into Parliament,† with a view to improve the system of representation in villages. One provision was, that the parishioners should have votes in proportion to their property, the scale graduating from one to six. It was objected that this would confer so enormous a preponderancy on wealth, that two or three persons would be able to domineer over all the others. Better to leave the old system, or to give one vote to every man paying taxes. The bill was thrown out on the 23d of January, 1832.

The inquiries of the Commission embraced 246 corporations, which were in the possession and exercise of municipal rights, and (exclusive of London) comprised a population of 2,038,000 inhabitants. Some cities refused to furnish the information required, especially concerning their property and accounts; the greater number, however, facilitated the labours of the Commissioners in a laudable manner. It was less the object to inquire into the ancient constitutions than to ascertain their present condition. The investigation, however, clearly proved that, in old times, cities were neither so democratically nor so aristocratically governed as many of the respective parties contended. Most of the existing charters were granted between the reign of Henry VIII. and the Revolution of 1668. The aim of almost all of them obviously was to limit the rights of the people, and to make the ruling body independent of the citizens. Almost all are constructed on the principle of self-election. Charles II. and James II. more particularly endeavoured to effect such a change in all existing charters, that the whole power should pass into the

* For the numbers here quoted by the author, see Report on the Poor-Law, p. 117.

† Hansard, viii. 822, ix. 767.

hands of the crown, or of persons immediately dependent upon it. The Revolution of 1668 partially defeated this project; nevertheless all the charters granted down to the most recent times have been conceived in the same spirit, and show, as the Commission expresses itself, "a contempt of all systematic and consistent plan for the improvement of municipal institutions, or the adaptation of them to the advanced state of society."

The administrations of cities are now so extremely various and different, that it is hardly possible to discover any common feature by which to describe them. They may, however, be arranged under two main heads—those in which (either by charter or custom) the number of freemen or burgesses is definite, and those in which it is indefinite. Admission into the former is generally to be obtained only by nomination of the ruling body, and this is generally connected with certain conditions, but is sometimes left entirely to caprice: partiality, presents, and bribes, here naturally come into operation.

Admission to the indefinite bodies is obtained chiefly by birth or marriage, seldom by property. In both these classes, however, we find the distinction between freemen and mere inhabitants. In many cases a man cannot be admitted to the freedom of the city without first becoming a member of some guild, or company of a particular trade. In the city of London there are eighty-four of these. The privileges of the freemen consist chiefly in certain immunities from taxes, in claims to endowments, in local tribunals, &c. They have seldom any share in the choice of their magistrates, or the share is very limited. The chief magistrate is the mayor, whose powers and privileges are very various. Associated with him is a council, which, in some towns, is divided into aldermen and common-councilmen. The mayor is generally chosen out of this body, the members of which usually hold their places for life, and fill all the vacancies which occur without the participation of the freemen, or of the other inhabitants.

The mayor and council conduct the whole affairs of the city. The assessment of local taxes or rates, appointment and salaries of subordinate officers—in short, all patronage. They have also civil and criminal courts, though with very different powers and regulations.

The financial condition of the cities differs very widely. The revenues are far from being always well administered: many are plunged in debt by carelessness and extravagance. The manner of keeping the accounts is liable to many objections; they are seldom properly examined, and scarcely ever submitted to the public. There is a general disposition to keep the inhabitants in the dark. The schools are neglected, and the endowments for

the maintenance of them, which exist in such abundance in England, are seldom honestly applied. There are numerous other complaints of administrative abuses or neglects; but, above all, of the partial and improper interference at the general elections. To answer certain ends, in some places the freedom of the city is constantly refused; while, in others, a great number of persons are admitted to take up their freedom just before an election, in order to secure a majority to the side favoured by the magistrates.

The proofs in support of these allegations of the Commissioners are contained, as I said, in three thick folios, from which I cannot attempt even to extract. It appears, however, that the notion was very prevalent, and generally acted upon, that the town property was given in trust to the ruling body, to be administered for their own exclusive benefit.

The gross revenue of all the cities subjected to investigation (exclusive of London), was

About . . .	£366,000,
The expenditure .	£377,000,
The debts . .	£1,860,000.

As the very important point, the admission and exclusion to the rights of citizenship, cannot be made clear to you by mere words, nor, consequently, the advantages or defects be intelligible, I am obliged to have recourse to a few figures, which throw unexpected light on this dark, or, at least, very misty region.

[Here follow lists, extracted from the Report of the Corporation Commission, of the number of freemen or burgesses in towns or cities, in which the franchise is "indefinite," and in those in which it is 'definite." Also a list of the number of freemen, or burgesses, as compared with the population of certain towns and cities.]

In Ipswich, which contains 28,000 inhabitants, eleven-twelfths of the property of the town is excluded from the franchise; one fifty-fifth of the inhabitants are burgesses, and pay one-twentieth of the town rates; of these privileged individuals, one-ninth are *paupers*. No wonder if, with such institutions, systematical bribery (to use the words of the Commission) has been organised at general elections. So much for the Report of the Commission.

Secondly.—I come now to the protest which Sir Francis Palgrave entered against this Report. He asserts that the Commissioners have suffered themselves to be too much influenced by the opinion of the day, and have given to their work the form and colour of a general accusation, rather than of an historical statement, which ought to exhibit merits and defects with perfect impartiality. That the consequence deduced from the evidence often did not really follow from it, or a general conclusion or condemnation was drawn from two or three cases. Accidental and personal defects, he alleges, are not sufficiently distinguished from those inherent in the municipal institutions themselves, or defects incident to the whole country, such as those in the administration of justice, in schools, &c., are represented as belonging exclusively to those institutions. Some abuses might be remedied by a change of persons; some, of local institutions; some, of the laws of the realm: these different cases are not sufficiently distinguished, and a general alteration in the municipalities is constantly suggested as the universal remedy. The Commissioners further assert that there are universal signs of mistrust, dissatisfaction, and hatred against the existing corporations, although there is no sufficient evidence of this, or the complaints had been declared to be unfounded. In some cases individuals are made answerable for things which are the inevitable result of circumstances; in others, on the contrary, the existing institutions are condemned on account of the culpable behaviour of individuals. Sometimes the inconveniences of the present system have been diminished by the ability of the magistrates; and sometimes the corporate power has checked the faults of individuals. It is certainly a mistake (as the example of Plymouth proves) to think that a very numerous body of electors affords any security for a good systematic government.

Notwithstanding these and other objections to the partiality of the representations, and crudeness of the views of the Commissioners, Sir Francis Palgrave assented in the main, both to their censures and their suggestions, only in a softened manner. For instance; he confesses that many things in the corporations are antiquated and inapplicable; the gradual improvement and cultivation of the people neglected; many details of law and police susceptible of improvement: he even declares himself against the close corporations, and in favour of the choice of magistrates by the citizens. But he would give the crown the right of control and interference, and make the necessary reforms spring not so much from a general law as from various distinct changes adapted to the several local circumstances.

In a former work, "Observations on the Principles to be adopted in the establishment of new Municipalities," Sir Francis Palgrave remarks, with great justice, that many of the municipal institutions of the middle ages were not so absurd as the ignorant and one-sided partisans of the present, or rather the future, pretend; and that, to be understood, they should be viewed on both sides. In this work he gave a sketch of a municipal system, which, on many points, agrees with his present suggestions; on others, differs from them. A more thorough examination of it would lead me too far from my main object. I therefore turn to,

Thirdly, The first number of the new "London," or, as it is called, radical Review. The principles and the suggestions of the writer are, in the main, as follows: — The boundaries of the existing corporations are extremely arbitrary; the more ancient parts subject to different magistrates from the more modern, and the necessity for one central point, and for an organic connexion, often entirely overlooked. The degree of power and the extent of jurisdiction, of the magistrates is not fixed according to any general principles; for instance—judicial authority is connected with it in one place, and not in another. It were much better to have courts of justice established in all towns, on a uniform footing, with an appeal to the courts of Westminster, in the most important cases. This would obviate the expense, loss of time, &c., of attending the courts of session and assize, and the disadvantages of tribunals composed of persons so incompetent as the present magistrates and country gentlemen generally are.

Nor is the administrative branch of municipal government in a more satisfactory state than the judicial. Various measures, merely of local interest, such as lighting with gas, &c., must now be referred to Parliament, whence arises needless expense and delay to all parties. The judicial, administrative, and legislative functions ought to be severed. One judge is enough for each court, but he must be a lawyer, and not changed like the mayors.

All ten-pound householders (or, still better, *all* householders) should be free of the city. The elections to be annual, and by ballot. Every civic functionary to have his allotted business. As they are all equal, the office of mayor is useless; they should choose a mayor from among their own body. The whole body of the burgesses to choose a certain number as a legislative body; these should not act as judges, nor as administrators, merely as law-makers. Every citizen to be eligible; for qualifications, especially pecuniary ones, have never been found to produce any good results on the choice of such legislative bodies. The finan-

cial officers to be changed yearly, and to exhibit their accounts on resigning their office. All members of the magistracy to have certain salaries: unpaid functionaries never acquit themselves of their duties properly.

Instead of entering into any detailed observations on the Prussian municipal system, any comparison of its several provisions with what I have now told you, I shall content myself with one most important and conclusive fact; viz., that in Prussia—thanks to the king's admirable and beneficial reforms—all the grievances of which the English now complain are redressed, and all the improvements which they demand are introduced.

The conflict between the Old and the New will certainly be very vehement; and the one party, will, as usual, want to retain, the other to alter, too much. A reform of the corporation is, however, so essentially connected with other reforms, and is so greatly for the interest of the majority, that it is impossible it should be much longer postponed.

The monopoly of a few privileged persons must give way to a wider right of citizenship; the self-election of a small body of magistrates, to some freer form of election by the citizens; and, above all, some control must be established over the management of the finances.

Our municipal system exhibits a safer and better middle way than the English ultras imagine.

* * * * *

After these general remarks, you must indulge me in a *quodlibet* of remarks.

1st. I said something to you (in my letter on the poor-laws) about the administration of villages. I must add that in England there are no villages (*Bauer-Gemeinen**) in our sense of the word. More of this another time.

2d. Many, indeed the most important, suggestions of the "London Review" are in perfect accordance with the actual institutions of Prussia. There are others from which I must dissent. For instance, that one judge is sufficient for a local court; that all functionaries should be changed yearly: that a mayor or burgermeister is unnecessary, and that no qualification whatever is to be required from any of the legislative body. The possession of a house (if it be not mortgaged for its full value), is, in fact, a pecuniary qualification; and certain acquirements; a certain degree of education might, perhaps, be more indispensable to a lawmaker than that particular sum of money.

* A *Gemeinde* answers to a *Commune* of France, the nature of which is probably too generally understood to make any other explanation necessary.—*Trans.*

3d. On the other hand, I cannot agree with Sir Francis Palgrave in making the right of citizenship dependent on length of residence in a town. Many a new settler who hires a house acquires a better claim than artisans and labourers who have lived there for years.

4th. We must never lose sight of the consideration that, in England, municipal are intimately connected with national rights; the elections for magistrates with elections for members of parliament, and thus the political parties in a city have an importance of which we in Germany have scarcely a conception. For this very reason great care ought to be taken not to give a preponderancy to the democratical element, *i. e.* large popular assemblies. The monarchical element (represented by the mayor and council), the aristocratical by the legislative body, should maintain their due weight if we would avoid confusion.

5th. This object cannot be obtained by one sweeping law, which overlooks all local and individual considerations. A city like London, and cities which are almost in the category of rotten boroughs, require a very different organization; and it is an improvement in the new edition of our Prussian municipal system, that it pays more attention than the former to the concrete and to existing differences.

6th. It is certainly a gross anomaly, that the number of the national electors is now much larger than the number of the town electors, or burgesses. This circumstance alone would suffice to make it impossible, after the passing of the Reform Bill, to adhere to the old system of close corporations, and to exclude the most respectable, instructed, and wealthy inhabitants of a city, legally, or rather arbitrarily, from the rights of citizenship.

7th. These rights, it is objected, are private rights, with which it is not the province of the general legislature to interfere. Independent of the arguments which have already been opposed to this great and fundamental error, I must observe that this assumed inviolability of corporations is not supported even by history; and, moreover, that if this principle be consistently followed out, the state would be resolved, or rather split up, into a number of independent parts. Without supreme control these would almost necessarily fall into the hands of small oligarchical tyrannies; or, in case the new legislature went into the opposite extreme, the consequence would be democratical anarchy. We complain, and sometimes with reason, of being governed too much; but here are evident marks of being governed too little. If you say this, you are answered on every side, "We govern ourselves; we do not want to be guided and governed as you inexperienced immature people do."

But I would just ask after what fashion the poor, the church, the schools, have governed themselves? and what sort of organization is that which the close towns and boroughs have constructed for themselves? That enlargement of citizenship and civic rights, that extension of the democratic element, which is carried further in Prussia than it ever was in Athens or Florence, or any state antient or modern, can be productive of security and prosperity only when an administration composed of men rigorously examined, carefully chosen, and tranquil in the continued exercise of their functions presides over it; when all individualities are united in one whole, and, lastly, when the necessity of a general supreme control is recognised by the people.

There is certainly such a thing as an oppressive, vexatious, centralization, which crushes all political life and energy in the provincial population and authorities, and this is the case in France. But there is also a want of centralization, which leads to the greatest discrepancies, inequalities, and contradictions, such as were here displayed in the management of the poor, but which, since this branch of the public service has been put under the control of national functionaries, are no longer possible. Since the passing of the Reform Bill, the superior power of the Lower House, and the daily control exercised by the press and by public opinion, render it absurd and silly to talk of the danger of a ministerial tyranny or a bureaucracy.

The new organization of the towns and of the country seem to require some change in the functions and competency of the ministry of the Home Department; and if some influence were conceded to the crown in this department, it would perhaps be for the good of the whole, and would serve to restore that balance of power which may otherwise, unhappily for England, be lost. It is not by rotten boroughs, by the capricious nomination or dismissal of ministers, by sinecures secular or ecclesiastical, by attempts to strengthen the power of the peers, that the regal authority can in future make itself respected—all these expedients are worn out and dead. I see no other possible way of giving it vigour and stability than in the direction I have pointed out. At all events, instructed and sagacious men will be more likely to come into these views than into the ultra-Tory opinions which the Berlin "Wochenblatt," in its proclamation against Peel, enounces as the quintessence of true wisdom.

LETTER XXVIII.

Party at Lord ——'s—Pictures—English Society—Vacuity of "Routs"—Ballot —Sir Robert Peel—Dissenters—Duke of Wellington and Oxford—Shades of Toryism—English and German Universities—Lord Brougham—Foreign popular Education—Study of History in England—Duke of S.—King's Birth-day Procession—Mail Coaches—Party at Lord L——'s—Statues—Dresses—Aristocratical Blood and Beauty—London "Squeezes"—Dinners —Judges in Westminster Hall—Trick—Stepney Papers—Mr. Faraday —Royal Institution.

London, May 23, 1835.

At ten o'clock at night I was heartily tired, and should gladly have gone to bed; but I wiped the sleep out of my eyes, dressed myself in my best, and drove to Lord ——'s. His wealth is obvious at the veay entrance of his house, and no less so the tasteful employment of it. The magnificent staircase is decorated with works of art, and the saloons filled with pictures of such merit, that his gallery is perhaps the first in England. Three Raphaels, two exquisite Claudes, several of the finest Titians;—here is matter for a long disquisition. But this is Dr. Waagen's privilege—or rather his duty; and I shall be able to refresh my own recollections by his description. I proved my connoisseurship by attributing to Domenichino (on certain grounds which I cannot detail here,) a forest with nymphs, hitherto ascribed to Annibal Caracci. Waagen had already expressed the same opinion to the possessor.

Lord —— received me with courteous expressions, but in the crowd of distinguished persons who kept arriving, could not, of course, trouble himself any further about me. An elegant and beautiful woman was so compassionate as to enter into conversation with me on some literary subjects and on recollections of Italy. She remarked that there were too few people for such large rooms; that one could not move about freely. Did she mean that

there was no freedom till the mass put an end to the stiffness, and made curious critical observation impossible?

That in companies of this kind, the host and hostess can pay no attention to any individual is evident enough: but the unintelligible names which are shouted into the room by servants as the guests throng in, are superfluous to those who know them, and not of the least use to those who do not. An Englishman would be greatly astonished, not to say alarmed, if I were to presume upon this proclamation of his name to address him as an acquaintance. It never occurs to any body to make this a ground of speaking to a stranger.

These "routs," therefore, can have no other interest for a foreigner than that of a *spectacle;* as soon as the first impression is over they are perfectly barren. He can get at no conversation in which there is the least instruction, amusement or excitement. Even those who know each other flit up and down like the atoms of Epicurus, without combining into any form, or seeming to have any centre or any object. Some may say this mobility is a proof of a high state of civilization, and that a German or a Dutchman, who remains immoveably attached to the same seat for hours and hours, with his pipe in his mouth, is not a very amusing companion.

But there is an agreeable interval between these two extremes. A well-bred German host or hostess does not give his attention for a whole evening to any individual guest, but if he has once accepted him as a good bill he does not lay him aside, but endorses him to some other person in the company, he to a third, and so on; and this sort of currency, this *giro,* is agreeable to all, and burthensome to none.

I send you such a quantity of politics, and in such masses, that you may see in what way I should regard and interpret the various newspaper reports. I don't want therefore to send you the small wares of daily comments, and yet things often occur which I wish to communicate. To-day you must accept some of these trifles.

Lord John Russell's defeat in Devonshire has turned the public attention strongly to ballot. It is warmly discussed in letters and articles of all sorts, and all its merits and defects thoroughly brought to light. This is one great advantage of England: but would the censorship allow another newspaper to attempt a confutation of the Wochenblatt, in order that the truth might come out more clearly from this double trial?

Secondly, Peel's ministerial defence of an untenable fortress displayed more ability than the beginning of his opposition campaign, in which he reproached ministers with not proposing reforms or changes enough for this session. He appeared as advo-

cate of the Dissenters, whose adversary he had been for years, and, on the subject of the Marriage Bill, adopted and urged thoroughly Whig principles; just as he formerly did with relation to Catholic Emancipation. The result was, that all the Dissenting Members of the House declared that they were quite willing to wait, under the present Ministry, and Mr. Spring Rice defeated this insidious attack with the simplest arguments. Thirdly, Wellington, who is more of an old Tory than Peel, and, as such, is the steadfast defender of Oxford against all attacks, however just and obvious, lately recommended to the heads of Houses, and all who have a voice in the matter, to cease to make a subscription to the thirty-nine intricate and dogmatical articles the condition of the admission of young men to college. He proposed to substitute a rational declaration, fully adequate to the protection of the church and religion, and thus, on one point at least, to comply with the wishes of the country. His proposal has, however, been rejected by 459 votes to 57. A singular sign of the times! a proof that reform, progressive reform, appears necessary even to those who long beheld, or tried to behold, in the actually existing, the eternally perfect. What gradations in Toryism, from the Duke of Cumberland to Peel and Stanley! They are as far from being all of a mind as their opponents. Far from considering this a reproach to them, I am delighted to see that a few abstractions are not sufficient to bind together a number of men like a bundle of sticks; that their intellectual individualities predominate over the affinity of their pursuits and interests; and this diversity shows a richer organization both individual and national.

As (by way of fulfilling Holberg's prophecy of the eternal existence of the electoral princes) the Elector of Hesse held fast to his title although there was nothing more to elect: so Oxford will represent the immobility of high Toryism *in perpetuam rei memoriam.* But the earth turns, and will turn, however stubbornly we may deny that it moves; nay, not only the earth and the planets, but even suns and fixed stars are borne along in this dance; and Oxford, though she may pout and turn her back on the rest of the world, will be found to make the *dos-à-dos* with them in her own despite. Remarkable, that the English universities always drag behind, while the German are accused of striding along on stilts! This accusation may be well founded as to some; but most of the German universities have some idols of their own, before which they fall down, and which it is held to be the duty of every well-intentioned professor to worship.

Fourthly. Lord Brougham, in proposing some measures for the improvement of the education of the people, which is now

in so defective a state, took occasion to say that, on the continent it was forbidden to teach "civil history" in the popular schools; and then went into a grand panegyric on the study of history, and a philippic against the tyranny of foreign governments. I will not ask, like the Greek on hearing the eulogium on Hercules, "Who blamed him?" but one has a right to ask *where* the study of history is prohibited, and from what sources Lord Brougham derived the materials for his praise and for his censure? At least, he needed not have made all Europe the object of his attack. He should not shoot into the air, but should point more accurately to those whom he, as "far-reaching Apollo," intended to hit. I can't help thinking that there is some mistake of the reporter, or the printer, at the bottom of this. Lord Brougham urged the necessity of an improvement in the English establishments for education, and cited as one of their most striking defects, that neither at Eton, nor at Oxford, neither at King's College, nor at the London University—the child of his fancy or his wisdom—in short, that nowhere, was history properly taught. For that professors who were to be, or might be, appointed, could not be reckoned; any more than professors who gave lectures which nobody attended. And, least of all, does Lord Brougham's panegyric apply to the fragments about Assyrians and Babylonians, or the miserable bald outlines of Greek and Roman history, which are appended here and there to philological exercises in England. Let us hope that Lord Brougham's eloquence will soon conjure into existence in this country, what Germany has so long possessed in such fullness and perfection.

Friday, May 29th.

Although I had gone to bed so late, I was at my writing-table again at seven in the morning, and worked till eleven, when I drove to Kensington to see the Duke of S——. I found him alone, in his dressing gown; and as he began the conversation in German, I naturally continued it in the same language. Thus it lasted for two hours, without a minute's interruption, without those capricious transitions from one subject to another, which so often occur, and without descending to insignificant topics. It turned chiefly upon England and her political affairs, or on matters of universal interest. The Duke spoke, of course, like a whig, and lamented the want not only of just views on the events and circumstances of the times, but even of a knowledge of constitutional law.

From Kensington I walked through the shady gardens to Hyde-park corner, and then turned from the Green-park to St. James's park and St. James's palace. I arrived at half-past two, just in time to see the carriages drive up, in honour of William IV.'s birth-day. If 1800 persons, exclusive of those attached to the court, walked past the king in gala dresses that day, certainly there were 900 carriages in motion; for, on an average, there were not more than two persons in each. The horses and carriages were brilliant; the servants in all colours, laced and covered with ribbands and fringe. They wore breeches and white silk stockings; the footmen had large cocked hats, like those of our military officers, and the coachmen little three-cornered hats, under which peeped forth a bobwig. Inside the carriages, too, were wigs of all dimensions; but these attracted my attention less than the women, who appeared in the full splendour of nature and of art. As the procession moved on very slowly, and was obliged to make a halt at every tenth step, I took the liberty of moving on in a parallel line, and of keeping by the side of certain carriages which contained the greatest beauties. There is no opportunity, no company, in the world in which one may stare ladies in the face with so much ease—I might almost say impudence—and for so long a time. This *revue spéciale unique* in its kind, is a far nobler and more beautiful sight than a *revue spéciale* of soldiers. I tried to figure to myself all their circumstances, and to read the thoughts of each in her eyes. The persons in the first carriage, who were afraid of being the first, had anxieties of quite a different nature from those of the tall Blonde who closed the procession. Which equipage was the most beautiful?—which the least so?—which dress was the richest or the most elegant?—which was the queen of the fair and sumptuous train? An unfortunate hackney coach, with a dirty coachman, and a still more beggarly footboy, had got among these brilliant equipages. Those who were within, whether they were presentables or not, had drawn up the wooden blinds so high that one could not see them. They must have been very uncomfortable, and I was glad that I was on my own legs, in freedom, and not in their place.

When this was all over I went and read at the Athenæum. Just as I was preparing to go away, Mr. M——, the secretary of the club, who makes it his business to oblige every one in every possible manner, called me back, and told me that if I would wait till six o'clock, I should see something which London alone could show. I was least of all in a humour to doubt that to-day; for as I had seen in the Duke of S—— a royal prince, and in the train of equipages, an aristocracy, such as exist in no other country

in the world, it was now the turn for the democracy. From the balcony of the Athenæum, at the corner of Pall Mall and Waterloo-place, perhaps the handsomest part of London, I saw crowds of people, horsemen and carriages of all sorts; troops of children, with flowers and flags, incessantly shouting "God save the King!" and so forth.

But it was not only this that Mr. M—— had invited me to see: it was more particularly the procession of all the London mail coaches; for they also had been to give their huzza to the king, and passed by here on their return.

At last the long expected train arrived; the coachman sitting on the box, the guard behind, outside, both dressed in new suits of scarlet, and ornamented with flowers and ribbands. Inside the brightly-varnished coaches sat their wives, daughters, or friends —a parody on the fashionable ladies. I was too far off to institute a comparison between the aristocracy and the democracy; but the superb horses and the excellent harness made a great impression on me. Such a splendid display of carriages-and-four as these mail-coaches and their horses afforded, could not be found, or got together, in all Berlin. It was a real pleasure to see them in all the pride and strength which half an hour later was to send them in every direction with incredible rapidity, to every corner of England. The improvements in our administration of the post are certainly very great, and in many respects our coaches are more convenient than these; but compared with the countless host of these magnificent horses, the German one's are miserable Rosinantes.

I then hastened to Mr. ——, to deliver my ponderous letter on the Reform Bill, and, to my great delight, found your's, which I answered on a separate sheet of paper; dined at eight; hastened home; dressed for a second time, and then went out to look at the illuminations in a few of the streets. The usual device was "W. R. and a Crown," and only a few about St. James's-street and Waterloo-place were rendered splendid and beautiful by coloured lamps and moving gas lights; the greater number of houses and streets remained unilluminated; nevertheless the crowd was enormous, and, in some places, indeed, dangerous; so that I thanked God when I got away from the bright spots into darkness.

When I went to the Marquis of L——'s, at half-past eleven, there were but few people in the spacious and beautiful rooms, so that I was able to enjoy, undisturbed, the delight of looking at the remarkably fine statues. They were admirably lighted from above, and had a beautiful effect against the red velvet back-ground of the niches. The gallery and drawing-rooms filled gradually,

and I was enabled to continue my observations of the morning.

The gentlemen were, to-day, chiefly in scarlet uniforms; some were in embroidered court dresses, with bagwigs fastened to the collar of the coat. The ladies were more attractive than the gentlemen; they were generally dressed in white silk, or in other materials of the finest kind, and of that colour. Only two or three older ones had hats or other head dresses; a very few had caps, if so one may call such light transparent head dresses. White satin shoes, stockings, so thin or so coloured that the feet appeared naked. None *coiffées à la Chinoise*, but with the forehead uncovered, and long ringlets hanging down to the neck; some with shorter curls, or with the hair braided. At the back of the head were edifices of hair of various kinds, and in these the feathers were fastened. Five or six of the youngest of the ladies had nothing on the head; the others, old and young, wore a number of white ostrich feathers, fastened in the manner I have described. Here and there, as an exception, was seen a blue, red, or yellow feather: in front was a diadem, a flower, or an ornament of the most sparkling brilliants.

If the House of Lords becomes, as it is feared it will, unpopular, or is menaced by any dangers, the wisest thing the old gentlemen could do would be to retreat into the rear, and to station their beautiful wives and daughters in front to defend them: nobody could resist them; they would carry all before them. An aristocracy of such blood as this is certainly not physically *usée*. Almost all that the highest circles of London can offer (with the exception of some ultra Tories) was assembled at the Marquis of L——'s; but

"*Wer nennet ihren Namen? Wer?*"

My desire of making acquaintances in company is natural, and I was accordingly introduced to a few persons; but such a wish only proved that I knew nothing of English routs, and that I asked something quite impossible and absurd. When I had come to the conviction that these assemblies had as little the purpose of conversation as of eating and drinking, I had made one step towards knowledge; I then imagined that the object was to look and be looked at; but I have not yet hit the mark; for yesterday evening people placed themselves so that one could not even see. At a German supper sometimes one guest more comes than the table can conveniently hold, and the party sit somewhat crowded; in a Paris *soirée*, twenty or thirty more arrive than there are chairs for; but here, more people meet together than can find

standing-room. Indeed one was more crowded than in the street, only that the company did not move about so rapidly, but stood nearly still, whereas the populace have a peculiar pleasure in the art of pushing and elbowing. It took me a full half hour to make my way from the farthest room to the entrance; it was utterly impossible to press through faster. As I went out, guests were still arriving, and the number of the carriages in waiting was so great that the ladies went out and traversed the spacious court on foot, that they might reach them sooner. I went to bed at two o'clock, after this long, gay day.

Saturday, May 30th.

I hope you will not blame me if I sometimes contradict my own reports, and send you corrections of what I have told you before. Day unto day showeth knowledge; but if, for that reason, I would wait for the last day in England before I wrote anything, I must wait till I got home, and leave you all the while without tidings. What would be gained, perhaps, in objective proof, would be more than lost in directness and vividness of the impressions. This naturally finds utterance first, and according to personal character, habits of thinking and feeling; but then come doubts; and with me, more especially, the endeavour to place myself exactly in the situation of others (as it beseems a "*historiker*," above all men). Sometimes, however, one can get no further than the knowledge that a thing exists; or that such a thing is just so, and no otherwise: one cannot acquire any taste for it, or find oneself at all at ease in one's new position.

This is my case with the London "routs," or as they are more expressively called "squeezes." In both names, however, the English seem to express ridicule or censure of themselves; and a foreigner may, therefore, be more pardonable if he ventures to doubt of the excellence of this form of social intercourse. That all that Germans understand by, or require from, society, is totally inapplicable to these parties, I have already admitted. In this world of necessity, it signifies nothing that a person moves about as one atom among countless other atoms—should speak, see, hear, or not, as he can—he must take the thing as it is—as something predestinate, and please himself with it as he best can. This, then, I must honestly do; I rejoice in my invitations, and in my experiences, and in things new and unheard of in Germany. Yet I must confess, the doubt *will* return, whether among the various and refined forms of human society, such "squeezes" merit a place; and whether they ought not rather to be reckoned mon-

strous—abnormal? The Germans sometimes lose themselves in the same region with their great feasts, and the English have certainly the advantage, that, with a saving of the food, and of various inconveniences, they accomplish as much:—that is to say, the German may reply, nothing; while, at least, we eat and drink well, and can generally talk at our ease to our next neighbour without elbowing and crowding.

* * * * *

Yesterday I dined with a small party, at the house of a son of Mr. T——. I sat near the hostess, an agreeable woman, and a physician who had studied in Germany, and spoke very good German. I had determined to go home early; but I fell into such a long conversation with an uncle of Mr. T——, on agriculture, leases, &c., on which he gave me much information, that midnight arrived before I was aware.

In the morning I saw the Judges of England in Westminster Hall, in their red gowns and long wigs, and opposite to them the black advocates, with their curled wigs. As there was no criminal trial go on, but only a civil action, I went away very shortly.

I declined going to see hospitals, because they are not in my province, and my time is so extremely limited.

Sunday, May 1st.

My first thoughts and wishes to-day were devoted to Tieck, May Heaven long preserve him, to pour forth upon the world the treasures of his fancy and his genius. He must ever be the delight of all who have the intellect and the sensibility requisite to understand and to feel his exquisite graces. Hereafter it will hardly be believed that men have existed who could eagerly drink down the nauseous draught of modern French literature, concocted of every foul and disgusting ingredient, and turn away coldly or contemptuously from this Hippocrene, which flowed in golden purity and silver sweetness by their side. But it would be unjust to leave this judgment to posterity alone; we will bear witness that there existed in Germany a public capable of understanding and feeling the beauty, the nobleness, the symmetry, the profound feeling, and the gay humour which are the characteristics of Tieck.

After this out-pouring of love and anger, I turn to the history of yesterday. My conscience drove me to the Museum, and I had five large volumes of the famous Stepney papers laid before me. Stepney was messenger to several Courts, and this collection treats of the latter years of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two of these volumes contain letters of Lord Raby from Berlin, and though I did not expect any important political facts, I thought I should find amusing matter respecting manners, customs, &c., but I was disappointed. There was a great deal indeed about hunting, fishing, weddings, funerals, quarrels for precedence, distributions of orders, &c.; but when these things are described neither with psychological acuteness, nor with wit and pleasantry, nor with reference to their deeper and more serious bearings, they soon lose all significance and interest, and history has not the slightest concern with them.

I therefore lost patience, and went away before three o'clock to hear Mr. Faraday, the celebrated chemist, lecture on zinc. As I know nothing of chemistry, and never could discover in myself the least talent for it, I contented myself with the knowledge I had; viz., that the residence of the true Prince of Zinc is in Silesia, where he weighs and counts his treasure, and will some time or other be raised to as high a station among the metallic demi-gods, as his predecessor and cousin Rubezahl enjoys among the botanical ones. This fundamental part of the science of zinc and zincdom, Mr. Faraday seemed entirely ignorant of. He spoke only of zinc presses, zinc pendulums, the affinity between zinc and copper; in short, of matters which the Zinc Prince, who surely ought to know best, says nothing about.

To be serious, the lecture was highly interesting even to the ignorant and uninitiated. Mr. Faraday is not only a man of profound chemical and physical science, (which all Europe knows,) but a very remarkable lecturer. He speaks with ease and freedom, but not with a gossipping, unequal tone, alternately inaudible and bawling, as some very learned professors do; he delivers himself with clearness, precision, and ability. Moreover, he speaks his language in a manner which confirmed me in a secret suspicion I had, that a great number of Englishmen speak it very badly. Why is it that French in the mouth of Mdlle. Mars, German in that of Tieck, English in that of Faraday, seems a totally different language? Because they articulate, what other people swallow or chew. It is a shame that the power and harmony of simple speech, (I am not now talking of eloquence, but of vowels and consonants,) that the tones and inflexions which God has given to the human voice, should be so neglected

and abused. And those who think they do them full justice,—preachers,—generally give us only the long straw of pretended connoisseurs, instead of the chopped straw of the dilettanti.

The large room at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, where Mr. Faraday lectured, is a semicircle, or rather a ¾ circle, lined with benches and galleries to the very roof. Of the three or four hundred hearers, at least half were women.

After the lecture a gentleman exhibited the model of a steam-engine half a finger long, and of the power, not of many horses, nor even half horses, but of half a flea; and the little monster moved with as much rapidity and regularity as those enormous sea-dragons which force their way against the elements.

LETTER XXIX.

Codification—Ignorance of Roman Law in England—Notion of the absolute perfection of English Law exploded—Lord Brougham's Speech—Anomalies—Rejection of Bills by the Lords—Law of Inheritance—Centralization of Justice—Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews—Practical Men—Local Courts' Bill—Debate—Prussian Law—Influence and Interests of Lawyers—House of Lords—Vocation of an Aristocracy—Registration.

London, May 28th, 1835.

The German jurists who are opposed to codification are certainly right, if it is meant that these codes are to consist entirely of new inventions; that everything heretofore existing is to be abolished, and the thread of history thus completely snapped. But they are wrong if their veneration is directed towards the *moles indigesta* under which the camels of the law set so many useless steps in their juristical treadmill. At all events, what is scattered may be collected; what is obsolete, laid aside; what is still available, arranged in its proper place; and, appended to the esoteric science, (often mere drudgery and pedantry,) some exoteric instruction in law and jurisprudence be prepared, and made intelligible to the people. In these respects the "*Prussian Landrecht*" is certainly an advance upon the Roman law books. Least of all should Romanists appeal to the example or the

authority of England, where hardly anything is known of systematic Roman law; while, at the same time, there is such an entire absence of any such thing as an English code of any collection or manual of the laws of England actually in force, that the universal answer to all my inquiries is, that a foreigner never will, or can, arrive at a single clear idea about it. I must therefore venture, from the depth of my ignorance, to report a few of the most recent juristical events.

The assertion so long and so intrepidly made, that the English administration of justice could not be improved; that it had attained absolute perfection, and that every alteration must necessarily be for the worse, has, together with a number of similar maxims about the constitution of parliament, the necessity of sinecures, the protection of native industry, and so on, been, if not theoretically, yet practically, given up. Here and there only a solitary citadel is defended by the immovables. Romilly, Peel, Brougham—men of the most different characters—have equally put their hand to the work of improvement, and have already effected many beneficial changes. Many, no less desirable, have been vehemently and successfully opposed. I shall give some examples of this.

Lord Brougham's speech of the 7th Jan. 1828, on the state of the legislation, (I don't mean to go further back,) touches on a great number of the defective points. I can only glance over a few detached ones.

We have, says he, in London, three high courts of justice, the jurisdiction of which is nearly the same. Whilst, however, their functions are substantially the same, there are great and capricious differences in the procedure, the forms, costs, &c.; and while, for example, the Court of King's Bench is overloaded with business, the Court of Common Pleas and the Exchequer have little to do—partly because, in these, a few barristers enjoy a mischievous monopoly. The judges have little prospect of advancement: they are apt to become mere pedantic and technical lawyers, from the monotonous routine in which they move; and as their number has not been increased, with the vast increase of business, delay and precipitation are inevitable.

The Privy Council exercises the supreme jurisdiction over the colonies, for which it forms a very unsuitable and inconvenient tribunal. The expense, the distance, the delay, are sufficient to deter parties from resorting to it: so that, in fact, the obstacles amount to a denial of justice. Add to this, the inconveniences arising from the variety of laws prevailing in the colonies—Dutch, French, Danish, Spanish, Mohammedan, Indian—of the greater part of which the Privy Council are necessarily ignorant.

Nor is the boasted institution of Justices of the Peace less open to objection. Their appointment is exclusively in the hands of Lords Lieutenants of counties; and their enormous power is subject to no supervision or control whatever.

The laws which regulate real property, inheritance, and other important matters, without any sufficient reason, differ very much in different parts of England. There is an unjust diversity of forms for the treasury, and for private persons; and the costs in many cases are so high, that a man is severely punished by gaining his cause. The costs of one suit in the Court of Chancery were from seven to eight thousand pounds.* And as trials may be protracted in various ways, one favourable decision by no means puts an end to litigation. An action for debt does not extend to real property: nay, even the greater part of personal property (*e. g.* bank-notes, public bonds, &c.) are not liable to execution or seizure. Bankrupts only are compelled to make a distribution of their effects; all other debtors, and their heirs, may pay one creditor to the exclusion of the others.

I might here adduce a whole list of the strangest anomalies in the English law, which can be defended neither on philosophical nor historical grounds; but I shall content myself with two observations, confirmatory of the last-mentioned subject of complaint, which I extract from the parliamentary debates:—

Whatever (says one speaker†) be the amount of real property which a man leaves at his death, his creditors will not receive a farthing (except from the good pleasure and honour of the heirs,) unless he leaves personal property also. If a man borrows a sum of money, and immediately devotes it to the cultivation of his land, the creditor, according to the existing law, has no redress whatsoever, if the debtor dies before a court of justice has adjudged the payment of the debt.

The bills which were prepared with a view to reform laws of such flagrant injustice were four times thrown out by the Lords. It is evident, that political considerations concerning the law of inheritance here exercised a sinister influence, and induced Noble Lords to justify, or at any rate to tolerate, acts of dishonesty and fraud in private transactions.‡

As the English law of inheritance differs in so many respects from ours, I will endeavour to compress its leading principles for your information. They have, perhaps, more than any other cause whatsoever, contributed to make England what it is; and an alteration in them would probably have a more universal and pervading effect than the reform of the House of Commons.

All inheritances are divided into 'real property,' and 'personal property.' Both are, by law, at the absolute disposal of the father,

* Hansard, ii. 828. † Ibid. xvii. 370. ‡ Ibid. xviii. 105.

except where the former is bound by a certain family settlement called 'an entail.' If he makes no disposition, the real property descends in a right line. Till within two years, relations in the ascending line could not inherit. Male descendants have precedence of females; and these, of collateral relations. Where there are several sons, the eldest inherits the whole real estate; and this applies not to the peerage alone. When there are no sons, daughters inherit equally. Collateral relations must be 'of the whole blood:' that is to say, the collateral heir, in whatever generation in the ascending line, must descend from the same father and the same mother. Half brothers and sisters, and all other persons related by the half blood, are excluded; or the most remote relation of the whole blood excludes the nearest of the half blood: *e. g.*, when a man has three daughters by the first wife, and one by the second, they inherit equally from their father; but if two daughters of the first marriage die without issue, the third takes the whole property of the two deceased sisters;—the fourth, nothing. Or, if a father has two sons by different mothers, and the eldest, who was his heir, dies without issue, the half-brother has no claim whatever to the property. Among collateral relations, those of the male line have always precedence over those of the female. According to the old common law, the personal estate is divided into three equal parts,—of which a third devolves to the descendants, a third to the widow, and a third might be disposed of by the possessor at his pleasure. If he had only children, or only a wife, either of these parties inherited the half, and the other half remained at his disposal: these portions were called, *rationabiles partes bonorum*. These provisions gradually underwent various changes, till, in the time of George the First, a law was passed, enacting that every man might leave his personalty or chattels at his own pleasure; and that neither his wife nor children should have any claim upon it against the dispositions of his will. If, therefore, the real property, *ab intestato, must* go to the eldest son, and the testator may bequeath all his other property to whom he will, it is clear that daughters and younger sons are worse provided for *by law* than in any other country; and that the aristocratical or oligarchical principles of England are at an immense distance from the more democratical or equalising institutions of other nations. And to this cause, I repeat, we may trace a great number of the most important phenomena: including that of the science of husband-catching, which I described in another letter. Only one question remains to be answered—How is the inheritance divided when the father has not made those testamentary provisions which the law allows? In that case, the widow takes a third, and the children, or their descendants, *per stirpes*, the remainder; or, in default of children and their issue, the widow takes a half, and the nearest relatives the other half. If there is no widow, the children take

the whole; if there are neither, the property goes to the nearest relations, or their representatives; but no representation extends farther than to the children of brothers and sisters. I pass over many more detailed and remarkable provisions, because I am afraid of tiring you with these dry, though important, affairs.

London, May 29, 1835.

In my last letter I fell, I hardly know how, upon the law of inheritance; whereas my intention really was to touch upon another subject, which affords matter of the greatest encomium and exultation to one party, while the other represents it as fraught with innumerable evils.

It will be difficult for a Prussian to believe that there are no provincial or local tribunals, exercising jurisdiction over matters of importance. While everything that refers to, or depends on, one general central point, every kind of centralization is esteemed in this country a tyrannical invasion of individual liberty; the centralization of the administration of justice in the capital (or at least in the persons of the judges of the capital) is, with singular inconsistency, carried to a pitch that exceeds everything of which any other country can furnish an example. These metropolitan judges travel about the country and give judgment, from six months to six months, on an infinite number and variety of things, in a few days.

Independently of this part of their functions, the yearly number of the causes instituted in the supreme courts of Westminster exceeded, in the year 1827, eighty thousand. Since that time they have considerably increased.

While the 'Quarterly Review'* deplores these and other defects and difficulties of procedure, expense, &c., its opponent, the 'Edinburgh,' on this occasion joining with it, exclaims, From the want of local courts, and from a thousand other devices and abuses, which have insinuated themselves into the law, the English have now the worst administration of justice that can be found in any country! And, together with this mischievous centralization, there exists numberless arbitrary differences; for instance, above two hundred and forty courts for the recovery of small debts; scarcely two of which are governed by the same principles. But the so-called 'practical men' acquire such a bigotted partiality for their own class and their own narrow range of technical learning, that they see in the removal of absurdities nothing but mad and capricious innovation. Hence it was that Lord Brougham's plan for local courts was defeated. He brought it before the House of Lords in June, 1833: the following were some of the arguments he used in its favour.†

* Vol. xlii. 183. † Hansard, xviii. 858.

The costs of proceedings in the courts of Westminster are so great, that they amount, in many cases, to a denial of justice. Hence, many people bring an action for a debt of 1*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*, when the real sum owed is 5*l.*, in order to reduce the costs one-half. Very often people have actually paid a demand for which there was not the slightest ground, rather than run the risk of an action which, *even if they were successful*, would certainly have cost them more than the amount of the unjust demand. Further, as there is no tribunal at hand, almost all actions or plaints must wait six or eight months, till the travelling judges arrive in the country. Hence (not to mention other evil consequences to suitors), it often happens, that the possibility of establishing the justice of their case is entirely lost. On one day, in Lancaster, the aggregate value of fifty actions did not amount to 50*l.*, and all these trifling matters had been compelled to wait till the judges of the high courts of Westminster arrived to decide them.

For these and other reasons, it was thought expedient that local courts should be established, with authority to decide actions of debt to the amount of 100*l.*, and actions of other kinds to the amount of 50*l.* It should be left to the parties to agree whether or not a jury should be summoned. Questions of real property, tithes, &c., should still be decided by the superior courts.

[Here follow the objections contained in the speeches of Lords Lyndhurst and Wharncliffe, and the reply of Lord Brougham. See Hansard, xix. 308; xviii. 335.]

The bill was thrown out in the House of Lords on the 9th of July, 1833, by 73 votes to 68: since which time everything has gone on in the old way.* To this historical text I must append a few remarks.

Notwithstanding this excessive centralization of the administration of justice in England, the laws, forms, costs, &c., are by no means brought into any kind of uniformity; and here, as in Germany, champions are found for the most capricious and irrational diversities. The example of Prussia is, however, sufficient to prove that district courts, subject to a common court of appeal, is sufficient for the maintenance of a uniform system; if, indeed, the legislators are competent to the conception and expression of such a system. At least it would never occur to any body to introduce the advantages of centralization by the abolition of all local tribunals.

Unquestionably, an intimate acquaintance with parties and circumstances may occasionally lead local judges into partiality; but still oftener (if they are men of any integrity at all,) this accurate knowledge of facts must be favourable to the appropriateness and

* Hansard, xix. 371.

fairness of the decision. At all events, it is a poor security for the impartial administration of justice, that the judge lives some hundreds of miles off. Indeed it is difficult to see how the interests of suitors can be promoted by the remoteness of the judge. Litigation is not encouraged by bringing justice to every man's door. On the contrary, nothing would have so great an effect in deterring men from useless disputes, as the certainty that they would be promptly decided. If the delay of justice be the means of diminishing litigation and promoting concord, the legitimate inference is, that the total denial of it would be the very consummation of conciliatory wisdom. It is a most absurd and mistaken notion, that the greater number of lawsuits are undertaken without any reason. Most suits are unquestionably based on a conviction of right; and the more promptly the judge decides whether this conviction be just or erroneous, the better. It is no less a prejudice to regard the compromise of a dispute as invariably the best way of terminating it; it is good only when the demands made are of an extravagant nature. If they are (as they generally are) perfectly fair, justice ought to be awarded them immediately; and, above all, the complainant ought not to be driven by legal delays, to concede any part of his just claims for the advantage of an unjust adversary. Unpaid justice may, like unpaid education, be a doubtful good; but the monstrous expense of English justice is utterly indefensible, and arises, in great measure, from the want of local tribunals. If, for instance, in insignificant revenue causes, the matter is carried from the Orkneys to London,* witnesses, documents, and everything necessary to the conduct of the cause, must also be transmitted thither; and this (as the advocates of Lord Brougham's bill maintain), involves a complete denial of justice. Some reduction of these costs—indeed an entire abolition of them, in the case of the poor and the innocent—must be effected here as in other countries. Lastly, that all juridical wisdom and learning is found in London alone, and decreases or disappears as you recede from the capital, seems to admit of doubt. If, however, it be the case, this centralization, this extinction of all sense of justice and of all legal science in the provinces, is truly lamentable, and affords quite a sufficient argument for the establishment of local tribunals. If all the counsellors of the local courts and the provincial courts of appeal, with their whole judicial apparatus, were suddenly transferred from every part of the Prussian monarchy to Berlin, it is certain that the city would gain far less than the country would lose.

The more extensively I inquire here, the more frequently I receive the answer:—the real cause of the failure of the plan of a local administration of justice is, that the judges, barristers, attorneys, &c. are settled in London; that London is a more agreeable

* Edinb. Rev. li. 115.

and profitable residence to them than the country; that they exercise an irresistible power; and that they regard a distribution of justice throughout England as nothing more nor less than a sacrifice of their money, their influence, and their pleasure.

It would be irrational to wonder at this display of prejudice and selfishness in the lawyers; but why so many Lords made common cause with them, alleging no better reasons than those I have quoted above, is less intelligible or defensible.

There was a time when the House of Peers took the lead in all social progress, and fulfilled this, the proper and the highest vocation of an aristocracy. In modern times, unhappily, the idea has taken root, that its essential destination is to obstruct and to maintain. Those who once formed the gallant and glorious advance guard, are now sunk into the timid stragglers, driven along by the troops of the commonalty; getting no thanks for their negative labours; and, it must be confessed, generally deserving none. It is urged on the other hand, that the House of Lords naturally promoted movement so long as the times required it; but since this has gone on with dangerous velocity, the necessities of a former age are exchanged for the very contrary ones.

This inference can be but half true, at the most: for, from the earliest times there has been no want of restless and revolutionary elements in the House of Commons, which were controlled or neutralized by the authority and the prudence of the House of Lords. But it was to its steady, constant advance that it owed this very authority; it always led, *because* it was always foremost; and was neither goaded by the precipitation, nor withheld by the tardiness, of certain parties in the Lower House. Excessive resistance and obstruction have caused an incalculable increase of the powers and energies which were too much compressed. The people wanted space and a channel:—a valve, by which (to use Machiavelli's expression) they might '*Slogar gli umori;*' or, in modern English, 'let off the superfluous steam.'

To give an instance or two:—Had the Lords graciously and promptly consented to take the franchise from East Retford and give it to a large city, it would have averted, for an indefinite time, perhaps for ever, the blow they have received from the sweeping Reform Bill. Had they passed the Irish Tithe Bill and done justice to Ireland, the property of the Irish Church would not have been attacked as it has lately been, or, at any rate, would not have decided the fate of a ministry. But, assuming that government will be again conducted on Tory principles, it must be overthrown again and again, so long as it persists in the same course of mere negation and opposition, with regard to corporations, universities, and every other question involving the changes necessitated by time.

This seems the most convenient place for the mention of another subject: viz., 'Registrations of mortgages and other deeds.' With

the exception of the counties of Middlesex and Yorkshire, there does not exist in all England any institution for registration—any legal, general, uniform mode of registering the value of landed property and houses, its privileges and burthens, the purchase money and the charges upon it, &c. &c. To supply this defect, Mr. Campbell moved for leave to bring in a bill on the 16th December, 1830, for a 'General Register of Deeds.' He said, that at present it was impossible to register or to establish any legal title to real property in England without the greatest difficulty, delay, and expense; that, in spite of the utmost care and caution, not only great uncertainties and doubts remained, but frauds of the grossest kind were practicable. In Ireland, a similar institution has existed for a century; in Scotland, since the year 1617; and, in those parts of the empire, creditors and purchasers feel a security which is unknown in England. Where this security is wanting, the purchaser can never buy without risk, and the capitalist is deterred from lending his money on mortgage.

The most weighty objection which was made to Mr. Campbell's plan was, that the centralization of all registration in London would be attended with too much difficulty and expense. To which he replied, that it would diminish expense, facilitate the obtaining of information, render practicable a uniformity of proceeding, &c. But he subsequently consented to have the registration distributed over the cities and counties.

The objections which remained were merely trivial; such as, that there was no experience how such a thing would work,—though there was the favourable experience of almost every nation in Europe, not to mention Scotland and Ireland: that every man's debts would be generally known,—as if credit could not exist without tricks of concealment and mystery, or as if the whole world would crowd to the registration-office from mere idle curiosity: that no man would be able to borrow money on his own individual securities and deeds,—as if these would not be verified and confirmed, and greater security given to the lender.

In short, the bill was three times thrown out by the Lords, without even an attempt at amending any of the details; and this was consequently adduced by writers as conclusive evidence that the estates of three-fourths of the English nobility were mortgaged to Jews and merchants, and that a desire to conceal this fact was the cause of their hostility to the bill.

There may be things in our system of hypothecation which are susceptible of improvement, but on the whole it is a blessing to the country and the people. When I describe here how easily, rapidly, and cheaply the purchase of a house is concluded in Prussia, my hearers are astonished, and again point to the loss of influence which the lawyers would sustain by the introduction of a more equitable and rational system in England.

LETTER XXX.

Effect of the French Revolution of July in England—Ignorance of Continental Politicians—Prussian Government and People—English independent of French Civilization—Law and Practice of Inheritance—Their Effects—French and English Tumults—Their Differences.

London, May 29th, 1835.

My letter, or if you will my essay, on the Reform Bill was designed to compress the facts into the smallest possible space, and to elucidate them by some few remarks. That all my readers will be converted to my way of thinking, never did, and never could, enter my head: but I wish to recur to two or three points, in order to rectify mistakes.

Some German political writers are, as it seems, fixed in the notion that English reform, together with all that results from it, is entirely a consequence of the French revolution of July. They have so often asserted this, because it suits their purpose, and others have so often repeated it after them from similar motives, that they have all ended by believing it an indisputable fact, and a saving article of faith. And yet, it is entirely false. Certainly the three days produced a great sensation in England, as they did everywhere; but it betrays the most entire ignorance of that country, to imagine that the ground-work and matter of English civilization have ever passed over from France; or that the English have ever exhibited the remotest trace of an inclination to ape the Parisians,—as the Belgians were, with some reason, reproached with doing. When the atmosphere is charged with electricity, are there not conductors and non-conductors of the fluid? Why did the three days excite not the slightest agitation through the whole Prussian monarchy? Was it because the police or the censorship put on spectacles of a higher power? Not a whit. It was because the wisdom of the king, and the fidelity of his servants, had long ago removed all the revolutionary matter, which in other countries burst into a flame; because they had reformed in time; because the just demands of the age had been more fully and conscientiously complied with in Prussia, than in any other country in Europe. The three days, then, do not of necessity create revolutions everywhere out of nothing, and about nothing, and against nothing. On the contrary, they confirmed every rational man in Prussia in his conviction of the immense advantages of the gradual progress which had been directed by his own government; and enhanced his love for king and fatherland (especially in the Rhenish provinces) by a comparison with the troubles and the sufferings of other countries. The bigots, who

are incessantly representing the revolution of July as an inevitable poison, do but increase the danger, and would indeed import the contagion, if they could succeed in goading the government into uncalled-for and illiberal measures, and thus creating a universal malady by their ill-timed and pernicious drugs.

Instead of persisting in general abstractions; instead of throwing London, Paris, Brussels, Brunswick, Dresden, Warsaw, Athens, and Madrid, all into one pot; instead of tediously reiterating the same formulæ, and for ever thrashing the same straw; it would be more to the purpose if they would inquire into the varieties of circumstances, the peculiar motives, the causes of attraction or repulsion, and, out of all these symptoms and experiments, deduce some more profound and appropriate curative science. A man who traces all diseases to one cause, or seeks all relief from one remedy, is, and must ever be, a quack.

All the great moral, intellectual, and political improvements or changes of England, have originated independently of France, and have been effected in opposition to France; and notwithstanding a few compliments, which certain writers bandy to and fro across the Channel, England in all her most essential characteristics and her most important institutions, is, to this day, *far more German than French*. This will be proved, not, as I said before, by the incidents of the moment, nor by a passing conjuncture brought on by a thousand collateral causes; but by the very nature and necessities of her being.

The revolution of July was the cause neither of the miseries and the complaints of Ireland, nor of the disabilities and discontents of the Dissenters, nor of sinecures and pluralities, nor of high taxes, nor of close corporations, nor of bigoted and narrow-minded universities; it has not even thrown the least new light on these things; it has had no more effect in either disturbing or accelerating the course of England, than a comet has in changing the course of the planets. It was not the sight of France, it was the experience at home—that Ireland, by her patience or her respectful petitions, had for centuries obtained no adequate redress; but that, as soon as she assumed a more passionate and menacing attitude, even men like Wellington and Peel were frightened into conceding that, which they ought long ago to have voluntarily bestowed. And thus will ill-judged resistance continue to lead on, at every step, to increased demand. Why then does school represent *every* demand as unjust? Why do many in Berlin stigmatize what the king has done for the good of his people, for the establishment of religious concord and of civil order, and for the removal of all grounds or elements of revolution, as papistical, revolutionary, jacobinical? Such declaimers are really, what they call others,—revolutionary and jacobinical. If their views were suffered to prevail, must not everything in Prussia be overturned?

must not all that the king has been doing for thirty years, be abolished? and the whole system of the legislature be destroyed, in order to convert the country into a Utopia of their fashion? Thank God, Prussia is in as little danger from them, as England! Thank God, the history of the world is not likely to be read backwards to please them, whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the degree of rapidity with which we ought to advance. But even were it true that the revolution of July had exercised ever so strong an influence here, yet what the English have aimed at and have accomplished is so completely different from what the French have either conceived or done, that it would be not the less erroneous to deduce any conclusions as to England from French premises. The common maxim or truism, that men are the same everywhere, subject to the same follies and passions, requires to be qualified and explained by a number of particulars; such as attachment to this or that form of religion, constitution, occupation, &c. &c. I will only advert to a few points,—important, though often overlooked,—by which England is distinguished from almost all other countries.

1.—It is not the letter of the law of inheritance, by which the father is at liberty to dispose of his whole property at his pleasure; but the voluntary practice, as to this matter, which is so peculiar to England, and so full of important results. It raises up, in a manner unknown to France and Germany, a continually renewed race of great landed proprietors; an unbroken line of aristocrats and conservatives. Nor are these at all confined to "peers;" the same usage obtains, with the same results, among commoners. Here lies a counterpoise to the increasing power of the democracy, far more effective and weighty than is generally supposed or understood.

2.—So long as this universal practice, which has grown up with the whole structure of English manners and habits, continues to prevail, a modified conservative party must always continue to spring up and to obtain influence. Instead of the rotten boroughs, the counties will now be the theatre of its exercise; and the Reform Bill is advantageous, and not injurious, to them. Instead of a narrow and decayed foundation, they have now a broad and solid one; and instead of an illegal form, they have now law on their side. Even the last election proved this, and afforded an ample confutation of the predictions of an impending absolute sway of ultra-radicals.

3.—Only the eldest son of a peer is, politically speaking, noble: all the younger sons are commoners; and since, as before, the Reform Bill, they can sit in the House of Commons, where they will naturally act as mediators, and endeavour to avert a collision with the Upper House, unless the latter obstinately oppose reasonable measures.

4.—We quiet continentals cannot understand the noisy and

public life of this country. Associations, combinations, processions, petitions signed by thousands and tens of thousands, meetings, "strikes," "rows," and all such demonstrations, appear to us palpable signs of dissolution—beginnings of a resistless, universal convulsion. But it is no such thing; and the prophecies founded upon these facts, or upon the supposed analogy with the French, have never been fulfilled. Instead of inquiring into the *wherefore*, people generally go on in the old track, and repeat, one after another, the hacknied cry, "England is on the brink of ruin;"—because the tailors want higher wages, or the newspapers are vulgar and violent.

But let us now put aside all this, and attend to one question, *why* have Parisian tumults generally overturned,—or, at least, greatly shaken—the government, while those of England have never produced any serious results? There are, you will say, many and important reasons sufficiently obvious. But have you ever thought of this one?—In England there is no preventive or anticipative police, as in many countries of Europe, and especially in France. I shall not now inquire which system is the best, but shall only state that this is the fact. The consequence, however, of this fact is, that when a tumult breaks out in Paris, the preventive means are generally exhausted, and every thing rushes into irretrievable confusion and violence. In England, on the contrary, the '*movement*' is suffered to grow and flourish in such unchecked vigour, that the distant observer expects a similar overthrow. If the government here were to attempt to interfere before any overt acts have been committed, every Englishman, without exception, would regard this as an invasion of natural and lawful freedom, and nobody would be found to support a preventive administration. But as soon as a commotion comes to a really dangerous pass—to an open violation of the laws,—the government steps in with decisive and overwhelming force, and experiences the most energetic and universal support. What is regarded abroad as the beginning of a revolution, is, in reality, the crisis; and is, in a very different sense than in France, *le commencement de la fin.*

LETTER XXXI.

German Commercial League — Prussia, Austria, Hamburg — Exhibition, British Gallery—Covent Garden—Queen's box—Characteristic of Philistines—Journey to Windsor—Miseries, aquatic and acoustic—Presentation to the Queen—Windsor Castle—Its Grandeur and historical Interest—Shakspeare—Return to town—B—n House—Rout—English Musical Composers.

London, June 1st, 1835.

I SEE, in the newspapers, with great joy, that Baden has joined the German commercial league. What, a few years ago, appeared either utterly impossible, or an oppressive tyranny, gradually came to be regarded as desirable, but unattainable; and now stands before our eyes as an inestimable advantage to the whole commercial population of Germany, and a guarantee for German union and political independence—as an incentive and an assistance to great and useful enterprises—a death-blow to innumerable tricks of rapacity and cunning—a means of keeping monopolizing neighbours within bounds of moderation—an indissoluble bond of union for the material and moral interests of all Germans. Since old prejudices have given way, and better views have vanquished error and ill will, nobody doubts that (next to our deliverance from foreign domination) this great commercial union is the most fortunate event that has befallen Germany; the commencement of a new era. On both occasions Prussia set the first steps; on both, they were daring and dangerous, but honourable. No decisive judgment can be formed of the aggregate results of this measure, on the ground that it will cause some individual loss, or that some changes and modifications of it will be necessary. As its most important objects are accomplished, there can be no doubt that, with care and zeal, particulars may be improved and arranged for the common advantage. The essential thing in this, as in every great political measure, is, that *all* the parties concerned should gain; but those who will cling to every antiquated usage, and cannot get out of their snail's pace, must blame not these new times of freedom and community of trade, but themselves.

Were there but one good result form this measure, viz., that all Germany is stimulated, nay forced, into a common rivalry; that the most industrious, careful, orderly, honourable, and intelligent must take the lead; the advantage would be incalculable, and would shed new light and life over our common fatherland. Those who have given a tardy acquiescence, because they were more capable of understanding petty calculations than comprehensive views or high feelings, must be received, without reproach, as penitent children. But those who obstinately persist in sever-

ing themselves—whether out of indolence or selfishness—from the rest of their country, merit not only the pecuniary loss which they will be sure to suffer, but disgrace and reprobation.

I am not so partial or so ignorant as not to acknowledge the difficulties which lie in the way of some members of the league, especially Austria and Hamburg; but even here, I am persuaded that old forms might be modified and adapted to modern times. I am a Prussian (and a better Prussian than a handful of men who affect a monopoly of patriotism will allow me to be); but it grieves me to the soul that Austria is so dragged away from Germany by the weight of the foreign portions of her empire, and in so many respects isolated and estranged. Yet the same pulse beats in the two ventricles of Germany, Prussia and Austria, and the same vital stream might circulate, unchecked, from Memel and Presburg to Schaffhausen and Treves.

And Hamburg? When I first published my opinion that Leipzig would be a gainer by the adhesion of Saxony to the German commercial league, I was laughed at as a fool. I risk this misfortune a second time; and affirm that the destination of Hamburg is to be the London of Germany (after the decay of Antwerp and Rotterdam). But if she does not understand the times; if she does not seize the right moment; if she chooses rather to be a separate isolated star than a part of the great German planetary system, the petty triumphs of apparent independence will soon vanish, and she will sink into obscurity.

It is to be regretted that many English consider the German commercial league from a one-sided and subordinate point of view. The impulse which originated in Prussia, and had so powerful an effect in inducing a more liberal commercial system in England, now, for the second time, operates for the advantage of both parties.

We will drop all consideration of those who preposterously imagine that England has the right and the power to direct the commercial system of Germany, though they would be the first to treat a similar assumption on the part of Germans, as madness. We shall then only have to meet the objections of those who think that trade with an inactive and poor nation, is more profitable than trade with one which is growing in activity, wealth, and intelligence. But this position is found to be so untenable—this opinion has been so thoroughly confuted—that it is impossible to drag it forth any more from the lumber-garret of exploded prejudices, even though it be furbished up with new rhetorical patches. Whatever is really advantageous to the German producer, manufacturer, and consumer, is, if regarded from a proper elevation, also advantageous to England. To deny this is to fall back into the doctrine of the utility of restrictions, of monopolies, the 'con-

tinental system,' &c. Till somebody has the courage frankly to defend these things, it would be time lost to attack them.

In these and similar errors, however, there is some method; but what shall we say when government *employés* maintain that the abolition of the custom-house restrictions is highly dangerous, because it lessens the supervision of the police, and opens the door for the entrance of political poison? One may say either, Lord, forgive them! for they know not what they do; or, Lord, forgive them not, for they know right well what they do, and what they intend. A whole army could not keep out physical contagion, and moral contagion is to be excluded by the fly-flapper of a police or custom-house officer posted on the high road! What disgusting presumption, or what ludicrous foolery, with and concerning history and revolution—the content and discontent of nations! Prussia is so healthy and happy, in consequence of the king's timely and beneficent reforms, that she may let these insects buzz unheeded. If there were cause and matter for revolutionary troubles, these prophets of ill would sink back, in the first stadium, into that region out of which a chance ray of sun has warmed them into life.

June 2, 1835.

I went, at ten o'clock, with M—— and M——, to a picture-gallery of a twofold sort. Every year the wealthy possessors of pictures lend some out of their collections, to form an exhibition, which is open to the public by day, and to a numerous but select company in the evening, when the room is brilliantly lighted with gas. The tickets for the day are sold; those for the evening given. This custom is very liberal and laudable, and for many years a new and attractive exhibition has been annually furnished from these stores. This is sufficient to show how many works of art there are in England, and how poor most other nations would appear in the comparison. On the other hand, it must be said, that, generally speaking, the English have got no further than the possession of them: and that the pleasure and fame of producing has been chiefly left to others. I saw some admirable landscapes of Ruysdael, Holbein, Both, &c.: a beautiful Venus, by Paul Veronese, a very remarkable Mantegna, two Rembrandts (a Bûrgermeister and his wife, and Rembrandt's Mother), both of the highest merit; a few Titians (some of which might have been taken for Bonifacios), Murillos, and a great number of Flemish paintings. But Waagen will give you a much more circumstantial account of all this.

The living pictures, that is the ladies, formed the other half of the exhibition; and this time the beautiful and the ugly were so mixed, that the contrasts were the more marked and striking.

June 3, 1835.

Having finished my work, and paid a few visits, I dined with Waagen at B—n v. B——'s. We then drove to Covent Garden, as the Queen had most graciously lent us her box. We saved our time at the door, and our money in our pockets, and saw much better than in the places accessible to us; but what did we see and hear? At the end of the opera 'Lestocq,' a burning palace, and a mighty firing with little cannons. Auber's music was thoroughly unmeaning, and the singing (with the exception of Mr. Seguin) no better; nevertheless the public signified its approbation several times. The time seemed long to me, and I renounced the pleasure of seeing whatever was to be seen between the hours of eleven and one o'clock.

London, June 4, 1835.

It is a peculiar and almost infallible characteristic of Philistines, that when the greatest, noblest, and most beautiful that nature or art, government or science has produced, is shown to them, they say, with the quiet air of perfect self-complacency, 'Dear me, I thought the mountains were higher, the ships larger, the streets longer, voices stronger, suns brighter, stars more numerous, wisdom wiser, justice more just, courage more courageous, temperance more temperate.' And what *did* they really think? Just nothing at all. But they inflate themselves with the emptiness of the heart and spirit. Their vigour of thought and feeling always turns out to be an abstract negation. According to that, the fellow in 'Tieck,' who says, 'Tell me the greatest number and I will imagine a still greater,' is the profoundest of mathematicians. The most beautiful, delightful, and memorable days of one's life are those in which the reality surpassed the vague expectation, and gave a form and meaning to things which our own imagination could never have perfectly embodied.

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But whither am I wandering, with an introduction which is fit for the second part of my yesterday's history, but not at all for the first? 'You must be here at half-past nine,' said the coach-proprietor, as he booked my name for Windsor. I was on the spot with my usual punctuality; not so the coach; and when it at last arrived, some gentlemen had already taken possession of the best places, those behind the coachman. I had only the choice left me of sitting behind, with my face to the horses, but without anything against my back (for the iron bar which surrounds it, four inches above the seat, can hardly be called a resting place,) or opposite, with my back to the horses, but secured from falling over backwards and breaking my neck. I chose the latter, but found the seat very hard and narrow. Having made this observation, the coachman brought me a cushion to sit on, which so much de-

lighted me that I bore the discomfort of waiting more patiently than usual, and only looked with annoyance at the thick fog which rendered it utterly impossible to see anything, and threatened soon to change into deluges of rain. But, contrary to my expectations, the first wet did not come from above but from below—*destillatio per ascensum*. The cushion, a gift so delightful at first, was swelled up like a sponge with the rain of the preceding night, and imparted to me a most endurable portion of its contents. Dry straw was laid on the cushion to depose this supremacy of water, but in vain; though I kept as still as I could, the straw escaped to the right and left, and I sank down again into the primeval waters, until my only deliverance lay in coat-tails and pocket-handkerchiefs.

At length we started.—And now a new misery. Behind me stood a large hamper filled with pewter plates and pots, which, with Logicrian steadiness and perseverance, executed a thema, known and loved for centuries in the pot-houses of England. These Orphic tones soon exercised their wonted power on the basket in which they were imprisoned. It fell into the motion appropriated to its semi-pyramidal form, and beat time with such regularity on my shoulders that I was compelled to respond, however unmusically inclined.

Meanwhile a soft rain began to fall, and gave a new turn to my thoughts and sensations. The expanded umbrella altered the position of the centre of gravity, and I should gladly have recalled my old Halle university learning concerning the lever, the hypomochlion, and whatever else might be applicable to the case.

Amid these and other curious speculations I reached Windsor, and hastened to pay my respects to Dr. H——. The grand thing, however, was, that Waagen and I were to be presented to the queen.

Friday, June 5, 1835.

The English newspapers have said (and what will they not say?) that the queen is an *intrigante* in politics. As soon as I saw her, I was ready to take my historical oath that this is not true. Her whole appearance is expressive of the greatest good humour and of true German simplicity. As she showed me the pictures of her father and her relations, and said to me, 'Now you must see my room,' I could not indeed forget what personage was speaking, surrounded as I saw her; and yet this very personage,—this queen,—made an impression upon me which more vividly recalled not only fatherland, but house and home, than any English woman I have seen. Most assuredly I did not get up any artificial impression; it came unexpectedly and spontaneously. So much the more do I want an explanation, 'Whence these accusations arise?' The following appears to me a natural one.

The queen has her own opinion on politics as well as on other subjects, but, from inclination and from principle, will not interfere, or play any part in public affairs. But politics obtrude themselves into her domestic circle, and she is perhaps called upon to change her personal attendants (with whom she is familiar and satisfied) with every change or wish of the ministry. This, must be peculiarly and supremely disagreeable to a German princess; and those by whom she is surrounded, whose opinions are more decided and violent, may have taken advantage of it to represent their royal mistress as a centre of certain opinions and intrigues. As the Tories did this to strengthen themselves, their adversaries would equally overstep the bounds of truth in their indignation and abuse.

Perhaps this history *a priori* which I am writing is more veracious than a vast many histories *a posteriori*.

Lord H——— very obligingly showed us the whole of the castle, much more than is usually shown; which brings me to the introduction of this letter. Windsor far exceeded my expectations, and made a greater impression on me than all the other castles I have ever seen, put together. It combines the bold originality of the middle ages with the highest pitch of splendour and comfort which our times can reach. It is not an empty, tedious, monotonous repetition of the same sort of rooms, over and over again; but every staircase, every gallery, every room, every hall, nay, every window, is different, surprising, peculiar; in one word, poetical. In the rich, busy, hurrying London, I have often longed for the quiet of decaying Venice,—often looked for a tinge of poetic melancholy, or of fantastic originality. In vain; no trace was to be found, even in society. Always the sharp outline of reality; the mathematics of life; the arts of calculating, of gaining, of governing. In Windsor, on the contrary, England's history, so rich in interest, with all its recollections, suddenly stands before my eyes. These gigantic towers, bastions, balconies, chapels, churches, and knightly halls in fresh and boundless variety; at every step new views over rivers, valleys, woods, and fields; the fancies of a thousand years crowded together into one instant, and far surpassing everything that opera decorations would dare to represent on paper and canvass.

I could understand Versailles, and see Louis the Fourteenth and his court walking up and down in the straight rectangular walks among the formal hedges, fountains, and half fabulous animals: it was just a scene from Racine or Corneille. In Windsor, for the first time since I was in England, I fully understood that Shakspeare was an Englishman. Here he reigns as monarch, and his romantic world here finds a local habitation. As we were afterwards whirled along in the royal carriage through the green meadows, and the ancient oaks and beeches, where the wildest

nature is interspersed with beautiful gardens and quiet lakes, where richly ornamented boats lay ready to transport us to the distant wooded and mysterious shore; I felt that I was on the spot where the Henrys reigned, and acted their great and gorgeous tragedies; where, in moonlight nights, Oberon and Titania sport with their fairy troops; where Rosalind wanders in the forest, or Jacques indulges in his melancholy musings, or Beatrice throws out her keen jests like bright arrows.

When the weather had stormed itself out we drove home through the richly-cultivated country; it was a beautiful evening and we could see farther than usual; but as soon as we got near London we were surrounded with a thick fog; a grey curtain hid from us the garden of poetry, and the prose of life demanded a dinner at nine o'clock at night.

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The day was fertile enough without any appendix; but a card, 'Lady F. E—— at home,' imposed new duties upon me. On entering, at half-past eleven, I found four persons, and assuming that these were members of the family, I was the first guest. Let us forget my hymn to Windsor, and I can then call this spacious palace, adorned with the finest pictures, princely, nay regal. Among the female part of the company there were many who excelled the creations of art. Why should none of them possess the talent, the wit, the humour, the sensibility, the originality, the melancholy, the gaiety, which Shakspeare found on English ground, and glorified by his genius? But truly a 'rout' is not the place to unfold the wings of soul or body; and in this stately and splendid reality the greatest poetical vigour is compressed into a mathematical point. How much I wished for the talisman in Madame de Genlis' 'Palais de la Vérité,' that I might see what lay hidden in head or heart under these pearls and diamonds; how much I longed to try whether they would return any echo worthy of the music of Shakspeare. After I, black atom, had humbly wound my way for an hour among these dazzling forms, I was at last compelled to recollect that I had been above eighteen hours in motion. The ladies who were still waiting in their carriages for the possibility of alighting, remained concealed from my outward eyes; with my inward, I turned back to Shakspeare's noble and lovely creations, till dream and reality blended, as in Windsor.

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Yesterday I was obliged to take a sort of holiday; for too great exertions depress the spirits. This is the more necessary, because, after my harvest at the Museum, I am come upon dry stubble

fields. I spent the whole day and the evening in reading and writing.

The only piece of information worth mentioning is what I heard the other day from Mr. E. Taylor concerning the modern English composers. He spoke with great truth of the danger of an exclusive taste; he complained very justly that people were often ignorant of the productions of past times, and negligent of those of their own country; but, on the other hand, patriotism cannot make something out of nothing. Why does all Europe acknowledge and honour and admire the poets, the statesmen, the orators of England? Why does it know almost nothing of her painters and her musicians? Why do we see the very contrary with regard to Germany and Italy? A German who is not acquainted with all the great English poets, from Shakspeare to Byron and Scott, is very justly reproached; but—heaven forgive me my ignorance—I did not know the name of one of the composers I heard praised, with the exception of Mr. Bishop; and yet I am not the most ignorant neither. Who, in Berlin, ever heard of Shield, Cooke, Stevens, Spofforth, Horsley, Attwood, Goss, &c.?

Certainly the lyrical part of music is important, but will as little suffice to found a great musical school upon, as portrait painting in the sister art. Several specimens of the compositions of these gentlemen were so much alike that they showed the character of a school, if you will, but a school of which one does not find the master. From him must flow the main stream; if this is wanting, the numerous little streamlets of the scholars do little for the history of art, and dry up in a season. These pieces all wore the same colouring—a sentimentality bordering on sickliness:—I thought them very inferior to anything that Reichardt and Zelter had produced—not to mention the great masters.

LETTER XXXII.

Sir R—— P—— Mr. O'Connell—German demagogues—Haymarket Theatre; Royal box—'Much ado about Nothing'—Concert—Musical criticism—Zoological Garden—Society of Arts—English parties—Chantry—Sculpture—State paper office—Hanover Square Concert—Messiah.

London, June 5th, 1835.

I CONCLUDED my last letter, a few hours ago, with the remark that, probably, the next day would produce nothing remarkable.

Since I wrote that, I have paid two visits which would alone repay the trouble of a journey, and which render the present day one of the most memorable I have passed in England. Sir R—— P—— had asked the B—n B—— what degree of reliance was to be placed on the accuracy of an article which had appeared in an English journal on our municipal system. B—v. B—— referred him to me, and, armed with a letter of introduction, I called upon him.

The room into which I was shown, bespoke both wealth and taste. The walls were covered with book-shelves filled with the the choicest books; works of art stood about, and an exquisite little statue of Venus occupied me till Sir R. P—— entered. He has something, I am tempted to say, German in his exterior; he is not so tall and slender as many Englishmen; he holds the 'juste milieu' between the leanness of Pitt and the rotundity of Fox. His enunciation is so clear and distinct that I understood every word. On my part, it was easier to me to speak with a statesman on grave and important topics, than with house-maids and waiters on those with which they are conversant. At least, I could find means to make myself intelligible concerning the main features of our institutions.

To-day the new municipal system is to be discussed, and Sir R. P—— said, he wished to have some conversation with me after he knew what turn the debate would take. I replied, that I should always be ready to attend his summons, and that I esteemed it a great pleasure to make his acquaintance. And indeed, but for this opportunity, I should never have ventured to obtrude myself on this remarkable man.

Grown bolder, I bethought myself,—a foreigner is free to ask more than one question of fate and of great men; and I suddenly conceived the project of going straight from P—— to his antagonist to ——— (H—— will be furious,) to Daniel O'Connell. I found him in a small room, sitting at a writing table covered with letters, in his dressing gown. I began with apologies for intruding upon him without any introduction, and pleaded my interest in the history and fate of Ireland, and in his efforts to serve her. When I found that he had read my historical letters, I felt on a better footing. I could not implicitly accept his opinion concerning Elizabeth (which he has borrowed from Lingard) as a good bill. We agreed, however, on the subject of the much disputed and much falsified history of the Catholic conspiracy of 1641. I refer you for my opinions, to my narrative of this event in the fifth volume of my history of Europe. I am also perfectly of his opinion that the tenants at will—those serfs—are in a worse condition in Ireland than anywhere; and that, both with regard to moral and intellectual culture, or physical prosperity, their position is not comparable to that of our thrice happy proprietary

peasants. I told him that what he desired for Ireland had long been possessed by the Catholics of Prussia; and that hatred and discontent had expired with persecution.

The English ministry first made this man a giant: but he is a giant, too, by the strength of his own mind and will, in comparison with the Lilliputians cut out of reeds, which we call demagogues; and which are forced to be shut up in the Kopenick hot-house, or put under a Mainz forcing-glass, to rear them into any size and consideration. But for this careful tending, these rushes would long ago have been dried up and whirled away by the wind; now, at least, we have the satisfaction of preserving some in our political herbariums, *in perpetuam rei memoriam.* Thank God, however, the governments of Germany do not prepare the ground for universal discontent; if this prevailed, and prevailed with justice, O'Connells must of necessity arise.

They would be touched by the sufferings of their country; they would be exasperated by the injustice done to her, till the storm of excitement would naturally tear down the obstacles wantonly opposed, and conquer by violence what had been denied to reasonable prayers.

London, June 6th, 1835.

Your dissertation on the greatness or smallness of German demagogues (I hear you say) is quite superfluous; you had much better have described to us what that arch agitator and rebel, O'Connell, looks like.—What he looks like? A tall gaunt man, with a thin face, sunken cheeks, a large hooked nose, black piercing eyes, malignant smile round the mouth, and, when in full dress, a cock's feather in his hat, and a cloven foot. "That is just what I imagined him," cries one. But, as it happens, that is just what he is not. On the contrary, he has a round, good-natured face. In Germany he would be taken for a good, hearty, sturdy, shrewd farmer; indeed he distinctly reminded me of the cheerful, sagacious, and witty old bailiff Romanus, in Rotzis.

The queen yesterday sent a ticket for the royal box at the Haymarket, for Waagen and me. I am not accustomed to such grandeurs as royal boxes and carriages; and only once in my life (at Windsor), have sentinels presented arms to me, and people stared at me in consequence. And then it seemed to me as if I were sitting there to be laughed at, or were acting the interlude in Shakspeare's "Taming of the Shrew." Yesterday, at the Haymarket, I sat hidden behind the green curtain; and as we two were alone in the box, the greatest possible comfort was superadded to other advantages. Indeed, in despite of my very humble station, I am quite spoiled with regard to the theatre; and when I have not a comfortable place secured to me, my artistical enthusiasm cools. Waiting, crowding, and elbowing are democratic

joys, which always excite my longing for the aristocratic seclusion of a stall. So I sat in the Haymarket on the royal seat, (but without Damocles' sword over my head,) and saw, first, "The Village Lawyer," a farce with three prominent parts, which were very well and amusingly represented by Webster, Buckstone, and Strickland. Then followed "Much ado about Nothing," acted in romantic costume, and without the absurd modernising of the torturers. In spite of this, the piece, acted in London and by Englishmen, did not produce upon me the effect that it did in Germany.

I cannot get accustomed to the manner of speaking and acting here. This strong accentuation, this pointed division of syllables, these violent contrasts, these commas between every word, this smothering of the voice so that the round full volume of sound is entirely lost, this screaming out, and these changes of tone,—I can see, in all this, nothing but mannerism, which, however, seems to be as much admired, and indeed to deserve it as much, as the violent sforzando and diminuendo, the transitions and the tricks, of the present Italian school of singing.

Moreover, I had great difficulty in connecting the separate scenes of Benedict into one human whole; they were *disjecta membra* of affected seriousness and broad comedy. Ought not his witty and brilliant insolence, under which is hidden so amiable a character, to be brought into one homogeneous and synchronous being? Miss Taylor acted her part cleverly, but it was all acting; and I saw only the taught performer, instead of the poetical form of a maiden, who is resistless as soon as she tempers the keenness of her wit with the least grain of generous and gentle affection.

I may be mistaken, but it did not appear to me that Shakspeare conceived these most poetical characters as Kemble and Miss Taylor play them. How refined and elegant was Wolf, even in his bitterest speeches; how far removed from any descent to low comedy; how he combined keenness with good humour, and a kind of self-irony, which unconsciously offers itself to raillery, and meets it half-way! The same of Beatrice: her towering, haughty spirit is not forced up by a steam-press, nor has she any deliberate intention of giving pain; it bursts forth at her fingers' ends, and is a real overflow of wit and talent, whose brilliant coruscations only conceal the core of a heart not only capable of love and of friendship, but unconsciously teeming with both, and therefore doubly engaging. Thus did Mlle. F———, whom I last saw at Beatrice, conceive the character; thus have several German actresses represented it. Here, on the contrary, it struck me what cold bitter quarrels the ill-joined couple would fall into, and how they would curse the jest which had transformed them, against their natures, into husband and wife!

Sunday, June 7th, 1835.

As I am so much in the vein of a *frondeur* and a critic, I will e'en go on, and not be chary of my heresies.

Yesterday evening I heard a 'Grand Selection' of music, sacred and profane, at Drury-lane. About thirty pieces were sung, of which I heard twenty-two; the third act, in which Rossini reigned paramount, I gave into the bargain.

The performance began with some of the airs and choruses out of Beethoven's 'Mount of Olives,' and here begin my heresies. All that I saw and heard yesterday, (and on former occasions,) bears the character of instrumental and not of vocal music, is imperfectly adapted to the words, and does not in the slightest degree affect me in the way I require and expect from sacred music. Even what followed, out of 'Haydn's Seasons,' was sacrosanct in comparison with Beethoven.

Weber's Overture to 'Oberon' is characteristic of the author—full of sensibility, genius, and melody. But had I as much time for criticising as I have inclination, I should try to show that an overture ought not to be a pot-pourri;—a cento of melodies taken from the most unlike situations or passages of the opera, and lightly stitched together. This sort of patchwork cannot combine the disconnected, incongruous parts into a true whole; at the very best it is only intelligible *after* the opera; and in that case it is not an overture, nor is it possible for a conception of the whole opera to be crowded together in this manner. Gluck and Spontini never attempted this; and the sort of echoes of motivi that are found in some of Mozart's overtures, are essentially different from Weber's mode of treatment in his 'Euryanthe' and 'Oberon.' When I heard the latter, however, yesterday, I was affected with melancholy, at the early death of this pure and noble-minded man, in the solitude of London, far from family and friends.

Rossini's celebrated Preghiera came between 'Handel's Holy holy Lord God Almighty' and 'Sound an alarm.' How empty, bare, trivial, and flat did the flimsy manufacture of the Italian Maestro appear, in comparison with the profound thought and feeling of the German Meister! At each of these alternations, which occurred very frequently, I could not help thinking of Aristophanes' balance of the merits of Euripides and Æschylus. The scale of Rossini rose far higher in comparison, than that of Euripides; it was only in the comic parts that his talent was predominant.

The singing was perfectly suited to the composition; Grisi, especially, displayed her skill in these musical *tours de force*,—in this dancing on stilts, and jumping through a hoop. The English know the value of a pound sterling in most things, but they seem to be quite dazzled by the glitter of these gilded maravedis, and to be guilty of injustice towards their native artists. The simple

utterance of a touching air of Handel's, by Miss Kemble, went more to my heart than all the tricks à la Tartini, or à la Rossini. It is to be hoped that Miss Kemble will not fall into the common mistake of thinking that the school of fashion is the school of art; or estimate these gross departures from a truly feminine mode of singing—these mere instrumental solfeggios,—as the highest proof of merit. May she never lay aside the few pure and perfect pearls of tone which become her so well, to trick herself out with loads of false and borrowed jewels. They will never produce the same effect on her as on her Italian rivals. To each his own.

The voices of the English women, whom I have heard here, are not comparable in flexibility, brilliancy, power, and energy, to those of many Italians. The English are the voices to marry; the Italian, are like seductive mistresses, whose syren tones witch away one's senses. But after a season, a reasonable man returns to his simple and natural wife, and to the repose and purity of home.

As an Englishman near me was admiring the famous duet from 'Semiramis,' in which the son learns the murder of his father, and the criminal love of his mother, I was so indignant, that I summoned up all my English, in order to prove to him the absurdity, as well as the revolting character, of this pretended dramatic music;—probably without the least effect. And for this reason, and to avoid stoning, I will reduce my audacious pen to silence.

Monday, June 8.

Yesterday, when I had ended my report on English agriculture, and had paid visits to Mr. L. and M., I went to the Zoological Gardens. I have already extolled the laying out of the grounds, and the very complete and well-arranged collection of animals. But yesterday I could not attend to the plants and animals;—the whole garden was filled with people; and the ground before the monkey's cage, or rather palace, was so crowded that one could scarcely make one's way. The chief pleasure consisted in looking at the women: in spite of a good many blanks, they exhibited as brilliant and beautiful a display as the flower-beds. At least as many carriages were in attendance on this select and fashionable company, as drove up and down Longchamps on the three celebrated days, and an equal number was moving at the same time in Hyde Park. So much does the greatness and wealth of London exceed that of all other cities, and that of England all other countries. Meanwhile I walked about, more contented and happy in my poverty than the son of Tippoo Saib, whom I saw, dressed in oriental costume, and accompanied by two very obliging Englishmen. On the other hand, the Asiatic prince was less to be pitied than a pre-eminent dandy would have been, could he have looked behind him and seen that the seam of his coat had burst,

and that a black and melancholy-looking shirt was seeking the bleaching rays of the sun through the aperture.

Tuesday, June 9.

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At half-past two this sight was over; and I hastened to Exeter Hall, in the Strand, where the annual distribution of the prizes of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce took place—Admiral Sir Edward Codrington in the chair. Though I am accustomed to numerous assemblages, and especially to the great preponderancy of ladies at those held in the mornings—that is, in the evenings—I was astonished. The Hall contained more persons than the floor of the Opera House of Berlin, and at least five-sixths of them were of the female sex. There were certainly not less than eight hundred women—more, perhaps, than I ever saw assembled in one spot. The greater part of the Hall formed a sort of parterre, on one side of which was an amphitheatre of raised benches. After a number of prizes for improvements and inventions in agriculture, mechanics, chemistry, &c., had been distributed, it came to the turn of the arts; and I now discovered why the female portion of the company was even larger than usual. Ladies of various ages received prizes (silver and gold medals) for original drawings and paintings. The gallant distributor took infinite pains to say something obliging to each: and these compliments were received with great applause by the male part of the audience. My curiosity was excited, and I went down from the platform to obtain a view of the works of art hung in front of it. And what did I see? The very worse thing in our exhibitions is superior to the best here; and the little dogs and cats, and heads and flowers, would not have done much credit to a drawing-school. One of your drawings, dear ——, would have driven the whole troop of medalled ladies out of the field.

After a short repose—that is, after lying on the sofa, and reading the directions for the London police officers—I went to dine at Mrs. S———'s, where I was introduced to Miss Aikin, the author of several historical works, and especially one on Elizabeth. She is a well-informed and lively woman, and I found her conversation very entertaining.

About half-past eleven in the evening, I drove to Sir R—P——'s. I found an extremely select company assembled in a room covered with beautiful pictures, and by no means so crowded as I have seen and described on former occasions. There existed, therefore, a possibility of going from one to another, and also of conversing. It is my constant custom to endeavour to make myself at home in what is new and strange to me, and to discover the grounds of it. Though, therefore, I must regard over-crowded

parties as ill-judged and exceptional, I can perceive that very numerous ones are, to some persons, inevitable. If they were to attempt to receive their visitors in small instalments, the whole year would not suffice. The number of acquaintances and of parties naturally increases with the vastness of the town, the elevation in society, wealth and eminence of the host: and if I find myself obliged to exceed the number of the Muses in my parties at No. 67, Kochstrasse, I can see that certain persons must be compelled to go beyond that of the Danaids. However, it is not the less true, that every body has the power of giving into this more or less, and that many do it merely from slavish imitation. At one o'clock I went home, satisfied once more with a day so full of amusement and instruction.

Wednesday, June 10.

Yesterday, after breakfasting with Mr. M——, the son, we visited the studio of the celebrated sculptor, Chantrey. If I compare his works with those of his predecessors, it is impossible not to perceive (as I remarked in my letter on Westminster Abbey) an amazing advance; a return from affectation, exaggeration, and absurdity, to the simplicity of nature—to human attitudes, and to the repose which sculpture demands. But this return to nature is only the indispensable preliminary condition—not the highest *aim* of art. By far the greater number of Chantrey's works are busts, or portrait statues (remarkable, as I am assured, for the perfection of the resemblance,) and sepulchral monuments, generally conceived with a view to the same end. But I see in these heads merely the faithful impression and imitation of nature; not the poetical and artistical idealization which nobody can fail to be struck with in the great masters. Likeness, Portrait, is, and must ever be, something one-sided, subordinate, dependant, in art. Men like Lysippus, Raphael, and Titian, had the power of breaking down and obliterating the barriers which separate the Real from the Ideal—imitation from creation—and of purifying the given form from all dross, in the refining fire of their genius. If you compare Titian's Charles V. and Adamberger's Charles V., you will have a clear conception of what I mean; of what I looked for, and did *not* find. In the whole-length statues of heroes, statesmen, &c., I found, not indeed the defects of the last age, but a certain pervading monotony of the attitude, the station, the draperies, which made me doubt whether I might venture to conclude with certainty that the work gave the precise individuality of the man;—a doubt which cannot by possibility occur to any body who looks at Rauch's Blucher and Scharnhorst.

All Chantrey's works lie on this side the line beyond which lay the whole region of art among the Greeks: at which beauty of form, and the ideal, (in the true sense of the word,) appear as the proper scope of art—the true object of the genial artist.

Canova may have his defects; but he attempted to create a Paris, a Perseus, a Venus, and Graces. I do not mention the creations of the German masters. Rauch's two queens far surpass, both in conception and execution, all that I saw in that style at Chantrey's. As to works whose exclusive aim is the revelation of that beauty with which the soul of every artist should be filled,—it were idle to hope that such can ever be produced in a country where the time and thoughts of a popular artist are engrossed by commissions of a very different character.

Many have been of opinion, that the unqualified striving after the beautiful leads to want of character and to coldness: inasmuch as it is apt to degenerate into a vague generality. But the Greek artists demonstrated the contrary in their gods and goddesses, and elevated even portraiture to that point at which it first deserves the name of art. Most portraits are indeed more fitted to illustrate a genealogical tree than a history of art.

From Chantrey's studio, I went to call on a lawyer, Mr. E——, to whom Mr. S—— R—— had given a little account I had drawn up of our municipal system, and who was desirous of receiving more detailed information on various points. The conversation gradually turned on a number of interesting subjects—crime, punishment, agriculture, &c. I daily find confirmation of my views and extension of my knowledge. The present will make me false to the past, if to-morrow does not pass somewhat differently from to-day.

Thursday, June 11th, 1835.

I am predestined and determined to spend four hours,—from eleven till three,—every day, beginning from yesterday, till my departure from London, in the State Paper Office. Since this most liberal permission was given, I have uniformly been received in the kindest and most obliging manner. The correspondence which England has for centuries carried on with the other European states, and indeed with the most distant nations,—for example with Abyssinia,—is at my disposal (the most recent only being, of course, excepted); and I have here occupation for years, so that I might be tempted to stay on and forget my home. It is remarkable, that whilst, wherever I have been, every possible assistance has been given to my historical researches; that whilst even access to the papal archives was granted me, at ——— I have hitherto been excluded from everything that interests me. This is the result, not of illiberal principles, but of antiquated regulations, bad arrangements, and insufficient functionaries. Here the folios of each country stand well bound, and arranged according to date, on handsome shelves, so that I have only to stretch out my hand to find the information I want. Here, one is not obliged to solicit anything as a favour; here, no unhistorical varlet plays the histori-

cal master. In order to add the early part of the reign of Frederick II. to my extracts from Mitchell, I began by the diplomatic correspondence with Berlin, in 1740.

In the evening I heard the 'Messiah' performed by the Royal Society of Musicians, in the room in Hanover Square. This society has existed ever since the year 1738, nearly a century, and has rendered great services to the art, by supporting poor musicians and their widows and orphans. In the year 1834 their receipts from the interest of their funds, donations, regular subscriptions, and concerts, amounted to the large sum of 2749*l.*

If I had more time I could say much about the general performance and the treatment of particular passages, but I must confine myself to a few observations. There was a sort of prelude on the organ before the several parts or acts, the effect of which was not very grand or solemn, mingled as it was with the tuning of instruments. On the other hand, a very good effect was produced by the organ accompanying and strengthening the choruses. Handel's original score was generally used. Here and there, only, the new instrumentation was adopted in particular parts. Some pieces, for example, 'Every Valley,' were quicker, others, as 'He was despised,' and 'Thy rebuke hath broken his heart,' slower, than with us. I think we hold the just mean. The orchestra and choir were quite powerful enough to fill the room. With us a choir four times as strong, numerically, is not at all louder than this; and here lies the most material point of difference between the performance in London and in Berlin. If, with us, many sing feebly, and some of the young girls only sigh out a timid whisper, it may truly be said, that here all, both men and women, sing and scream with might and main. In order to venture upon this, they must certainly be well trained and practised, and sure of their business; still, even then, the general effect is hard and rough. Although I sat on the fourteenth bench from the orchestra, the loudness was so painful to me, that I could hardly sit it out, though used enough to loud music. This is intimately connected with the fact, that all the alto, and the greater part of the soprano, is sung by men and boys; whereas the softness, delicacy, and beauty of our choruses is, in a great measure, the result of the large proportion of female voices. Nor would even these produce so good an effect, were they not regularly practised once or twice a-week the year through. The great excellence of our academy of singing is founded mainly on this unwearied diligence, and on the discrimination and taste to which it gives birth; their choruses are not inferior to this in power, and very superior in beauty, finish, and harmony.

The solo voices were of very different degrees of excellence: the finest, and best suited to the music, was, perhaps, that of Mrs. Knyvett, in the air, 'But thou did'st not leave.' The most un-

pleasant that of Mr. Terrail, a short, fat man, who piped out the alto songs, such as 'He was despised.'

Generally speaking, the English singers, male and female, sang with proper simplicity, and only two or three were seduced into the impertinence of foreign cadenzas. On the whole I must give the preference unequivocally to the Berlin performance; and you, at least, will pardon me for claiming a right to a vote on this matter, as an impartial musical critic of long standing.

LETTER XXXIII.

Uniforms—Orders—Police—Civilization by means of Art—Modern French Drama—English Parties—Society—Spirit of Association—Clubs.

London, June 11th, 1835.

Nothing is perhaps more striking to a Berliner, than the almost total absence of uniforms and orders in England. Were these the only proofs, or the only rewards, of merit, either the English would make a poor figure, or the government would lie under the reproach of not acknowledging and rewarding services. Orders certainly have one great advantage; they present a very cheap and yet honourable manner of rewarding and distinguishing merit of all sorts. But this advantage entirely vanishes as soon as they are given profusely, or without some very especial reason, and a strict examination into the facts. Indeed, they should only be granted with the consent of the most eminent members of the order. If these indispensable conditions are lost sight of, orders sink into the region of childish vanity and petty ambition, till at length their cheapness renders them despicable. If we were imperceptibly to arrive at this pitch, it would be best to call them all in, like bad money, re-coin them, and issue them afresh. Although in England, (for from that I began) they have numerically, no weight at all, yet for that very reason they are much more important than with us.

On the other hand, the old subject of praise, that there is no police to be seen—has become quite false. In my opinion, however, the praise was wholly misapplied, and the new police regulations are a great gain, especially for London. The policemen are plainly dressed in blue without any colour or marks, with the exception of letters and numbers on the collar, and are apparently unarmed; they have, however, a staff weighted with lead, which,

if required, can do very effectual service. The regulations of the service are so rational and so moderate, and the behaviour of the men employed so exemplary, that the former prejudices against them have disappeared, although perhaps an instance of individual misconduct may now and then occur.

In the orders, the prevention of crime is designated as the main object; next to that, the discovering and arresting the criminal after the crime has been committed.

With respect to police, London is divided into five districts, each district into five sections, each section into eight beats. There is a superintendent for each division, under him are five inspectors, sixteen sergeants, and nine times sixteen constables. None of them are allowed to appear without the full uniform. The acceptance of money, under any pretext whatever, is most strictly forbidden. The constables receive 19*s.* per week besides their uniform, which is renewed every year. They serve in particular divisions, and at fixed hours of the day and night, so that they supply the place of watchmen. According to the regulations, the constable is to make himself accurately acquainted with the local and personal circumstances of his beat. His powers and duties, particularly with reference to arrests, are also most accurately defined; and it is said in express words, that no quality is more indispensable for a policeman than a perfect command of temper. He must on no account allow himself to be irritated by abuse and threats; for if he calmly and firmly does his duty, he will generally induce the by-standers to help him, if necessary.

Every shop or place in which coffee, tea, or other drinks are prepared and sold, must be shut at eleven o'clock.

London, June 12, 1835.

How much I have wished that this latter regulation had been extended to the higher classes!

If the working people, who have generally no means of excitement or amusement at command during the week; for whom even Sunday, stern and rigid as it is here, brings no recreation or enjoyment; if they resort to the stimulus of beer and gin, there is an universal cry of horror. It is as far as east from west from all my tastes and opinions to justify this bestial vice; I have but indicated whence it arises, and the pressing necessity of endeavouring to detach the people from it by moral means. These means must be neither puritanical ascetism nor stoical abstinence. You must offer the poor man some substitute for intoxication; you must make other thoughts and other feelings accessible to him; you must not only teach him to read, but must take care that what is worth reading should be within his reach at the lowest possible price. It is true that there is a point at which intellectual culture and morality divide—nay, sometimes appear actually opposed;

but in the last and highest development, intellectual and moral culture are similar in kind, are necessary conditions one of the other, and converge into one.

A singing and dancing people is certainly higher in the scale of morality than a sotting people. The national ballad and the national dance open the way to every department of poetry and of music; when people have reached this point it is easy to awaken the feeling for every kind and degree of art. The hundreds who resort to a museum cannot at the same time be sitting in an ale-house or a gin-shop. Nor is this all; they will soon come to feel the boundless disparity that exists between men whom art raises into demi-gods, and animals in human shape degraded by drunkenness below the level of brutes. It is a radical error that Christianity forbids the education of man by the forms, the influences, the conceptions of Art: it forbids only those perversions and misapplications of Art which the noble and the uncorrupted among the Greeks equally rejected.

'Dreams—impracticable dreams!' I hear some exclaim; Art can do nothing; the catechism and the rod are the only things for educating the people and keeping them in order. In those good old times which some adore, the catechism and the rod were, indeed, the beginning and the end of all attempts to form the social existence of the lower classes. These gave the black and red characters with which priests of a gloomy and distorted Christianity, and nobles of a haughty and ignorant aristocracy, delighted to stamp the book of social life. But genuine Christianity and true nobility have nothing in common with them; and the world has advanced in these respects, though it may have lost ground in some others.

'All very fine,' say many, 'but impossible.' What is impossible? Is some little elementary instruction in art, and in judgment of art, impossible? Do not then thousands and tens of thousands of Prussian children—of Prussian soldiers—learn singing? And does this mean nothing, or produce nothing but the impressing this or that motion on a certain quantity of air? If the hymns of Luther and the noblest songs of our poets, are sung by our regiments, with more refinement, feeling, and intelligence, than the chorusses of the 'Messiah' were sung the other night in the most aristocratical concert-room of London, is this no proof of improvement? Is this an impossible vision? or should we wish the times back again, in which no modest girl dared to pass certain guard-houses for fear of being shocked by obscene songs? Is it no advancement in society, no education by the influence of art, that, thanks to Raupach's historical plays, the greatest emperors, the wisest popes, the most heroic princes and knights, the noblest ladies, are now familiar to the very children in Berlin? whereas, twenty years ago, scarcely any body, even in cultivated society,

knew the names of the emperors or the kings of the house of Hohenstaufen, who once bore sway from Lubeck to Naples?

Is it no improvement that the high and the low now quit the narrow circle of their daily prosaic life, and can rejoice and, if I may use the word, expand, in the company of the most magnanimous spirits of a time rich in great men and in great events? That thoughts and feelings hitherto unknown, nay unsuspected, should now find an echo in the hearts and heads of the humblest spectator, and should raise him above himself? An artistical training and education like this naturally leads to history, which ought itself to be a work of art, though differing in its nature from that of the poet. I venture even to assert that the questions concerning church, state, faith, civil obedience, civil liberty—the objects of the present public and private activity and excitement—would thus be calmed, conciliated, and purified.

The more sublime and important, however, the application and diffusion of true and genuine art, the greater is the danger and the shame when men of rare talents addict themselves to the false; when they deface truth and demoralize feeling. This is the vice; (a vice which has not met with half the reprobation it deserves) of the modern French dramatists. While Raupach strives to give to history, truth, feeling, decorum, morality, and religion their just and appropriate province and privilege; while, in his character of poet, he labours to combine all these into one harmony, to surround them with one halo, of art, and, even were he unsuccessful, might justly exclaim, '*In magnis voluisse sat est*,' Victor Hugo irreverently tramples historical truth under his feet; transforms one of the greatest of German emperors, one of the profoundest of thinkers, into a shallow fool; a dissolute but gallant king of France into the miserable slave of his passions; a bigoted but chaste queen of England into a profligate woman; and instead of being awed by the dim majestic shadows, before whom even the historian trembles, the soi-disant poet seems to imagine that murder, incest, baseness, and profligacy of every kind are the materials of the highest order of poetry.

He places the hideous and the loathsome on the throne of beauty, and, with curious self-complacency, justifies his folly by distorted quotations from Shakspeare,—the thorough antagonist of all these disgusting perversities and horrors. Shakspeare, even in the most terrible of his characters, leaves a thread of psychological light, which shows the point at which the criminal still holds to the Human, and from which he can yet return, penitent and reconciled, to the Divine. But the writers of this French school make it their business and their delight to thrust the Satanic element into the foreground, and to magnify it under their pretended poetical microscope, till nature and art, virtue and beauty, the Human and the Godlike are wholly lost under the hideous mask.

But whither have I wandered? *quo me rapis?* All I meant to say was, that I went to bed early last night; but it was not so written in the book of fate. At ten o'clock Mr. ——— fetched me; and after we had called two ladies, and driven above half a German mile, we arrived at ———, a musical soirée. The heat in the two rooms was insufferable, and the number of guests so great, that many sat on the stairs and the floor. It cost me immense toil to make my way through this narrow path to the open air; a longer stay would probably have thrown me uninitiated as I am, into a fainting fit.

In spite of all the pains I take to understand whatever is strange and unwonted, and to explain it in the fairest manner, I must confess that yesterday I was heated into a temper in which I could not regard parties of this sort as anything better than mere deformities—as a mode to be utterly eschewed and denounced. It is a strange system of tyranny and slavery according to which, with the help of certain strips of paper or card, a man can induce hundreds to hunger and thirst, to toil and sweat, to be pushed and elbowed, to stand instead of sitting, to sigh instead of speaking, and, at the close of all, to return thanks for the honour of the torment.

Nobody will succeed in educating me in any school of art in this way. What was sung and played was exclusively out of the modern, empty, and pretending school, and therefore deserves to be no further characterized. As I went away several guests were arriving, and W—— received from —— —— the important information, that nobody could possibly appear at the Duke of ———'s before midnight. I thanked God that this cup of fashion was spared me.

Is there nobody at this time of day who, even without Eulenbockh's* wit, could undertake to defend the joyous drinking songs of the lower classes, and turn the laugh against the silly affectations of the higher; who convert night into day, abjure all nature, cheerfulness, ease, comfort, and enjoyment; prohibit all hearty gaiety, and seem to regard the existence of a stewed or pickled herring as the ideal of the life of a fashionable gentleman or lady? Is there not much more sense in the guests of the alehouse, when they untie their neckcloths, and pull off their jackets, and "take their ease in their inn," than in the fashionables, who gasp in their well-tied cravats, or tight stays?

Our forefathers sat round their cups of good wine, and sang jovial choruses; and I should like to know why that was more sinful or tasteless than the complacent dilettante who pipes and flourishes his solo, or the weary auditors who clap their elegantly-gloved hands—so innocently, that one hand knoweth not what

* See Tieck's Novelle—Die Gemalde.

the other doeth. When the clockwork has played out its tune, the box is shut up till the next time it is wanted; and so it goes on, without truth, nature, or living feeling, till the tired night-moths vanish with the break of day, fancying the night is gained, and the loss of a day is nothing. All over-refining, all over-seasoning of life punishes itself; and if ever Rousseau's words can be rightly applied, it is in these regions. *Retournons à la nature!*

So much for the sigh extorted from me, for which I deserve to be regarded as for ever incapable and unworthy to hold a place in "a squeeze."

Sunday, June 13th.

Numerous and thickly-crowded as the people are in the parties I have just described, they are not really social. The loose thread of a common invitation is by no means sufficient to bind them together. They remain, as in many modern political systems, mere atoms, without form, qualification, or affinity. There must be space to move about, to take a seat, to leave it again, to gather into groups, if personal qualities are to have any meaning or value in society. Without this, who can distinguish the leader or the follower, the speaker or the listener, the grave or the gay, the concerted pieces or the solos of conversation? If all individuality is pressed down to a mere negation, nothing remains but a unison of noise and tumult.

These remarks on domestic society apply equally to the dry and barren ground on which certain politicians seek to found civil society, when they lose sight of the diversity of its materials, and want to cut all to the same pattern and measure. He who, out of the infinite variety of social life, can find but one material to build with—such as the property in a house, the payment of certain taxes, the possession of a certain fortune, the length of residence, or whatever other particularity he may choose to erect into the sole and exclusive rule,—will find that his edifice will not stand.

Here I would break off, but the assent I may perhaps receive from a quarter in which I seldom experience it, causes me to glance at the necessary reverse of what I have just been saying. If these quantitatives—these gentlemen of masses and sums—can see no element of life but in a certain mass, or a certain sum, and reject every consideration of more or less, every variation of matter and form, there are people, on the other hand, who get up *artificial* distinctions, or try to adhere to those which have ceased to exist. Kings and nobles, clergy and laity, rich and poor, landowners and manufacturers, artists and scholars,—all have their place, their sphere of action, their rights; and he who distinctly perceives this given and necessary diversity; he who knows how to measure masses, and to appreciate and utilize peculiar qualities, is the only statesman, in the higher sense of the word. Almost all the schools

and parties which divide Europe on these subjects see but one side, and take a part for the whole.

I have wandered a second time into a bye-way, and I am now come to the end of it. I meant to remark, that the atomizing, isolating principle of English parties does not wholly disappear in their meetings for specific objects; but the necessity and importance of the *corporative* spirit makes itself felt again in an age which had far too hastily declared war upon it. The abuses of close corporations, the monopolies of universities, are so evident, that nobody can deny them; but it by no means follows that a State consists of one supreme central government, and then of a number of individuals added together, and comprehended under the common term, people. It by no means follows that all large combinations of individuals into one whole inevitably forms a dangerous *imperium in imperio.* On the contrary, every highly civilized state stands in need of great and various organs; such as associations of artizans, artists, scholars, clergymen; of cities, towns, rural districts, &c.; and however times, forms, or objects may change, this corporative spirit, this power of attraction and of reciprocal influence, will always revive like a phœnix from its ashes. The development of the Germanic nations exhibits the edifice of corporate or associated bodies, from the individual up to the empire of the middle ages, in its greatest diversity. Indian and Egyptian castes are a caricature of the divisions into which society naturally falls. The Hebrew tribes relate only to external differences. Patricians and plebeians form an abrupt, irreconcileable, and therefore pernicious contrast; while the Mahommedan world, on the contrary, exhibits a uniformity destructive to all individuality. The German estates, cities, companies, orders of knighthood, guilds, unions, and gradations of the most varied kinds, first realized the idea of a higher and richer political organization; and whatever was defective in former ages, or has become so by the lapse of time, may and ought to be improved and reformed. Not, however, in the French abstract mode of reform, but in the German concrete manner, which seeks to conciliate variety with unity; instead of worshipping the former, like the Italian, or the latter, like the French.

There is scarcely an art, or a science,—scarcely anything agreeable, useful, or instructive, for which the English have not established special societies, and thus wonderfully increased and strengthened the imperfect means and powers of individual man. The value, the efficiency, the simplicity of such unions, is conspicuous in each and all; especially as individuals in England have more resources at their command than in other countries; while fewer general schemes or important improvements originate with the government. On the one side, therefore, the free will of individuals, their benevolence, activity, and enthusiasm, operate in

a most beneficial manner; though, on the other, it is not to be denied that, for certain purposes,—for instance, national education, —one general impulse and one regulating law would correct error and restrain bigotry.

To begin: the clubs here are less instituted for the purpose of eating and drinking together than of reading the newspapers. Out of this grow other literary wants, such as maps, pamphlets, &c., till at last an excellent library is formed, like that at the Athenæum. According to the account which now lies before me, this association has a yearly income of six guineas from each member, which, with twenty guineas paid by each on admission, makes a sum total of eight thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds; and with this, even in London, something considerable may be effected. Not to mention associations for purely practical ends, —such as insurances, roads, canals, manufactories, and mines,— the Royal Institution affords its members an opportunity of hearing lectures on various sciences. By day, the female part of the audience are the most numerous; but the weekly evening meetings of the men are invariably graced by some remarkable and interesting lecture, which produces very different fruits from the attempts of most of our academies, whose speeches few hear, and whose writings few read.

The great associations for hospitals, orphan asylums, &c., occupy the middle place between the purely practical and the purely scientific societies. They are most useful institutions: for example, a hospital at Charing Cross has received about four hundred thousand patients since its foundation.

The London Mechanics' Institute combines lectures for men, with special instruction for junior classes, and the use of an extensive library.

A Statistical Society has lately been instituted, with a view of discovering and verifying the statistics of England, in the first place, and then those of other countries; they are arranged under five principal heads, economical, political, medical, moral and spiritual statistics. By these comprehensive researches, arithmetical statements, which so often deceive, are subjected to a severe examination and correction, before any general conclusions are drawn from them.

The Zoological Gardens, which I have often mentioned before, are also supported by a voluntary association, and now consist of two thousand eight hundred and four members. In the course of the last year, the gardens were visited by 208,583 persons, who paid, for admittance, 7545*l.*; the total receipts amounted to 18,458*l.* Such an income affords ample means of embellishing the gardens, and enriching the collection of animals, the society gave 1050*l.* for a rhinoceros. The garden contains two hundred and ninety-six

specimens of mammalia, seven hundred and seventy-six birds, and twenty-one animals of other classes.

But of all the societies (excepting always the Bible Society), that for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is undoubtedly the most important. It had its source in the very just notions, that the civilization of the people by means of reading is possible, provided really useful books were written for the people: and that these books might be printed at a very cheap rate, provided the numbers sold were sufficiently large. Many of the works published by the society, such as those on agriculture, and the breeding of cattle, the almanacs, &c., are remarkably well adapted to their end; and a vast stock of ideas and of information is circulated in a manner hardly imagined in former times. This is the true means of destroying a bad and corrupting popular literature. It is curious that so long a time should have been suffered to elapse since reading was diffused among the people, before they were provided with anything fit to read. The society has been reproached with neglecting moral and religious instruction; the answer to this is, that the diffusion of the Bible and other religious works is the object of other special associations; and that, in the actual state of religious parties, it would be extremely difficult to produce anything which would not be attacked and decried by one side or another. Besides, everything cannot be done at once; and when an interest in literature of this cheap and intelligible kind is once excited, moral and religious exhortations will find readier entrance to the mind, than if they are prematurely pressed upon an uncultivated understanding. It is an inestimable gain that interesting and amusing information concerning the works of nature, manufactures, arts, eminent men, discoveries, antiquities, &c., should be put before the people in constant and varied series; that hundreds of thousands who never thought at all, are led to think on a great variety of subjects.

If our censors were capable of putting forth a really well-organized and well-written Penny Magazine, they would do much more for the purification of our popular literature, than by placing themselves in a post of avowed danger, and making so many demonstrations of alarm and disgust, that every body perceives that something is the matter, and runs with the greatest avidity to see what it is.

Sunday, June 14th, 1835.

The day before yesterday I dined with young M———, who, like his father, has showed me the greatest attention and civility. I was introduced to Allan Cunningham, the author of 'The Lives of the Painters.' The conversation turned on various subjects; among others, on the system of the English universities,—so difficult to understand.

Yesterday I dined with Sir R. P., in Whitehall Gardens. His house is enclosed by gardens on each side, at the back of it flows the Thames, and on one side there is a beautiful view of Westminster Bridge, on the other of Waterloo Bridge, over which is seen the great dome of St. Paul's. The paintings, chiefly of the Flemish school, which, on account of the candle-light and the numerous company, I could not conveniently look at last time, are, without exception, admirably chosen; the entire absence of inferior ones shows the judgment and taste of the collector. Among many, I shall only mention a little landscape by Cuyp,—a castle in a lake,—of a warmth and brightness that I never saw in a Flemish picture. There are such admirable paintings of this master, who is little known in Germany, that I do not hesitate to call him the Flemish Claude.

That taste and splendour were displayed in everything, down to the minutest decorations of the table, may be understood as a matter of course.

LETTER XXXIV.

War of Opinions in England—Contradictory Affirmations on Agriculture—Prussian Peasantry.

London, June 14th, 1835.

Opinions differ in every country, but in none are they so freely discussed, so fearlessly expressed, and, in every way, so widely diffused and strenuously attacked, as in England. This has great advantages; but it is not unattended with its peculiar difficulties. When the whole current of opinion and action moves on in one given direction, it is easy to go with the stream, or to suffer oneself to be borne along by it; but when opposite roads are recommended with equal confidence as the right, the wanderer, standing in the crossways, either falls into irremediable sceptism, and loses all belief in truth: or he chooses one path, and thinks that every body who takes the other is gone astray—at the least,—or perhaps is guided by evil intentions. I may add, that an important question is very rarely agitated *for its own sake*, in England; the discovery of an objective truth is very rarely a simple, unmixed aim. Almost everything is blended with personal motives and political partizanship, in such inseparable connexion, that an observer has infinite difficulty in arriving at any clear and perfect psychological analysis.

On no subject have I felt this more than on all those connected with agriculture. The most contradictory, incompatible things are asserted with the greatest deliberation, and demonstrated with all the pretension of mathematical truths. Agriculture is making rapid advances; it is going to irrevocable destruction; England can always produce food sufficient for her own consumption; she can never grow enough for her own wants; the corn-laws are necessary, superfluous, beneficial, ruinous; the agriculturist is oppressively and unfairly taxed; he is unjustly favoured; the system of leases is very defective; it is so admirable that no country can exhibit anything equal to it! Such are the things which are daily said, written, and printed; and I am far from having the presumption to imagine I can reconcile these contradictions, or the desire to cut these knots. However, as I have no personal interest in the matter, I will at least endeavour, from my impartial point of view, to introduce some order into this chaos, and, for my own illumination, some light into this darkness. I ought, in true German fashion, to set out with general principles; to advance with logical rigour, and to have one definite point in view; but a travelling German in London is no longer a philosophical pedantic German, and you must accept my letter such as I find it convenient to make it.

Perhaps my observations on the agricultural state of England will be more just if I first recur to that of Prussia. I have a twofold motive for this, because Professor Jones, in his instructive work 'On the Distribution of Wealth,' discusses the condition of our peasantry. He says that the new law has transformed the tenant, or dependant holder of land, into a proprietor: but if he is bound by law to pay a third, or even a half, of the produce as rent, he is excessively burthened, and will derive no advantage from the change; and, in effect, that many have declined the pretended boon of freedom. There can be no improvement in agriculture without capital; but capital will not be produced under the system now adopted, and the good effects will probably not be so rapidly felt as was expected.

Professor Jones's conclusions were correctly drawn from what he had read or heard—with reference to the point from which he regarded the subject, and to the end he had in view; but after I had conversed with him more in detail, we agreed in all essential particulars, and he was convinced that this affair has very different, and not less important, aspects. But as, even in Prussia, these are sometimes misunderstood and misrepresented with astonishing pertinacity, it is not superfluous to state in few words what are the means and ends of our system, and afterwards to compare those of the English and the Irish with them.

If the first idea, to make the new proprietor pay one-third, or one-half, of the produce as rent, had been generally adopted, it

would have been in some instances too high, in others too low, and would very rarely have been conformable to the real state of the case. This useless abstract principle was therefore justly abandoned, and only the result of an accurate investigation in every separate case was applied to the several parishes. The general reproach of a too high or too low determination of the payment, therefore, falls to the ground; and whether the individual who pays or receives has, at the first moment, more or less advantage, depends on a great number of subordinate circumstances, chiefly on his property and his judgment. Nor is there any more reason to draw general conclusions from the circumstance, that several of the peasants were not inclined to become proprietors. The cause of their unwillingness was that, in the mode first adopted, regard had been had only to the burthens which they had hitherto borne, and no due weight given to their rights (for instance, to pecuniary assistance, timber from the lord's estate, &c.) Since the regulations have been amended their disinclination has ceased.

The grant of property in the land, it is added, does not create capital. At first sight, it must be allowed, it rather gives painful evidence of the want of the necessary capital. But it would be most unjust to allege the feeling of the moment as the sole, final, and unsuccessful result of this grand measure. In the first place, every individual is induced, by the new want which he experiences, to look about him with more earnestness and care, for means to provide for it, than under the old jog-trot system; and these efforts do not fail to produce fruit. In the second place, the new proprietors can obtain credit, which was wholly unknown to them in their former circumstances. In the third place, capital increases with the increase of industry and perseverance. The peasant, knowing that he labours for himself and his children, now does more in one day than he formerly did, as a servant, in the whole week. It is true that, as a proprietor, he may be more improvident than he was before, but he will much oftener think of saving and acquiring; and should the rent at first appear too high, yet, after a partial redemption, the second generation will be more at its ease. Besides, it is a fundamental error to attempt to prove the excellence of a state of servitude by the possibility of the abuse of liberty. If we follow out this course of reasoning logically, we come to the system of the Sudras, the Helots, and negro slaves; and besides, the abuses which might arise may, and will be, counteracted by laws on inheritance, acceptance of the estates, removal of the smaller proprietors, &c.

Lastly, and above all, the conversion of the Prussian peasants into proprietors was not exclusively undertaken with a view to the increase of the material produce, but with a moral view, and for higher objects. If these are attained, all the rest must follow. And posterity will confirm, what all real and unprejudiced friends

of their country already know and feel,—that the legislation of the years 1808 to 1812 awakened that enthusiasm and energy which led to the overthrow of French tyranny, to intellectual freedom, and to a progress in industry and wealth, such as a narrow policy can never produce. Recent events have afforded fresh and melancholy proof, that a brave and enthusiastic nobility can neither acquire political independence, nor security and improvement of their own possessions, unless supported by a free and enthusiastic people.

If we contemplate the history of the land and of agriculture, we find at first property in the soil in one hand. The proprietor, who is at the same time the occupier, is surrounded only by slaves, who labour for him, and are treated and supported at his discretion. The second form shows us serfs, to whom their master prescribes the quantity and quality of their labour, but at the same time assigns to them a spot of ground, out of the produce of which they may support themselves. In the third period, the undefined services are changed into something definite; and this appears, sometimes as part of the produce (tithes), sometimes in the form of payment in money. Together with a fixed rent in corn or money, there is usually a fixed time for the duration of the occupancy; or the tenant-at-will becomes a leaseholder. The second and third periods show, we cannot say a division of property, but the proprietor,—the receiver of the rent either in kind or in money,—distinct from the actual cultivator of the soil,—the farmer or husbandman. Lastly, the proprietor can either take back the land into his own possession, or sell his claim to the rent; then the proprietor and farmer are the same: which new state of things, however, is essentially different from that in the first period, inasmuch as agriculture is henceforward carried on, not by slaves or serfs, but with the help of free labourers.

I may dispense with an inquiry into the profit of the two methods, because in a moral and philanthropic—that is the highest point of view—slavery and villenage cannot be justified. The inquiry respecting agriculture, as carried on by tenants or by proprietors, is more interesting and instructive. The former is in general the English, the latter the Prussian system. Many writers have commended the former, because, as they allege, the requisite capital is never found until the class of farmers or tenants exists; and agriculture, especially in our day, cannot be carried on without capital. I willingly concede the last half of the position, but I deny the first: for there are poor farmers as well as needy proprietors; and when the latter possess capital, they are as able to make improvements as the former. The main point therefore is, the existence and the application of capital, not the separation of the proprietor from the farmer. Many proprietors, especially of numerous and large estates, are of course unable or

unwilling to keep them in their own hands, and the system of letting thus naturally arises; but it by no means follows from this that it is in itself the best system, and the best for both parties, or even for a whole nation.

Let us begin with the doctrine of the increase of capital, because the panegyrist of the letting system lay almost exclusive stress upon it. Will capital be more at the command of the proprietor or of the farmer? I do not hesitate to believe the former, for, besides their personal credit, (which on an averrage may be the same for both parties,) the former has the advantage of the real credit attached to the estate, and is able in this way to offer security for a mortgage, which the farmer, as such, does not possess. Hence so many leaseholders in Prussia endeavour to become fee-farm tenants, and then by redeeming the rent, to convert themselves into proprietors. To this must be added, that an attachment to the soil grows out of secure possession, which the leaseholder cannot feel; and that his enterprises are influenced by a thousand considerations which do not affect the proprietor. If it be said, "Judicious landlords do not inconsiderately change their tenants, because they know that it is an advantage to themselves when the tenants feel security:"—this is saying no more than that the nearer the situation and condition of the tenant approaches to that of a proprietor, the better it is for both parties. But, if we proceed in this manner, we come to the rule, that the union of both these characters in one is not the worst, but the best method.

Should it be objected that "the credit attached to the estate is but one, and if the tenant has it not, yet the owner has it; that it is not doubled, because the tenant purchases the estate, or because the proprietor manages it himself;" it may be answered, that in the latter case, the money raised upon credit is regularly employed for the advantage of the land and the improvement of agriculture, which does not happen when proprietors, who let their estates, contract debts.

In our days also many proprietors are induced to manage their estates themselves, because the rent, instead of increasing as they expected, falls off more and more: a circumstance of great importance, and for which a great variety of reasons, most of them unsatisfactory, are assigned.

In the first place, it is attributed to total exhaustion and degeneracy of the soil. There is no doubt that such exhaustion is possible, especially through bad modes of culture, and that it really exists in some instances; but what land, newly brought under cultivation, in poor countries, produces in abundance, is also afforded by old land, where the richer farmer bestows more capital and industry upon it; and so far Europe need not fear any danger of perishing with famine on the worn-out soil. People frequently fall into the error of expecting certain changes and improvements

in the modes of culture to produce miracles; which, of course, did not happen. Instead of blaming themselves, they laid the fault on the old ground, because it did not submit to tricks and legerdemain. These and similar results drove many persons pretending to be judges, into the opposite extreme; they denied that a greater produce would ever be obtained by the employment of greater capital. Thus Ricardo says, "Every greater capital employed in agriculture leads to a decreased rate of production." This cannot possibly be meant as a general assertion, that the production increases with a decrease of capital, or in general, that it is absurd to employ money in agriculture. Perhaps it only means that, if the first 1000*l.* employed on the estate produce 10 per cent., the second 1000 may yield only 8, the third only 6 per cent., &c. At all events Ricardo ought to have expressed himself more clearly, to prevent misunderstanding. But he himself appears not to have had an entirely clear view of the matter, and from too narrow premises, to have been led to ambiguous and unsatisfactory conclusions.

The following is my idea of the matter: in general, the most fertile tracts are first cultivated; when it gradually becomes necessary to cultivate the more sterile parts, the capital and labour applied do not yield so much profit as at first. When, however, the former lands are sold at a high price, and the latter can be obtained on low terms, the profit, if not entirely, is yet nearly equal. In case, too, with the accumulation of capital, the rate of interest falls, a capital employed in agriculture will not produce so large an income as before. But the same may be said of capital employed in trade and manufactures, though nobody can affirm that the apparent decrease in the amount of profit can never be made good by an increase of quantity; or that a rich nation, with a lower rate of interest, is worse off than a poor nation with high interest and little capital.

In the second place, much confusion arises on this subject from the want of precision in the terms employed, for instance, the word *rent:* sometimes it was understood to mean the total produce of the soil; sometimes only the revenue which the proprietor received from the tenant; sometimes it was required that both should rise and fall in equal proportion; sometimes it was denied that this was, or could be, the rule. Perhaps this complex matter may be made plainer by the following considerations. The ground is no other than the machine with which the cultivator works. He to whom the machine belongs, and who sells or lends it, of course demands either a price or rent for it; if the proprietor, besides the machine, that is the earth, furnishes the means of putting it in motion, for example seed-corn and cattle, this must be brought into account. If he gives, besides, money for improvements, draining marshes, &c., he justly demands suitable interest for this also. By this and similar means, the quantity and quality of the soil being

originally equal, he raises his rent in comparison with his neighbour, that is, in case the latter has sold or let only the bare machine. If increase of population and demand make it necessary to bring into cultivation land which has hitherto lain waste, a new rent arises for the proprietor of it; a machine that was unused or despised comes into use, and acquires value. If, on the other hand, land hitherto cultivated lies fallow, the machine stands still, and the owner loses the profit he has hitherto derived from it. The third case is more complex, when, in consequence of certain changes and improvements, double the work is performed with the same machine; when, for instance, an acre of land, instead of six bushels of corn, yields twelve. If the proprietor is also the cultivator, no dispute arises on this subject; but when they are two distinct persons, we find opposite opinions and interests; the former often claims the whole increase, while the latter will not give up the smallest portion; and the entire classes of proprietors and tenants generally join, without examination, in the outcry of their leaders. The main question, however, is, to whose capital and skill are the increased produce to be ascribed? Supposing the tenant to have been the real author of it, the increased advantage is due to him.

But if the effects of the improvement he has made should extend beyond the term of his lease, a part of the profit will certainly accrue to the landlord: only people in general forget that no tenant will undertake improvements which do not repay him during the term of his lease, or for which the proprietor, who subsequently profits by it, allows him no indemnity. Thus the balance is preserved.

A machine which performs twice as much as it performed before, acquires double value; but if this value only covers the interest of the labour and capital expended on it, then he who contributed neither labour nor capital has no right, strictly speaking, to demand anything: if he raises the rent on account of the increased produce, so that the interest of the labour and money expended do not remain over for the tenant, the machine must fall to its ancient value.

On the other hand: if I am able with *one* machine to perform as much as formerly with *two*, one of them (unless the demand should increase) will remain idle. The cultivation of the soil may therefore be extremely improved, the total produce greatly increased, and yet landlord and tenant be in bad circumstances. More of this when I return to the state of things in England.

London, June 15.

In truth, however, I have never lost sight of England; because without coming to an understanding on certain general principles we cannot form a correct notion of the state of agriculture, either

in England or Germany. I therefore proceed. A monopoly price of corn, or of other agricultural produce, caused by legislation, may raise the income of the landlord; but it must be observed, that this does not happen unless he cultivates the estate himself, or unless his tenant, after the expiration of his lease, agrees to pay a higher rent. He, on the other hand, who buys land after the establishment of the monopoly price, and pays dear for it in consideration of this increase, derives no advantage whatever from that price. Lastly, the income of a proprietor may increase when the competition of tenants leads to extravagant offers. That this is of no advantage in the long run, but, on the contrary, leads to the most disastrous consequences, Ireland affords but too convincing a proof. The real advantage of the landlord goes hand in hand with that of the tenant: it is absurd to separate and oppose what ought to be united.

Increasing prices, while the expenditure remains the same, says Mr. Jones, increase the rent of the proprietor. This is true; but only with the above-mentioned limitations, and so far as the increased prices are not caused by a diminution of the produce, or by scarcity. For this state of things does not increase the income either of the tenant or the landlord; nay, the income may increase with declining prices—that is, if the quantity of produce (the expense of raising it being the same) increased in a greater proportion than the prices decline.

It is an error to attempt to account for the rise or fall of rent on one ground, without attending to the variety of circumstances which influence it. Among these I reckon, favourable or unfavourable seasons—increased facility and rapidity of communication with distant countries—increase and decrease of the population—of wages—of the rate of interest—of taxes—of the circulation of money, &c. The English system of leases by no means affords a universal remedy against all the sufferings of the landlord or the tenant. On the contrary, they have for years unanimously made the loudest complaints; and the reports of the most recent parliamentary Committee begins (in contradiction to the above-mentioned doctrines) with the declaration, "That the capital of the farmers is far smaller than is usually believed; their trade bad, attended with the greatest uncertainties and the greatest risks." On the other hand, many manufacturers affirm that their interest is sacrificed to that of the farmers, to whom the corn-laws in particular give an unfair advantage.

It is necessary to examine more closely these and similar points. Let us, therefore, first hear those who complain of the state and the decline of agriculture. They affirm, that instead of bringing waste land into cultivation, as formerly, it has become necessary to let much land hitherto cultivated, lie waste, because the produce no longer covers the expenses. For many years the receipts have

not been equal to the expenditure, for the former has been extremely diminished by the fall in prices; while rent has been reduced only in some cases, and poor rates, county rates, &c., have increased. Thus the farmer lives chiefly on his capital; and in the same proportion as that diminishes, his credit naturally decreases also; the whole class are sinking into inevitable ruin.

The landowners generally join in these complaints: they say that their rents fall off from year to year, and the value of their landed property declines in the same proportion. No one will any longer employ his money in such an insecure and unprofitable manner. Arable land must be converted into pasture; England can no longer supply itself with corn by native agriculture; and thus we fall into the hands of self-interested foreigners, and by injudicious legislation, ruin the noble and useful class of agriculturists;—that theories and predilections in favour of particular interests would plunge England into misery from which she never could recover.

Before I state any of the arguments which have been brought forward in refutation of these charges, I must say a few words on the history of the corn-laws; because the one party attributes to them all the misery, while the other sees in them the sole safeguard against destruction. Up to the time of Queen Elizabeth the importation was free, but no encouragement was given to exportation; the object being to lower prices for the benefit of the consumer. In the year 1670 and 1689, obstacles were thrown in the way of importation, and bounties granted on exportation—partly to encourage agriculture, and partly to indemnify the proprietor for a newly-imposed land-tax. This first occasioned an artificial state of things. Immense capitals were invested in agriculture: the natural result of which, contrary to expectation, was, a gradual sinking in the price of corn, which continued for a long time. It did not rise again till the year 1756; the exportation diminished, and the bounty ceased. Between the years 1688 and 1815, not fewer than seventy-three different corn-laws were passed, founded on the most contradictory principles; such as that all land produces too much, or all too little corn! How was it possible that such vacillating measures could have an equable an advantageous influence on agriculture and the corn trade? I can only add a few particulars, by way of illustration of this proceeding.

1. The law of 1770 permits importation and exportation, according to a certain standard of prices.

2. From 1775 to 1790, wheat might be imported for a duty of 6*d.* on the quarter, if the price was above 48*s.*

3. From 1790 to 1804, it was fixed that wheat should pay a duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, if the price was not above 54*s.*; but that this duty should be reduced to 6*d.* immediately on its rising above this price. In consequence of temporary circumstances, a

bounty was granted on importation in the year 1795; in 1798 the former duty was again laid on; in 1800 a bounty was once more offered upon importation; and at length—

4. In the year 1804, a new general law was passed, by which importation was either permitted, on payment of a duty, or prohibited, according to the state of the prices in twelve maritime districts. If the quarter was at 63*s.* to 66*s.*, the duty amounted to 2*s.* 6*d.*; if higher, it was fixed as low as 6*d.*

5. In the year 1815, importation was altogether prohibited, so long as the price did not exceed 80*s.* In some years of scarcity, however, this was not rigorously adhered to.

6. In the year 1828, instead of a fixed duty, a scale of duties was introduced. If the quarter is at 62*s.*, the duty is fixed at 16*s.* 8*d.* For every shilling that the price falls, the duty rises 1*s.*; for every shilling that the price rises, the duty falls 1*s.*; and when the price is 73*s.* and above, the duty is only 1*s.*

It is evident, that all these laws have arisen out of merely temporary circumstances; the last alone was founded on a general idea—namely, to keep the prices steady, and at a certain height. This object, however, was not attained in its full extent; it rather served to show that other causes, especially productive or unproductive years, have such an immense influence on the prices, that this regulating scale of duties appears quite unimportant and ineffective in the comparison. Much injury was also done by the mistaken notion "that the price at home could not fall below a certain point, on account of the duty: it must be higher, by the amount of that duty, at least, than the price abroad." On this notion the landlords often founded their demands, and tenants their offers; both complain unjustly of the state of agriculture, when they ought rather to attribute it to their own false calculations, and the artificial state of things produced by them.

With this, in my opinion, another great error is connected: this is, that the corn-dealers might now reckon upon stable prices, and England depend on obtaining, in case of need, a sufficient supply from abroad. We, however, see—1. That in late years prices have fallen far more, and the duty risen proportionably higher, than most people expected;—2. That the scale of duties was calculated exclusively on the selling price in England, without any regard to the purchase price. Both are certainly connected, but by no means necessarily in an unchanging proportion. For instance, corn may be so cheap on the continent, in a fruitful year, that England may be inundated with it, in spite of its high import-duty; or, on the contrary, it may be so dear there, that, notwithstanding the reduced duties, not a bushel is imported into England. 3. There have been agreements to purchase, at high nominal prices, in order to raise the market-price, and lower the duty: abuses which could not take place with a fixed duty. 4. Very

remarkable consequences are produced by the regulation, that all foreign corn must be bonded; and that it depends on the owner when he shall pay the duty, and what quantity he shall take out of bond, for consumption in the country.

However the consequences of the points here stated or indicated may be understood and explained, the corn trade, which is in itself very precarious, has been rendered doubly dangerous, nay, in part destroyed, by an artificial and fluctuating system of corn laws. And yet only a free and safe corn trade can properly balance scarcity and abundance to the general advantage. Whatever measure, then, renders the corn trade insecure, must necessarily affect agriculture in the same manner; or how would it be possible, for the sake of a temporary demand from England, to change the system of agriculture on the continent, introduce the growth of wheat, &c. &c.? But the prolongation of the dispute about the corn laws is even more prejudicial to England than to the continent. No one is able, with any degree of certainty, to calculate upon either an artificial, or a natural state of things; and the general apprehensions are even greater than the circumstances warrant. All are unanimous in the assertion, that very many persons are deterred from the purchase of land and from farming, who would otherwise gladly invest their capital in this branch of industry.

What then is it which the two parties demand? One demands an additional duty on the importation of corn, and a new protecting duty against the importation of wool and cattle;—the opposite party, on the contrary, insists on the total abolition of the corn-laws. The former forgets, that no state can in our days act with injustice towards another, without running the risk of retaliation; and that England would act even more absurdly than Napoleon, by adopting a system of continental exclusion, which would promote, though in a partial and compulsory manner, the independence of the continent on English manufactures. To this must be added, that at the present moment the price of corn is scarcely lower on the continent than in England; that the abolition of the corn-laws has, therefore, virtually taken place; or, at least, that a time has arrived when the abolition will be attended with scarcely any consequences. There is, besides, such an increasing importation from Canada, and above all from Ireland, that the importation from the continent, and the prohibitions against it, are quite insignificant. Ireland yearly contributes towards the abolition of the corn-laws, which is for the ultimate advantage of the whole empire. In the year 1788, the annual importation from Ireland amounted to no more than 50,000 quarters; in the year 1833, it rose to 572,000 quarters. The average importation of various kinds of corn from Ireland was—

	Quarters.
1825 to 1829	1,840,000
1829 .. 1832	2,445,000
1833	2,614,000

And here we must not overlook the fact that wheat is at present of an infinitely superior and heavier kind than formerly. The exportation of oats has of late decreased, in consequence of the more profitable cultivation of wheat. The exportation of bacon and butter from Waterford is greater by one-third than it was twenty years ago, and the exportation of wheat has doubled. The navigation of the Shannon has increased sevenfold, and the communication has been so greatly facilitated by roads, canals, and steamboats, that distant places are able to assist each other, and prices are more nearly balanced than ever. Including the city dues, embarking and landing, the conveyance by the steam-boats from Dublin to Liverpool costs, for a horse, from £1. 5*s.* to £1. 10*s.*; an ox or cow, 11*s.* to 15*s.*; a sheep, 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 1*d.*, &c. Fresh meat is brought from Dublin to Manchester in eighteen hours.

All this proves how injudicious and impossible it is to cut off English agriculture from the rest of the world. It further results from this—

1. That if agriculture has made such rapid advances in Ireland, it is impossible that the amount of the produce of England, which is so much more favoured, can have at the same time decreased.

2. If the Irish have derived less advantage from it than might have been expected, the main cause is the unhappy system of tenants-at-will, under which the increased produce, for the most part, benefits the lessors alone.

LETTER XXXV.

Corn-Laws—Prussian Commercial System—Causes of Agricultural Distress—Agriculture in Prussia—Corn-rent—Stock—General Observations.

London, June 16, 1835.

The opponents of the corn-laws require, in absolute contradiction to the agriculturists, their total abolition. Corn, they affirm, is, by those laws, made, on an average, 20 per cent. dearer, which imposes a tax of 14,000,000 upon the consumers, and produces distress among the poor. The abolition of the corn-laws would not reduce the income of the farmers 20 per cent., as is assumed; because the price of many articles (first of all the corn which the farmer requires for his own use), as well as wages and poor-rates, must fall considerably. A free corn trade is the best means of pro-

ducing steady prices, and is the only certain guarantee against the greatest of all evils—famine. Hitherto, say they, the manufacturer has been exorbitantly taxed, and unless wages are speedily reduced by the abolition of the corn-laws, English manufactured goods will be unable to compete with those of other countries. England, the capital of the world, cannot be reduced to a dependence on its own agriculture alone ; the most indispensable articles of subsistence ought not to be taxed like silk or cotton. The selfish design of raising the value of landed property, at the expense of all other classes, is now palliated under the pretence that corn-laws are the only means of averting the dangers of a famine, by an artificial increase of the quantity grown at home. That but a few persons were benefited, at the expense of all the rest, by the high price of corn ; and it is folly to believe that foreign countries will continue to purchase from England, if their two staple articles of exportation, corn and timber, are obstinately excluded. They will, on the contrary, be compelled to establish manufactures of their own, to consume the surplus produce of their agriculture at home, and their consumption of English goods will diminish from year to year. Besides the corn-laws, there is a long list of protecting duties for the interest of agriculture. Thus, for example, there is a duty on

	£.	s.
Butter, per cwt.	1	11
Bacon „	1	8
Hops „	1	11
Rape and Linseed oil, per ton	39	18
Perry, per tun	22	13
Cider „	21	10
On every horse	1	0

The importation of oxen, sheep, and pigs is totally prohibited ; but there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that importation may be subjected to all kinds of restrictions, without exportation suffering in consequence. If the price of corn rises only five shillings a quarter, from the effects of the corn-laws, a burthen of twelve millions and a half is imposed upon the consumers ; whereas the protecting duties granted to manufacturers were absolutely null, in consequence of the natural superiority of the country, in regard to the three main branches of English manufacture ;—cotton, wool, and metal.

Permit me to add some detached observations to this statement of the arguments against all corn-laws. Not only the theory of finance and commerce proves that an uninterrupted and unfettered trade between the different nations of the earth is the most natural and advantageous state of things ; but the higher principles of morality and religion enjoin these humane and beneficent relations. But if they do not exist—if, especially since the time of Louis XIV., the pernicious system of exclusion, prohibitions of importation, ex-

cessive duties, and consequently smuggling, prevail—is not every state obliged, in self-defence, to adopt and to apply the same principles? Will it not be ruined, if, in face of the exclusive and prohibitory system of other countries, it neglects also to exclude and to prohibit? Is it not a folly to attempt, when surrounded by illiberals, to be the only liberal? and will not he who rashly, or for the sake of theoretical fancies, takes the lead in this course fall into poverty and misery, while the more prudent and considerate continue to enjoy a secure gain?

All these questions, without exception, have hitherto been answered in the affirmative, both by theoretical and practical men. But since Prussia (though its geographical figure is unfavourable, though it is surrounded by states which act on the prohibitory system, and, in many other respects, is by no means fortunate), has had the unparalleled courage to adopt, and to apply for some years past, the opposite principles, this great example can no longer be overlooked or ridiculed. On the contrary, it ought to be attentively considered and impartially appreciated. It would then perhaps appear that the doctrine of salutary reprisals, of the necessity of outdoing one another in exclusion, of raising duties till every state attained to the happy isolation of China or Japan—was and is erroneous. By pursuing an opposite course, Prussia, not to speak of innumerable other advantages, has gained, chiefly in two respects. In the first place, by abolishing all corn-laws and laws against smuggling, it has relieved its agriculture and manufactures from an artificial and dangerous situation, and has made a greater return to a healthy state than any other country of Europe. Secondly (while France in particular remained wholly behind,) it placed itself in this respect *à la tete de la civilization;* induced England (as Huskisson himself confessed) to adopt more liberal measures; and, by the force of truth and disinterestedness, brought reluctant Germany to embrace the same views, and to form a union which is in every respect deserving of the highest approbation; and, if all the members of the league pursue a firm and equitable conduct, will produce from year to year more valuable results.

Opposed to this most recent theory and practice, the system of the English corn-laws is wholly untenable. But if it is resolved to alter the state of things that has hitherto existed, it cannot be done exclusively in one instance, nor in one direction. Protecting duties for agriculture, and protecting duties for trade and manufactures stand on the same footing, and what is true of the one is true of the other. Difficult and complex as the calculation is, whether this or that class in a country is in the long run more heavily burthened, certain facts and results are however incontestable: for instance, that the duty on foreign silks was not imposed for the benefit of the farmers; that the malt-tax and poor-rates fall heavier upon them than upon the consumers or manufacturers, &c. An abolition of the corn-laws must therefore be accompanied by a

compensation; or the general rule should in future be adopted, which is essentially the foundation of the Prussian system; viz. to impose taxes only for the purpose of maintaining the public revenue, not as protecting duties to favour certain branches of industry, and to extend and force it beyond its natural limits. The complaints of the English farmers and manufacturers neutralize each other as soon as this common tendency of both is overlooked. They have only one positive and important result; namely, that they show more and more clearly, whether they will or not, the absurdity of the ancient mercantile system, and place in a more brilliant light the advantages of a freer intercourse between nations.

What avails, will many persons object, all these arguments *pro* and *con?* the distress of the farmer and of the landowner is a fact; and can no more be reasoned away than a disease by the idle words of an ignorant physician. Admitting, therefore, that the distress exists, it however does not exist in England only, but in many of the countries of the continent. The causes, therefore, cannot be exclusively English—they cannot lie entirely in poor-rates and malt-tax; in the relative situation of the farmer and the manufacturer; in corn-laws, &c., for the farmers and landowners on the continent who complain are little, or not at all, affected by these evils. Let us therefore say plainly wherein the common error lies, and whence the similar disorder arises. Not only was a temporary state of things, which forced the produce and the prices to an unnatural height, supposed to be permanent, but people speculated even beyond this height, and bought or rented estates accordingly. And they did not only buy and rent with their own money, but with that of others, borrowed at high interest; and, at the very outset, ordered their household and mode of life (in direct contrast to the ancient simplicity), as if money would never be wanting for all these extravagant expenses. Here lies the true root of much of the misery, and of the greater part of the complaints. But no legislation can avert the consequences of false speculation; nor ought it to regulate its measures according to the wishes and wants of improvident bankrupts.

But, it is objected, has not the income of the wealthy and prudent landowner declined in the same proportion as that of the poorer and imprudent? Undoubtedly; but in the first place they were not quite free from the common delusion, and raised their rents on the same ground of an unstable state of things. Secondly, this diminution of revenue does not affect only the landlord and farmer, but in a considerable degree all classes of citizens.

As the commercial world has sometimes, as if intoxicated, run into mad speculations, and fancied that rapid gains must continue to rise *ad infinitum*, so the farmers were enticed and deluded by individual indications and occurrences. Thus, for instance, some celebrated agriculturists in England sold a bull for 1000 guineas; sixty-one cows and calves for 7858*l.*, forty-seven cows and calves

for 7168*l.*; one hired three rams for 1200*l.*, and seven for 2000 guineas.* An acre of land was let from seven to twelve guineas,† &c. Not a few persons believed in this agricultural gold-mine, and all were well contented with the consequences which resulted from it. On comparing the average of rents from 1781 to 1794, it appears that they had risen one hundred and fifty per cent.; and even now, in these times, so bitterly complained of, they are, in spite of all reductions, ninety per cent. higher than in the years from 1781 to 1794.‡ But those who call a reduction of rents of twenty-five or thirty per cent. intolerable, and would most injudiciously make up for this deficiency by an increase of the import duties, should be further reminded, that they now receive these rents in coin, and not, as in former years, in a depreciated paper currency; and that since the prices of so many other things, especially manufactured goods, have very much declined, they are able to purchase just as much with a smaller sum as they formerly could with a larger.

I now come to the second point indicated above. If all capitals, in whatever manner they may be employed (in manufactures, commerce, the funds, &c.), now return less than formerly; if the rate of interest has everywhere fallen, how can the landowner require and expect that he alone shall be an exception to the rule? The income produced by the money which he has invested in the purchase or improvement of land decreases like all others; and for this circumstance, this fact, legislation has no compulsory remedy. On the other hand, the landlord enjoys with his fellow-citizens the advantages of accumulated capital and lower interest. He who is willing to see and hear, may find sufficient proofs of all these assertions, in the instructive 'Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture.' He who can give proper security (said Mr. Webb) can borrow money upon land at three and a quarter to four per cent. In the favourable years, from 1808 to 1815, (says Mr. Wright,) people bought and hired land too dear, and lived on too great a scale, and they now find it difficult and unpleasant to submit to certain retrenchments. He who was free from debt, active, acquainted with his business, and a good manager, is not ruined, though so much is not gained in a short time as formerly.

We find the same facts and results in Prussia. He who purchased large estates with little money, or took them on lease, and persevered in the old imperfect system of agriculture, has been irretrievably ruined. He who did not venture beyond his ability in his engagements and expenses, and always adapted his modes of culture to the existing state of things, has maintained his ground, —nay, he has gained something. At the same time an important consequence ensued from the distress of the former. It appeared that the landowner must be a farmer, as much as the owner of a

* British Husbandry, vol. i. † Report, p. 278.
‡ Report on Agriculture, quest. 11,355.

manufactory is a manufacturer. It is only when the profit, which becomes insufficient by being divided between landlord and tenant, comes into one hand, that chief of the distress complained of vanishes. Nobody thinks of buying a sugar manufactory, a ribbon or silk manufactory, if he has no acquaintance whatever with those trades; he does not suppose that he can let it to advantage, and that the manufacturer, besides ample profit to himself, can pay a high rent. And why should it be otherwise with agriculture? The times are past when a wholly ignorant person might carry it on with advantage, or manage large farms. The person and capital are of more importance than ever. But, as we have seen, the landowner who farms his own estate, can raise capital more easily than the tenant, and agriculture was, and must remain, a noble employment.

If, however, the farming of large estates by the owner (capital, knowledge, and activity being equal) is to be preferred to the farming by a tenant, and if the former more easily bears accidents and unfavourable temporary circumstances than the latter, this is far more the case with smaller estates.

Even the larger English farmers (it is alleged by many witnesses) by no means avail themselves of the discoveries of theorists and the experience of practical men, to the same extent as manufacturers do. The former live more isolated, read and hear much less than is supposed, have their predilections and their habits; whereas the latter are compelled to adopt without delay every improvement, or run the risk of being outstripped and driven from the market.

The fluctuation and sinking of prices has, in latter times, induced many farmers rather to pay a corn-rent than a money-rent. This expedient or remedy appears, however, to be insufficient: for, 1st. The average prices of former years prove little or nothing for succeeding years. 2nd. The payment in kind, or according to the prices of the last current year, is, in cases of bad crops, the most oppressive of all. 3rd. It is an inaccurate mode, while the kinds of cultivation are so different, to pay the whole rent in corn, or to calculate it on the price of corn. Consequently it would be necessary to fix a maximum and a minimum for very abundant and for very unproductive harvests, or to have regard to the whole quantity of corn reaped, and to the market prices; and thus we again approach a mean price which is best expressed in money.

In the north of England, and in Scotland, the farmer usually obtains the land without being bound to pay for, or take, the stock. This mode is highly commended, among others, by Messrs. Kennedy and Grainger, in their work on 'The present State of Tenancy of Land in Great Britain,' because a farmer of small property may venture on a greater undertaking, keeps his capital together for improvements, and does not exhaust his means on taking possession. This mode, the liberty of purchasing the cat-

tle, farming utensils, &c., anywhere, and in any manner, or of bringing them with him, may have its advantages, but it appears to me that the proof is not complete. For if the stock necessary for the business of the farm belongs to the landlord, he can of course demand a higher rent than if he lets only the bare ground and the empty barns and outhouses. If the tenant who goes away is not paid for any improvements, he will endeavour not to leave any behind him. If the new comer must purchase or bring all with him, the same capital is invested in these things, and the only question is, whether it is more convenient and advantageous, or more inconvenient and prejudicial, to receive them from the farmer who removes, at an appraisement, or at a price mutually agreed upon. All stock has its value in money, and he who parts with it must reckon upon the interest of the capital invested in it, and obtain it by some means or other.

June 17th.

Though all I have meant to say, or said, in the preceding account is, if not circumstantially detailed, yet touched upon, permit me, in conclusion, to put together some few thoughts and opinions under different heads.

1.—The corn-laws are at this moment, when the prices on the Continent and in Great Britain are almost equal, a dead letter, and the present time ought not to be allowed to pass over without making an approach to a natural state of things, before the whole system is violently overthrown in a year of scarcity.

2.—No scale of duties, no importation, regulates the prices in the country; but, above all, the abundance or deficiency of the harvest. For instance, there were imported

Years.	Quarters.	At the average Duty of £.	s.	d.
1829	1,268,000	0	9	4
1830	1,494,000	0	6	7
1831	1,088,000	0	4	9
1832	162,000	1	3	9*

According to Jacob's estimate, the harvest produced

In 1820	16,000,000	quarters
1824	11,500,000	„
1825	12,700,000	„
1826	13,000,000	„
1827	12,530,000	„

The total import amounted from 1816 to 1828 to 6,780,000 quarters; therefore on an average for one year 565,000, or about one-twentieth of the consumption.

3.—The question, whether England is able to supply itself with corn, evidently depends on the abundance of the harvest and the

* Hansard, xvii. 753.

progress of agriculture ; but not less on the rearing of cattle, and the constantly increasing consumption of potatoes. High duties do not produce great crops, nor do low duties necessarily lead to the decline of national agriculture.

4.—The greater freedom and equality with which the corn trade is carried on, the more easily will England be able to draw upon foreign countries for the supplies of which she has need.

5.—The distress of the farmers and land-owners is not a general, unmitigated, deadly evil; it is merely a crisis, which may and will be succeeded by a natural, healthy state. The vast majority of the important class of the day-labourers is not affected by this crisis, unless the seeds of disease are introduced among them by a false application of the poor-laws.

6.—In the reign of Queen Anne, 1439 acres of common land were enclosed; under George I., 17,000; under George II., 318,000; under George III., 2,804,000. Between 1811 and 1831 the number of agricultural families in England were augmented by 64,000; those employed in trade and manufactures 159,000; the number of inhabitants in Great Britain 4,000,000. The importation of provisions has not risen in the same proportion as the consumption. Hence it incontrovertibly follows that, whatever may be the condition and the profits of the tenant and landlord, yet

a.—The price of that indespensable article corn can never fall for a long period below the cost of production; not even when, as in Prussia, importation from abroad is permitted and facilitated.

b.—English agriculture, with comparatively the smallest number of hands, produces the largest crops, and supports by far the greatest number of individuals not agriculturists. But if the number of agriculturists is comparatively smaller, and the quantity produced greater than in other places, the capitals must be larger, the mode of cultivation better; knowledge of the business more general; the facilities (for instance, good roads, canals, navigation, &c.) more numerous; it necessarily follows, in a word, that English agriculture, if we take a general view, must be on the whole flourishing, progressive, and more perfect than in any other country in the world. And of this I am thoroughly persuaded; notwithstanding all the lamentations which distress here and there extorts, or which party spirit has often put forward to serve its own ends, but which will hardly serve its turn much longer.

LETTER XXXVI.

Manufactures—Comparison of ancient Times with modern—Relations of Master, Journeyman, and Apprentice, in the Middle Ages—Guilds—Causes of their Decline—Advantages of the old System—Law of Master and Apprentice—Factory Children—Factory Bill—Condition of Workmen—Machinery—Comparative Production of England—Steam and Human Labour.

The materials for my letters have been so abundant, that I have not been able to touch upon some most important subjects. I have been in part withheld from doing so until, by reading and conversation, I had enlarged my information and removed some of my various doubts. This has not yet been completely accomplished; nevertheless I shall give free course to my pen and my thoughts, in the hope that I may be enabled hereafter to correct whatever errors, and fill up whatever chasms, my present imperfect knowledge may occasion.

The subjects I am now going to touch upon (to treat were saying far too much), namely, manufactures, trade, finance, the taxes, and the public debt, are of such immeasurable extent, and so intimately connected, that I have more need than ever to bespeak your indulgence in behalf of the want of arrangement, the omissions, and the repetitions which you will doubtless find.

If we begin with manufactures, we shall be struck with the infinite difference between former times and present, both as to persons and things. You know that I have frequently entered the lists against the absolute contemners of ancient institutions. I advert to them again here, because the advantages or disadvantages of the present can be clearly discerned only on a comparison with the past. In the middle ages, we find the persons engaged in manufactures in a three-fold gradation: master, journeyman, and apprentice. We find also the connexion of the former with the main body, of which his vocation constituted him a member,—the guild. In what, let us ask, consisted the advantages of this order of things?

First,—The goodness of the manufactured article,—the product,—was guaranteed by the time devoted to learning the craft; by preliminary examination and probation, and by the testimony of competent persons. It was an obligation, sanctioned both by law and by honour, to reject all incompetent candidates.

Secondly,—The instruction in the trade or craft was connected with domestication *in* the family, and the education of the apprentice *by* the family. Between master, journeyman, and apprentice there existed, not only a material, but a moral connexion, often drawn closer by the ties of marriage.

Thirdly,—The variations in the state and relations of commerce

and of prices were comparatively slight; they seldom went to ruin, or even greatly to impoverish the manufacturer. The alternations of hope and fear were proportionally slight. The small number of dependants of the master,—a few journeymen and apprentices,—easily found means to adapt themselves to, or to overcome, the altered circumstances.

Fourth,—The guild was not merely an association for the purposes of trade; it had also a military and a political or civic character and importance. By the guild, men passed from the mere atomistic system, which recognizes only individuals, as such, in the state, into an association actuated by a common thought, and tending to a common purpose. Out of the idea of all these organs, which exercised a mutual restraint and influence on each other, arose that of the Community; and hence we arrive at the State,—an idea with which, I must repeat, the much-lauded atomistic tendency of some modern political doctrines is often at direct variance.

I assume that you will not contest this favourable view of ancient institutions, which is borne out by history; and shall proceed to the question,—What is the cause of their decline and disappearance? Answer—First, as soon as the guilds became close,—as soon as, from sordid and selfish motives, they threw obstacles in the way of new members, and obtained an abusive monopoly and command over prices,—the guarantee for the goodness of their wares lost all meaning and value. The incompetent often ruled in the guild, and the most skilful found it difficult, if not impossible, to gain a livelihood. In the second place, many trades demand a combination of more hands and more implements than are at the command of an ordinary master, and these gradually grew into what we now call manufacturers.

Connected with this was, Thirdly, the formation of large capitals, by means of combination; and hence, the impossibility for the poor to compete with the rich.

Fourthly,—The development of individuals and of nations took such a turn, that the collective idea of a guild, and the collective idea of the sum of them no longer afforded a convenient element of political institutions. Just as little was the city-guard, or militia, adapted for carrying on war on a large scale, or according to modern tactics. In short, a multitude of causes rendered it as impossible to retain the old state of things unaltered, as it would now be to restore it. I must, however, maintain, that some portions of the old institutions might be usefully adopted in conjunction with the new; that, indeed, spite of the astonishing results of the modern system, some advantages are lost, which have not been, which perhaps never can be, repaired.

These appear to me to consist in the simple and genuine humanity which marked the relations of the different classes of society. The mildest, the kindest proprietor of a great manufactory

cannot possibly organize anything like a domestic life in common with his numerous workmen. He is so far removed from them, that any intellectual or moral community, or mutual influence—any immediate or personal education—is out of the question. Thus the democratic mass of the workmen stand apart, neglected, or insolent: the relation of master to man has vanished, or is totally altered. Least of all can the daughters of the lords of manufactories act as a bond of union in that domestic life which formerly grew out of the life of the artisan. Children indeed there are, and in countless numbers; the reflections which their appearance suggests are but too obvious. The manufacturer excels any master of old times in wealth and magnificence; whether he surpasses him in that security and serenity of existence which arose from the moderation of his gains and his expenditure may be questioned.

Who, then, we may inquire, has gained by all the changes which modern times have produced, if not the manufacturer and his workman? Perhaps those for whom they work—the buyer, the public. And if buyers are, in another point of view, sellers, the gain must be distributed over all.

I pass on from this suggestive preface, to details, and begin again with persons. In early times, apprentices were usually taken by masters on a special agreement, in which it was set down what was to be given, and what required in return. If there were lawful grounds for the apprentice quitting his master before the expiration of his term, the latter was obliged to return a portion of the premium (determined by a magistrate.) If the apprentice left his master without reason, he was bound to make him compensation. The master might keep his apprentice in order; but if he or his wife beat him, this was held to be sufficient ground for putting an end to the contract. If, on the other hand, the apprentice struck his master or mistress, he was imprisoned for a year.

Many humane persons have maintained, that the children who work in factories are in a far worse condition than apprentices were formerly, or even than negro slaves. These children, say their advocates, though but from nine to fourteen years old, work from ten to sixteen hours a-day; and, when they are discharged, exhausted with toil, hurry to the gin-shop; suffocating heat and dust, constrained and uneasy postures, double the burthen of this excessive and protracted labour, and destroy their health.

Instruction and education are out of the question; and the Sunday-schools, to which the weary children are taken on the only day on which they could enjoy bodily relaxation, are but a miserable substitute for a real education. I need not say that philanthropists and parents were found, in great numbers, who desired an amelioration of the condition of these poor children; and on the 27th of June, 1832, Lord Morpeth presented a petition on the subject, which measured 2322 feet in length.*

* Hansard, iii. 1055.

On these complaints were founded proposals for shortening the period of work, making it obligatory to send children to school, &c.

On the other hand, it was said that things of this nature can neither be regulated nor removed by legislation;—that the employment of the children was by no means so laborious and painful as it had been described, but (since the machines executed by far the hardest parts) generally of a kind requiring no great exertion;—that they were as healthy, on an average, as other children, and the operative manufacturer as long-lived as the husbandman. If the time of labour were reduced, the wages must of course be reduced, or the price of the manufactured article be raised in proportion. But as the latter is impossible, on account of the competition of other countries, the former must of necessity be resorted to; in which case the condition of the workman will be rendered infinitely worse by this pretended relief.

And so it has turned out. The 'Factory Bill,' for regulating the hours of wages, providing for sending the children to school, &c., has remained, in great measure, a dead letter; and the masters and workmen of manufactories form such arrangements with each other as they will or can.

The complaints concerning the condition of the factory children are far from embracing all the difficulties of the case: it is affirmed that the wages of the adult workmen are generally so depressed, that they cannot subsist upon them, and are thus driven to illegal measures (such as combinations for raising wages.)

To this it is replied, that it is not the depression of wages, but the mode of living of the workmen, which causes their misery, and that those who receive the highest wages are generally the most dissolute. The assertion that the condition of the labourer depends entirely on his earnings is false and mischievous; it depends quite as much on his expenditure. If, instead of the three shillings he received a few years ago, he now receives two, and with these two can buy more bread, beer, meat, and manufactured goods than before with the three, his condition is, in fact, improved. That this is actually the case may be proved by accurate calculations, and may also be inferred from the general appearance of the workmen, from the large deposits in the savings-banks, and from many other facts. The trades' unions, from which many apprehended the entire dissolution of social order, have almost disappeared; they have, at least, become quite insignificant since the over-rigorous laws against combination were repealed, the causes of artificial excitement thus removed, and those who sought a cheap martyrdom, and a base celebrity, thrown back into their original obscurity.

It would, however, be absurd to deny, that poverty and mistaken notions are still to be found. They chiefly arise—

First,—From the want, already mentioned, of a stricter community of interest, and a better understanding between manufac-

turers and their workmen. What can no longer be effected by domestic influence must be done, as far as possible—very inadequately it must be—by school education.

Secondly,—Workmen who are only competent to execute the simplest processes cannot possibly have more than the smallest wages: they expect, however, to live as well as the skilled and consequently highly-paid workman,—though they sometimes refuse to learn anything new, or to take any pains to improve in their own department.

Thirdly,—The introduction of machinery has, for the moment, thrown many workmen out of their accustomed employment; prudence and justice, therefore, equally demand that the legislature and the manufacturers should do everything in their power to facilitate the transfer of their labour into new channels. Thus, for instance, the "hand-loom weavers" have suffered severely of late years,—though no machine can effect exactly what gives its peculiar superiority to hand-weaving.

The hatred of machinery is daily on the decline. Popular writings have tended to enlighten the lower classes, and works like that of Mr. Babbage the higher, on the true bearings of this question. How times are altered in this respect! You and I well remember that the opinion expressed by Rector Snethlage, in a long treatise on the subject—that all machines should be destroyed, and only little models preserved in cabinets and museums, as proofs of the power of human intellect and skill—that this nonsense, actually passed with many for wisdom and humanity. It is not more certain that two and two make four, than that since the invention, and by means of the employment, of machinery, more people can be, and actually are, employed than before. He who doubts this should read the works I have alluded to above. Two examples are all I can find room for here.

In the middle of the last century, the annual consumption of cotton goods in England amounted to twelve millions of yards: it now amounts to four hundred millions. This article, therefore, which contributes so materially to the health, comfort, cleanliness, and innocent pleasure of the lower classes, has been increased in a ratio infinitely greater than the population. A far greater number of workmen are employed than before, while every individual in the country participates in the advantages. What perhaps 350,000 people now produce, would have required 42,000,000 hands half a century ago: that is to say, one man now accomplishes as much as a hundred and fifty did at that period.

According to a calculation now before me, one workman now produces as much as two hundred and sixty-six in former times; or 252,297 persons employed in the cotton manufactories of a large district of England now produce as much as would formerly have required 67,000,000 of hands. And this wondrous augmentation of human power and human dominion over matter

ought to be destroyed, or denounced as a calamity! A century ago the use of stockings was confined to comparatively few; now 50,000 families are employed in the manufacture of them; and the export amounts to 1,200,000*l.*—*i. e.*, to as much as the value of the whole cotton manufactory in 1760.

With the consumption of one bushel of coals, which costs threepence, or a fourth of a shilling, a steam-engine raises as much water as could be raised by human labour for fifty shillings. If the coals employed in England, in the various operations of manufactures and commerce, were replaced by human hands, the whole agricultural population would be required to execute the same quantity of work. But the profits of their labour would not nearly suffice for their subsistence—not even were coals twenty times as dear as they now are: the inevitable effects of which would be to annihilate all those manufactures which are calculated upon cheap fuel.

LETTER XXXVII.

Systems of Trade—Truck System—Wages—Iron—Coals—Silk—Wool—Cotton—State of Manufactures and Manufacturers in England.

London, June 16, 1835.

I HAVE directed your attention to the different modes of carrying on trades and manufactures in the middle ages and in modern times. Of the existence and importance of this difference no one can doubt. But it is not universal—it applies only to some of the larger manufactures, while many hand-labours are carried on in the old system, or in modes nearly akin to it. This may be seen from the following list of some of the most numerous trades. There are in England—

13,884 Ship-builders.
18,859 Carters, and drivers of various vehicles.
19,000 Millers.
22,000 Grocers.
28,000 Bakers.
35,000 Butchers.
49,000 Masons.
58,000 Smiths.
74,000 Tailors.
133,000 Shoemakers, &c.

The greater number of trades carried on by masters, journeymen, and apprentices, still afford some of the advantages I men-

tioned in my former letter, while they have gotten rid of many abuses which had crept in. But to want to crowd manufactories of silk, cotton, &c. into the space of ordinary rooms, is to push the love for the old system to folly. They have all taken their natural direction, and have changed, or remained unchanged, as the nature of things required.

Before I give you some details on certain branches of manufacture, I must mention the so-called 'truck system.' It consists mainly in this,—that the master-manufacturers pay their workmen, not in money, but in commodities. The opponents of this system, in and out of Parliament, maintained that its certain tendency was indirectly to depreciate wages, and that chiefly for the advantage of the master. When a man receives money, he knows what he has; when he receives goods, he has to consider not only the quantity, but the quality, which is so difficult to determine. The prudent workman can lay by money, but he can save nothing out of the bad butter and rank cheese which he is forced to take at high prices, under pain of being turned off.*

To this it was replied, that it was a mistake to suppose that the conditions relating to wages could be determined at the will of the masters. They depend on a hundred things, more especially on demand and on prices. No legislation can ensure that labour shall be exclusively paid in money; and the contrary system has often been attended with the best effects: for instance, among the Scotch agricultural labourers. When a master provides that his workmen should find all the articles of which they have the most constand need, in their immediate neighbourhood, and at reasonable prices, this is a great advantage to them, for he is generally satisfied with smaller profits than the little grocer or dealer. There is no question of throwing masses of goods of their own manufacture upon the hands of the workmen to sell again: this would be impracticable; the only thing attempted is, by introducing a system of payment in the most necessary articles of consumption, to lessen the amount of the metallic circulation. The prevailing evils, it was added, were no more the consequences of the truck system, than they formerly were of the price of provisions, or of the forestalling and regrating, so long the object of popular and legal persecution. But granting that the truck system involved a depreciation of wages—this depreciation cannot be prevented when the producing causes exist; and if the truck system were prohibited, the master manufacturers would then be compelled to pay lower money wages. If the causes of any change unfavourable to the workman are not in operation, he leaves the master who underpays him, and seeks better wages elsewhere.

Experience has shown that no general laws can regulate or prevent private contracts of this kind. People pay after, as they did

* Hansard, i. 1043; iv. 924; viii. 9.

before, in money, or in orders for commodities; and the receivers find themselves equally well, or equally ill, off under both systems; and are either able to make better terms, or are compelled to submit to the resistless force of circumstances. That these, however, are by no means worse, generally, than in former times, may, as I have said, be distinctly proved; and individual cases of poverty cannot possibly be removed or remedied by general laws regulating wages.

I give a few details on particular manufactures.

1. *Iron.*—For a time the price of iron wares sank, because the demand was not quite equal to the supply. The weekly wages of the workman still amounted to from 24*s.* to 30*s.* In the year 1780, 70,000 tons were smelted; in the year 1831, 750,000 tons; that is, twice as much as in all the rest of the world. From this arises such an universal, convenient, and profitable application of iron to a thousand different purposes, as no country—and least of all France, with its system of monopoly—can have an idea of.

2. *Coals.*—In the year 1780 the demand for coals amounted to 2½ millions of tons per year; in the year 1833 to 18 millions. The increase of population (according to Bowring) has been during that period 90 per cent., the increase in the demand for coals 730 per cent.; and it is calculated that there is no fear of a falling-off in the supply for 2000 years.

3. *Silk.*—In the year 1820 Mr. Huskisson said, "It is to be ascribed to the prohibitive system, that we have remained so far behind our neighbours in the manufacture of silk." When, however, the prohibition was removed, and foreign silks were admitted on payment of a duty of 30 per cent. on the value, an universal clamour arose, that this branch of trade was declining.* The restoration of the old law was demanded by the silk-weavers of Spitalfields with the greatest vehemence. The very proper answer given was, that the prohibition on the importation of silks would raise the prices only, and not the rate of wages; and that laws were not to be passed for the exclusive advantage of one class. That the distress of which they complained arose partly from the circumstance that the number of silk-weavers had greatly increased; but still more from the establishment of manufactories in districts in which the authorities did not interfere to regulate the rate of wages; and that active and intelligent manufacturers took the place of indolent and negligent ones. It was also proved that the competition consequent on the introduction of French silks had so much improved the English ones, that the best of those former times would now find no sale. In the year 1823, English silks to the value of 140,000*l.* only were exported; in the year 1830, to the value of 437,000*l.* The demand and importation of raw and spun silk, in 1823, amounted to 2,430,000*l.*; in 1830, to

* Hansard, xiv. 1190.

4,693,000*l.* So little were the predictions of the enemies of free trade fulfilled. Even the duty of 30 per cent. is too high, and ought to be lowered.

4. *Wool.*—From 1660 to 1825 the export of wool was prohibited; and the import, since 1802, burthened with more or less duty. Thus on the cwt. it was

	s.	*d.*
In the year 1802	5	3
From 1813 to 1819	7	11
From Oct. 1819 to Sept. 1824	0	6

on the pound, in consequence of Mr. Vansittart's ill-judged advance; from September to December 1824, 3*d.*

Since the 10th of December, 1824, if the pound is worth more than a shilling, one penny; if worth less, a halfpenny.

Altogether there have been imported in the

Years.	lbs.
1820	9,700,000
1821	16,600,000
1822	19,000,000
1823	19,300,000
1824	22,500,000
1825	43,700,000
1826	15,900,000
1827	29,100,000

Besides these facts, which I have extracted from the 'Report on Manufactures*,' there are the following tables in the 58th volume of the 'Edinburgh Review.'

Years.	Millions of Pounds.	Years.	Millions of Pounds.
1820	7	1826	17
1821	15	1827	27
1822	16	1828	31
1823	18	1829	22
1824	23	1830	31
1825	41	1831	29

There is, then, a very great fluctuation, which perhaps may be partly, though certainly not altogether, accounted for by the duties. Imprudent speculations have met with too severe punishment in this branch of trade, and they have been more common in Germany than in any other country. The importation from thence, for instance, according to a report, was in the years

1820 . . .	5,113,000	pounds.
1825 . . .	28,799,000	"
1826 . . .	10,545,000	"
1830 . . .	26,073,000	"

Notwithstanding the gradually increasing importation, and the decreasing import duty, the prices of English wools have advanced,

* Page 79.

and the quality of English cloth has improved—a fresh proof of the defectiveness and error of the old theory and practice. The principal ports are London, Hull and Poole. The influence which a good or bad breed of sheep has on the price of the wool is strikingly proved by the difference in the price of a pound of Russian wool and a pound of Saxon; the former of which costs, on an average, sixpence, the latter six shillings, or twelve times as much.

It appears, however, very probable that the favours of nature will more than counterbalance all the exertions of art.

The Australian wool is the longest and finest, and the best for spinning. The price of it has risen from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* and even 2*s.* 10*d.* a pound. The freightage from New South Wales to England has likewise decreased from 2½*d.* to 1½*d.* per lb., and the ship-owner has, notwithstanding, a greater profit, because formerly he was obliged to take in ballast, which yielded him nothing. In the year 1822, New South Wales exported 172,880 lbs. of wool, and in 1829, 1,005,883 lbs.*; in 1830, 1,967,000, or 300,000lbs. more than the whole of Spain. As Ireland is become a powerful rival of Germany in the production of corn, so is Australia in that of wool. It is, however, impossible to predict anything as to the future, from these numbers, since no one knows to what extent home consumption and the British demand may, and in all probability will, increase.

5. *Cotton.*—No branch of manufacture has made such inconceivable progress in modern times as cotton weaving. This has not arisen from any protection of government, or from the uncertain and capricious acts of legislation, but from the nature of things, and the inventiveness and activity of manufacturers. Cotton is cheaper to produce and easier to manufacture than flax, and has always, therefore, been, for some purposes, preferred. In the year

1787	4,000,000 lbs.	were spun.
1805	19,000,000	,,
1812	61,000,000	,,
1820	137,000,000	,,
1826	162,000,000	,,
1832	273,000,000	,,

The value of cotton goods amounted, in the year 1769, to about £200,000, now (official value) to 40,000,000. I borrow what follows from Baines's excellent 'History of the Cotton Manufacture:'—In the year 1833, 237,000,000 lbs. were imported into England from North America:

	lbs.
From Brazil	28,000,000
From Turkey and Egypt	987,000
From other countries	1,696,000
From the English colonies	35,000,000
North America exported, in 1701,	189,000
,, ,, 1832,	322,000,000

* Hansard, xiii. 1090.

The price of a pound of cotton wool varies from 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*; but has fallen considerably (like many other things) since 1816. The principal port for its importation is Liverpool. In the year 1833, 840,000 bales were exported from thence, and only 40,000 from London, and 48,000 from Glasgow.

The duty on the importation of foreign cotton goods rose gradually to 75 per cent.; Mr Huskisson lowered it to 10 per cent., and yet the importation, instead of increasing, as many feared it would, has diminished. In 1826, the value of the cottons imported was £710,000; in 1831 only £35,000—a sufficient proof, were there no other, that duties might be entirely taken off.

There are now 1154 cotton mills existing in England. Water-power to the amount of 10,000 horses, and steam-power to that of 30,000, are employed in them: 220,000 persons are directly, and one million and a half are indirectly, engaged in them. The seven counties in which the cotton manufactories are the most flourishing, in the year 1753 contained only 791,000 inhabitants; in 1831, 2,753,000. There were exported to

	Plain cotton goods.	Coloured goods.
Russia . . .	2,750,000	272,000
Germany . . .	16,527,000	34,951,000
Italy . . .	34,000,000	13,000,000
Brazil . . .	36,000,000	23,000,000
Turkey . . .	15,000,000	3,000,000
China and East Indies	35,000,000	16,000,000
North America . .	13,000,000	18,000,000

In spite of this immense increase, one often hears it asserted on the Continent, that the English manufactures are falling off; the workmen starving; the manufacturers obliged to sell under prime cost, and on the brink of ruin. These complaints, which have, from time to time, been made in England, and those of the farmers, which were still more clamorous, induced Parliament to appoint select committees, on which the best-informed persons of all classes were appointed. Prejudices and errors enough, of all kinds, were displayed; but, on the whole, sound and clear notions have made amazing progress, in consequence of this admirable proceeding. The Report on Manufactures contains 12,000, that on Agriculture 12,903, questions and answers; and these have produced a strong and beneficial effect on the public mind.

In the former inquiry it is far more evident than in that concerning agriculture, that the embarrassments or the sufferings affected only certain particular points of time and place, but that on the whole the manufactures were in a very thriving condition. I shall return to this subject, in treating of commerce, and shall only make one observation, by way of guarding against misunderstandings.

It is unquestionable that a manufacturer may, at particular moments, be compelled to sell a commodity cheaper than he can

produce it; he may prefer this loss to giving up his business, or to suffering his stock to accumulate; but it is folly to imagine that any man, or class of men, will continue to sell under prime cost. People reply, the masses of goods exported from England increase, while their value diminishes; this is a plain proof that the manufacturers sell at a loss, merely for the sake of ruining the foreign competitor. Not to mention that this preposterous course is open to every man who likes to try it, the fact abovementioned may be explained on very simple grounds.

In the first place, wages fell nominally and really, because cash payments were resumed instead of payments in paper. But as corn, clothing, and other articles fell yet more in proportion, the workman is, as I have already remarked, better off, on the whole, than before. Wages now vary from 2*s.* a-week for the youngest child employed to as high as 35*s.*

In the second place, the manufacturer does not make so large a profit on his capital as before; but as capitals are generally increased in a greater ratio than profits and interest have fallen, he is at least as well off as formerly.

Thirdly, cotton-wool has fallen in price, and a multitude of new inventions have so much facilitated manufacture, that a much greater bulk of goods can now be sold for the same money, and yield the same, or indeed greater, profit. The yarn, or twist, costs on an average about half as much as in the year 1815; such, indeed, is the rapid progress of machinery, that twist, for instance (No. 100), which, in the year 1786, cost 1*l.* 18*s.*, was sold in the year 1832 for 2*s.* 11*d.*

From all this it conclusively appears how foolish it would be to attempt to fix the rate of wages by law, or to hold to the prohibitive system, or to tax machinery in order to perpetuate the existence of old implements. Free development will be sure to find the right channel, if artificial impediments are not thrown in its way.

Whether, however, the commercial situation of the world be pregnant with more danger or more advantage to England, is a question we shall be better able to answer when I have put together a few facts concerning commerce.

LETTER XXXVIII.

State of Commerce and Manufactures in England—Glove-trade—Decline of Monopolies—Navigation Laws—Prussian Commerce—Commercial League—English Shipping—Balance of Trade—Old and New Doctrine of Exports and Imports—Security of Commerce—Capital—Increase in the Commercial Prosperity, Production, and Consumption of Great Britain.

London, June 17th, 1835.

When we hear in England, on the one hand, that trade and manufactures are ruined by injudiciously favouring agriculture, and, on the other, that agriculture is in the most deplorable condition from the undue encouragement afforded to commerce and manufactures,—these two conflicting assertions so contradict or counterbalance each other, that it is impossible to come to a sound conclusion, without thoroughly examining the several particulars. The result of this examination is, that prosperity is the rule for both, and distress the exception; and that the seat of evil is very rarely in the part where it is sought. From many examples, I select one. There is no subject on which there have been, in proportion to its importance, such long discussions in Parliament, as on the glove trade. It was affirmed that, by the permission to import French gloves, vast numbers of people had been reduced to ruin and poverty, &c. What was the result of the inquiry? First, that many persons now wear silk or cotton gloves, which was an effect of fashion, and had nothing to do with the importation of French leather gloves. Secondly, that not more than a million pairs of such gloves were imported, while more than fifteen million pairs were manufactured in England. Thirdly, that the importation and consumption of skins for gloves had increased of late years. Fourthly, that a duty of twenty-two per cent. was more than sufficient to protect the English glove-manufacturer, provided he was not decidedly inferior to the French in skill and taste. But the inferior workmen were the very persons who made the loudest complaints.

The changes in the law did no injury to the cotton-manufacturers, and compelled the silk-weavers and glove-manufacturers to make successful efforts to improve the taste and the quality of their goods. Now, if it appeared impossible and unwise, even with regard to such articles as stockings and gloves, to retain the old system unchanged, how much less can it be done with respect to more important matters and to independent nations? And yet, at a time when the light of day began to break, the Duke of Wellington said, "I shall be the last to propose any change in the system of our commercial relations; I hope, on the contrary, that this system will be maintained*." He said this at a time when Prussia

* Hansard, xi., 21.

had already adopted its liberal commercial system, and had induced England to adopt more equitable measures; though Mr. Robinson affirmed, on the 11th of July, 1831, "Prussia has prohibited all our goods and manufactures*;" whereas the new tariff prescribes the contrary in express terms.

The times of English monopoly, navigation laws, prohibitions, and all the vexations connected with them, are completely past, and cannot, by any possibility, be restored. The more judicious of the merchants and manufacturers are fully sensible of this. They know that the future grandeur of England is not to be maintained by worn-out ineffective laws, but must rest on other foundations. The loudest opponents are the ship-owners; let us, therefore, hear their arguments, and examine the facts which they allege.

They affirm that the ancient English navigation law, which allowed no nation to import into Great Britain any article except the produce of its own soil and its manufactures,—this law, which is the origin of the immense traffic and naval power of the kingdom, has been madly repealed; and that foreign nations have thus been enabled to outstrip England, and to prepare her ruin. One example will suffice to prove this mathematically :—

Expenses.

	In an English Ship.	In a Prussian Ship.
Provisions	£83	£41
The Captain	29	15
The Crew	45	18
All expenses together	345	258

That is, 107*l.* greater expense for an English ship. How then shall Great Britain maintain a competition with Prussia? In addition to this, the freight to all parts of the world is so low, compared with former times, that the severest distress of all the ship-owners and navigators is inevitable, or, rather, already exists.

However incontrovertible these statistical data seem to be, they nevertheless prove nothing of what is attempted to be inferred from them. It seems to me that these ship-owners cannot, and will not, rise above the notion, that the *ship*, which is but the *means* of commerce, is to be regarded as the end. This narrow view (which we meet with on the continent in carriers and innkeepers) was put forward with the utmost confidence and arrogance by one Mr. Powles. He required a monopoly for English ships, and the exclusion, or, at all events, enormous taxation, of all foreign ships. "But," asked Mr. Thompson (the enlightened President of the Parliamentary Committee,) "if other nations were to act in the same manner, do you think we should then reap the advantage which you expect?"—Mr. Powles: "Yes, I do be-

* Hansard, iv., 1031.

lieve it." Mr. Thompson: "Will you tell us how?"—Mr. Powles: "I beg to be permitted not to answer this question." Pity, that while sailing on in fancied security, this bold seaman should suddenly have run completely aground!

Very different is the language of the 'Edinburgh Review,' a journal which always treats of domestic affairs with sagacity, and discusses foreign affairs with more knowledge and fairness than common. "If we treat independent and powerful nations in such a blind and absurd manner as we have treated Prussia, we must be prepared for the consequences." "It cannot be denied (says another passage) that we have given great provocation to Prussia. Our corn-laws and timber-duties are no less prejudicial to her than they are to ourselves; and, so long as we suffer them to pollute our statute-book, foreign nations will give little credit to our assurances of liberality, and will not be disinclined to check our commerce*."

If Prussia were to apply the principles advocated by the ship-owners, she must prohibit all English goods without exception; instead of that, she has undertaken the struggle for commercial liberty as boldly, and maintained it as steadily, as that for political independence. Prussia, it is true, has not yet completely attained her object; and still less has England yet attained to a completely free trade. But, if we proceed to comparisons, Prussia has much more reason to complain than England. For the Prussian tariff allows the importation of all English goods without exception; and the rates of duty are such, that those goods are met with and sold in all parts of Prussia; whereas in consequence of the English prohibitions or enormous import duties, this is by no means the case with the produce and manufactures of Prussia.

I must here advert to one objection, which might be founded on the Statistical Tables, but yet rests upon an erroneous foundation. Those tables show, under the head of Prussia, an extremely small amount of imports from England; hence it is inferred, that the trade with Prussia is very inconsiderable, and that with the rest of Germany, on the contrary, highly important. But the greater part of the goods sent to Germany by way of Rotterdam and Hamburg, find their way into the Prussian dominions, and the heading of those tables proves nothing.

With this error is connected an equally false notion of the Great German Commercial League. Inasmuch as the Prussian states have long since adopted the most liberal system in Europe, no change whatever is effected by that combination; and it is entirely false that it was formed in a spirit of hostility towards England. It might be said with equal justice, that the abolition of duties between England, Scotland, and Ireland, or of those which existed in the interior of France, gave the Germans a right to complain of

* Vol. lviii., p. 281.

unfriendly intentions. The more simple and uniform system which Germany, by her own independent will and act, now follows; the abolition of the numerous searches, checks, permits, &c., must eventually be advantageous to England; as, in truth, every rational commercial law has an advantageous influence far beyond the frontiers of the state which adopts it. In the same manner as the Germans will profit by the relieving of the East India trade from oppressive restrictions, the English will profit by the freedom of the German trade. Those only who cannot get above the opinions of ship-owners and carriers will deny this, and will propose measures which, if acted upon systematically, would isolate every nation, and put an end to all commerce.

It is not, however, superfluous to examine more closely into these allegations and facts. Granting, therefore, that these estimates of the expenses of the Prussian and English shipping are correct (and not, for instance, at this moment, with respect to the prices of provisions, incorrect), what follows? Is a duty of 107*l.* to be imposed upon the Prussian ship? This would exceed the French licences at the time of Napoleon, and the English orders in council. And what occasion and inducement would this give to the continent to make counter estimates, on the advantages of machinery, the use of coals, &c.? We may also be allowed to ask, why are the Prussian sailors to eat, drink, and be clothed worse than the English? Why is not the important circumstance taken into consideration, that the Prussian ships can earn nothing in the winter, and the English a great deal? In this mode of proceeding we never come to a clear view of the subject, or at any more satisfactory conclusion, than that the *poorest* nation is, by nature, the *first* commercial nation. One circumstance alone,—that England possesses larger capitals, and a lower rate of profit, overthrows all these premises and conclusions.

The complaints of the ship-owners, as to the decline of their profits, are answered, in like manner, by simply looking to their outlay:—

	In 1818.			1833.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
1 yard of sail-cloth cost .	0	2	3	0	1	9
1 cwt. of iron	0	13	0	1	5	0
1 cwt.	2	14	0	1	14	0
A barrel of pork . . .	6	0	0	0	18	6
1 cwt. of bread	1	5	0	0	18	6

Here, as in so many other cases, we see the great dangers and errors consequent on a one-sided view of things. When, for instance, we look at wages apart from the price of commodities; decrease from increase; receipts from expenditure; profit from capital; capital from profit, and so on, we can never do more than serve the purposes of a party.

Every year new ships are built; besides the articles mentioned

above, timber, and many other articles are cheaper: seamen's wages are reduced, and the freight, according to impartial testimony, still produces fair profits. But, indeed, according to the principles of some persons, ships and wagons ought to be burnt, in order to raise the price of freight.

The amount of the lading of ships clearing outwards was, in

	English ships. Tons.	Foreign ships. Tons.
1775 . . .	783,000	64,000
1790 . . .	1,260,000	144,000
1800 . . .	1,269,000	654,000
1815 . . .	1,381,000	751,000
1825 . . .	1,711,000	851,000
1830 . . .	2,102,000	758,000
1831 . . .	2,300,000	896,000

That trade, navigation, and the general intercourse of nations have increased in a manner which must rejoice every friend of humanity, is beyond all doubt, and is no more disproved by the fluctuations of particular years, than by the often erroneous and imperfect statements of statistical tables. Some persons have attempted to deduce from these the fact of the decrease in the number of English ships since the year 1827. On more accurate investigation it, however, appeared that formerly old ships, dismasted and out of condition, had been allowed to stand in the tables. On striking these out, a nearer approach was made to the truth; the diminished number proved, not the decay of trade, but the increase of statistical accuracy. In the year 1834 the relative numbers which cleared out were as follows:—

	English.	Tons.	Foreign.	Tons.
London	3421	678,000	1061	175,000
Liverpool	1803	410,000	906	250,000
Bristol	278	51,000	24	5,000
Hull	755	142,600	610	62,600
Newcastle	425	69,000	445	45,000

In the year 1800, 6523 ships sailed from England to Ireland, with 544,000 tons. In 1834, 14,245 ships, with 1,348,000 tons.

Since 1800, 2213 houses have been built in Dublin, and most of the towns have increased in a similar manner. In a word, in all these particulars England has advanced; and if other nations have roused themselves, have developed their resources, have produced, bought, and sold, this is not a ground for envy or complaint, but a source of general congratulation, and general advantage. At any rate, an injudicious perseverance in the old principles of monopoly would not extend, but ruin English commerce.

More enlarged views on these subjects have led to the entire abandonment of the old doctrine of the balance of trade. The prosperity of a nation is no longer inferred, as it used to be, exclusively from the amount of its exports, but much more from its im-

ports. Unless what is brought back is of greater quantity and value than what is taken out, there can be no gain; and so long as there exists any other article of necessity which can be exchanged, money does not appear in the list of exports and imports, or appears only as commodity, as metal, and not as means of mutual adjustment. The doctrine that a nation should buy more than it sells, bring home more than it carries out, may, however, no less than the exploded doctrine, lead to absurd laws (spite of the correction of the error of regarding money as the sole standard of value). We must avoid the egotism of both extremes, and learn at length to see that in every kind of commercial intercourse, both parties must necessarily, in the long run, gain; and that, whenever this is not the case, it inevitably declines. To endeavour to make the gain all on one side is therefore, in fact, to destroy commerce.

The rapid, unexampled, and unexpected profits which many branches of trade made during the war have certainly ceased; but, on the other hand, all branches have gained in security, and commerce is no longer a lottery, but a steady pursuit. If bankruptcies now occur, they are seldom of an inevitable kind, but arise from circumstances independent of the general state of trade; such as insufficient capital, injudicious speculation, expensive modes of living, &c. Every body who can give tolerably good security can easily borrow money at four per cent.; and it is quite unreasonable to expect to combine the high profits of other times with the low interest of this. People often look only at the subject matter of a trade, and not at the person who carries it on; and yet, in our days, the results depend as much on the latter as the former.

Mr. Lloyd, the banker, said, "The profits of trade are certainly not large; but when industry, economy, and good judgment are combined, it may still be carried on to advantage." "I do not remember," says Mr. Bates, "ever to have seen the country in so healthy and advantageous a state in regard to trade and manufactures. No crowded warehouses: a brisk demand for every commodity."

Trade and commerce have their unfavourable side, as well as agriculture; and every reasonable man, whether farmer or manufacturer, will lay his account for this; his permanent conclusions cannot and ought not to be drawn from particular moments of prosperity or of adversity. When* the rage for speculation makes men so mad as to send skates and warming-pans to Buenos-Ayres, nothing can be done for them; they deserve their ruin.

Follies of this kind are, however, indirect proofs of redundancy of capital, and from this source, and the greater cheapness of labour (machines included) arises the great superiority of England.

Increase of capital is often the only means of diminishing the cost of production. 20,000*l.* (says a person acquainted with the business) employed in the iron trade will perhaps yield six per

* Hansard, iv. 924.

cent., whereas 40,000*l.* will give ten. Or, if I make nine per cent. on 100,000 pieces of cloth, I can afford to sell under the market price, and yet have as much profit remaining as formerly, when the cost of production was greater.

I could extract whole sheets of figures, showing the increase and the greatness of the commerce of England, out of the enormous folios of statistical tables which lie before me: but I will let you off with two or three.

In the year 1688, the trade of England amounted to 190,000 tons; in 1790, 1,424,000; in 1820, to 1,668,000; in 1830, to 2,180,000. Even in the year 1829, England possessed 241 steamboats, Scotland 75, and Ireland 26; and these numbers now fall far short of the truth. The value of exported manufactures was, on an average of years,

From	1786-92	£14,000,000
	1802-08	22,000,000
	1815-19	38,000,000
	1830	55,000,000
	1832	60,000,000

The exports from Ireland to England were, in the seven years ending 1729, worth 2,307,000*l.* For 1833, to Liverpool alone, 7,456,000*l.*

	Exports of Great Britain.		Imports.
Year.	Official Value.	Declared Value.	Declared Value.
1810	32,000,000	46,000,000	30,000,000
1820	32,000,000	34,000,000	29,000,000
1824	43,000,000	36,000,000	34,000,000
1830	55,000,000	35,000,000	42,000,000
1832	60,000,000	36,000,000	48,000,000

This last statement requires explanation. The 'official value' has reference to the prices fixed as unchangeable in the year 1696: it therefore exhibits only quantities, but it exhibits those with perfect accuracy. Since 1797, however, the merchant has been required to declare the real value, with more or less accuracy, and the rise or fall of the numbers in this list is not an index to quantity, but to price. But as this has fallen, while that has risen, people drew the erroneous inference that commerce generally had declined, and that trade was carried on at a loss. The operation of the price of raw material, the labour performed by machinery, the number of capitals, the rate of interest, &c., vary extremely; but the true, final, important, and satisfactory result is, that now, with diminished means and cost, far greater quantities of commodities are produced, and are sold at far lower prices.

The increase in the consumption of all articles is intimately connected with this fact. I shall perhaps on some future occasion send you more figures, showing this in detail. To-day I conclude with the remark, that if the agriculture of England, viewed in a large and comprehensive manner, and not with reference to tran-

sitory evils, is without question in a prosperous state, far more so are the manufactures and commerce.

The condition of the country is artificial, certainly, compared with that more natural state in which men neither sow nor reap, nor weave, nor forge. But the people who are the most skilled in these arts, and carry them on in the largest and most liberal manner, are, at least in these respects, before and above all others. Other nations now move at an accelerated pace in the same track; but their advance is no loss to England, if she will (like Prussia) free herself from the artificial impediments which necessarily arise from corn-laws, prohibitions, monopolies, &c.

Much has already been done in this way, and much more will be done; and if the European market for England should contract, a far wider is opened to her since the vast changes in the continent of Asia. Of them another time.

LETTER XXXIX.

Malibran in Fidelio—Comparison with Milder, Schechner, Schrœder-Devrient—Variety of Genius—State of the Drama in England—Causes of its Decline—French, English, and German Drama—State-Paper Office—Dinners.

London, Tuesday, June 10.

When I read that part of your letter in which you tell me that our clever and modest friend at Hahnel said, "I shall now be happy in London for the first time, for Malibran sings," I felt it as a weight on my conscience that, in spite of my extreme admiration, I had not yet heard her. But hitherto I have been engaged every evening on which she sang; and I delayed the more willingly, hoping that I might be able to hear her in some more genuine work of art than an opera of Bellini. And at length Malibran has studied Fidelio, and last night she appeared in it.

The orchestra is good, although not so full as at Berlin, nor so attentive to the lights and shadows; especially to the pianos in accompanying the voice, which it often overpowered. Let us proceed to the particular characters.

Mr. Bedford, who acted Don Pizarro, has a powerful voice, but his performance is wanting in elevation and refinement. The passage, "Ein Stoss und er verstummt," had, from its conception and execution, less effect than with us. The chorus of soldiers to the first great aria was very improperly omitted.

Florestan, Mr. Templeton: thin enough, though not quite so starved as he is represented in Germany. The singing such as one could listen to without finding much to praise or to blame.

Jaquino, Mr. Duruset, was somewhat older than usual, and his conception of the part more stolid, impertinent, and ludicrous.

Rocco, Mr. Seguin, is a good singer; but it appears to me that he was mistaken in representing the old gaoler,—who stands in need of an assistant, and who expects to accomplish the murder of Pizarro without violence or difficulty,—as a vigorous, active, and almost facetious man. Our Devrient's acting was masterly in the comparison.

Marcelline, Mrs. Seguin, sung with tolerable correctness, but from time to time rather too loud for the other voices.

The chorus singers, by no means numerous, and the alto again sung by male voices. A fault which I have observed before—that of bawling—recurred here. The loudest singing you ever heard in an opera of Spontini's, and which was justifiable from being in keeping with the rest of the performance, is pianissimo compared to this London screaming and shouting. Perhaps the climate may make it necessary to mix brandy with the pure juice of the grape; but one cannot understand why the beauty and softness of music must be so unmusically concealed by vociferations like those in a booth at a fair. It is, in short, a bad habit, into which even the solo performers fell when singing in the finales.

Lastly—Fidelio, Madame Malibran. It is an inexplicable mystery by what minute details, what indescribable touches, true genius exercises its resistless sway over the minds of men. The moment she came on the stage, this remarkable woman produced the same impression upon me as she had done at Paris. Her appearance was not that of a good-natured peasant lad, a simple rustic gaoler's servant; neither was it that of a woman whose heroic courage and enthusiasm are visible through her mean disguise; she entered, exhausted by the effort of recent labour, and, depositing her burthen, sank upon a seat. While I was pondering whether this conception of the part (which was quite new to me) was the right, she raised her eyes to greet Rocco and Marcelline; and her smile was accompanied with such an indescribable look of the profoundest suffering, the most dignified melancholy, that the tears came into my eyes, before she had uttered a word. This tinge of melancholy, this air of suffering, she retained through the whole part, yet without once falling into a tone of whining sentimentality. In this perfectly original creation and conception of the character—in this sustained and consistent representation of it—she displayed the energy and the influence of genius. There was, of course, no trace of the rusticity of deportment, assumed for the sake of deceiving Rocco, which some actresses have given to the part; none, of the lofty heroical style, or of the womanish coquetry, which have characterized the performance of others.

Her dress was perfectly simple: grey trowsers, a sort of frock coat reaching to the knee, of the same colour, and a black leather girdle. It is almost incomprehensible how so elegantly formed a

woman could contrive so entirely to conceal all the feminine graces of her person, that there was nothing to excite even curiosity. She wore no rouge, and her pallid face and dark expressive eyes, with the melancholy tones of her deep and beautiful voice—these, indeed, rivetted eye, and ear, and heart. The moment in which she discovers and resolves what, and how, she has to act, her countenance and demeanour rose into something truly awful.

She spoke English more distinctly and harmoniously than I have ever heard it spoken on the stage. The principal scene of the second (here the third) act was, as usual, the most effective. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to define, in a few words, in what consisted the difference between her performance of it and that of other actresses. Do not conclude from what I say that I am unjust to them; but I can acknowledge no monopoly of genius, and I here saw a fresh proof that it is *creative*. Often and variously, as I have seen Fidelio acted, *this* view, *this* representation of the character was entirely new to me—unexpected, and, in itself, perfect.

Milder, with her magnificent tones and person, was more imposing. From the moment she came on the stage you felt and knew that she *must* conquer. Schechner's voice was fuller and more profoundly touching. Schrœder-Devrient united the sweetness and the charm, with the romantic devotion, of woman; and the torrent of her enthusiasm bore you along with resistless force.

Malibran betrays the long-suffering, the heart-wearing anxiety, the dubious mind; till at length the strength of her heart and her love overcome all anxieties and all doubts. To each her own. Each fulfils the part for which nature, and the character of her genius, has fitted her.

Some ornamented finales found great applause: they were, doubtless, conceived in a higher style, and executed with a more perfect feeling of art, than the other Italian singers here are capable of; but yet they had no business there. The words, "*Was in mir vorgeht ist unaussprechlich*," by which Schrœder-Devrient always produces so astonishing an effect, Malibran gave in an unimpressive, almost a conversational, tone; but in the passage in which she and Florestan sink on their knees, she expressed pious gratitude, united with conjugal tenderness, in the most beautiful manner. So long as Pizarro remains in the prison, her eye never quits him, and she keeps the pistol pointed at him till he goes out.

I could tell you of many other little touches and peculiarities, but what I have said will suffice to give you an idea of the total impression. There is, indeed, no greater enjoyment than that of seeing and understanding the *variety* of genius. All exclusive inspiration, which arrogates to itself supremacy, is, in fact, but of a subordinate class. Why should I forget the Niebelungen because I admire Homer? decry Shakspeare in behalf of Sophocles,

or Handel in that of Mozart? Why close my ears to the perfections of one singer, because there exists in the world another of merit? I have often found that a singer imagined I was become cold or hostile to her, or thought I had lost my taste and judgment, because I commended another! This is a great error. He who is incapable of analysing and appreciating various peculiarities and different merits, cannot comprehend the true character of any individual one, but contents himself with a shallow and selfish traffic of flattery. Never was I more profoundly sensible of the grandeur of Sophocles than when fresh from Shakspeare; never did I more love and admire Shakspeare than when the music of the trimeters and choruses of Sophocles was still upon my ear! And so I was never more sensible to the merits of the singers I allude to, never more grateful for the delight they have given me, than last night, when Malibran said or sang to me 'Anch' io son pittore.'

Fidelio was succeeded by what pretended to be a farce, 'Turning the Tables.' It was, however, so tediously spun out, and so poorly performed, that I went away before the end.

You find two opinions on almost everything in England; on one point alone all seem agreed—that the stage has declined, and is declining. It has attracted the attention even of parliament. A committee heard the evidence of many persons the most interested and the best informed on the subject, drew up a report, and made some propositions; but parliament took no decisive step, and all goes on in the same bad course. It is doubtful, indeed, whether any act of legislation can effectually renovate art, or save it from irremediable decay. In the reports in question, and in some periodical works, the most different reasons are alleged for the decline of the drama; and I have a few more, which I must beg to add to the number.

1. Many pieces which are represented are indecorous and immoral, and even lovers of dramatic amusement are thus kept away, or at any rate deterred from taking their wives and daughters. This, it is true, is less a cause of the evil, than an evil of which the causes remain to be sought out. Some are of opinion that the good sense and sound taste of the public will reject this noxious stuff; and this may be true of the sound and moral portion of it; but experience shows that the friends of everything coarse, the populace, sometimes gain complete supremacy in the theatre; that whole generations revel in this dissoluteness (as in the time of Charles II.), or that poets and those who give the tone to public opinion (as we now see in France) pander to the lowest and grossest tastes and passions. Hence others maintain that nothing can prevent this evil, and avert the danger of universal corruption, but a preventive censorship, or dramatic police. If this were employed in a temperate and rational manner, and not perverted by party feelings and purposes, it could hardly excite a murmur; and,

indeed, such a power has been beneficially exercised in some instances by the Lord Chamberlain, or his deputy. The latter, however, it must be said, made himself ludicrous, by striking out the words "she is an angel," on the ground of its being impious and shocking to apply this sacred epithet to a woman.

2. The theatres, and the neighbourhood of them, are crowded with a revolting multitude of loose women. This nuisance might easily be abated; at all events, it must be a very subordinate cause of the degeneracy of the dramatic art.

3. A great number of persons hold it sinful, on religious grounds, to go to the theatre. These persons misinterpret Christianity, and misunderstand art, when they confound its highest manifestations with its perversions, and regard both with the same eye. They are, however, perfectly right in pronouncing the most complete condemnation against that foul sort of dramatic literature, which declares war upon the good, the true, and the beautiful.

4. The encouragement given to the theatre by former sovereigns, particularly by George III., who frequently visited it, had a very beneficial effect. The want of this example has caused the theatre to be deserted by the fashionable world, and this has been equally injurious to the taste and to the exchequer of the theatre. No king can create art by a miracle,—but he may give it most important encouragement and support. The kings of Prussia and Bavaria have found to their own satisfaction, and to the delight of others, how much may be done by this honourable patronage of art.

5. The great increase of novels, and other sorts of light reading, diminishes the interest in the theatre.

The mass of literary instruction and amusement is undoubtedly much greater than ever it was; but I do not think that this would destroy the attraction of the theatre, were not the former very cheap, and the latter very dear.

6. The costliness of theatrical amusements is a material ground of the comparatively small number of those who resort to them; and this costliness again grows out of an ill-judged encouragement of taste for *spectacle*, to the detriment of all higher poetical objects: dress, decorations, processions, fireworks, and other mere shows, are employed to conceal the miserable deficiency of the main requisites.

7. Concerts and the opera draw away a great many who would visit the theatre. These morning concerts are certainly in entire defiance of the principle, that amusement is to come after the duties and labours of the day have been fulfilled; and generally consist of a superficial, incongruous *pasticcio*, which has little to do with real art, and, at the very best, can only borrow the slightest merit or meaning from the brilliancy or the glitter of certain "stars." The opera, however, whatever be its apparent prosperity or splendour, is itself in a state of degeneracy and poverty of

art. London spends but too much money to hear two or three *undramatic* operas out of the manufactory of the day. But what has this to do with music and its exhaustless treasures, which, under skilful and judicious management, might be brought to light, and made the property of the public?

8. Dramatic writers are comparatively ill paid, and have no protection for their literary property. Men of genius and talent, therefore, betake themselves to other branches of literature. The pay of dramatic authors is very various and uncertain; and all the provincial theatres may take possession of a piece which has been acted in London, without paying the author anything.

9. The theatres are grown to so unnatural a size, that it is impossible to see or hear distinctly. On their examination, Kean and Kemble declared themselves in favour of large houses: they said that the actor moved with more freedom; that the higher order of tragedies required great space, and the nearness of the actors to the audience destroyed the illusion.

When Kean maintained that distance concealed the defects of an actor, he forgot that it equally obscured his excellencies, destroyed all the more delicate inflexions of the voice and the countenance, and rendered vain the finer expressions of gesture.

A remark, or an inference of Kemble's is equally inconclusive. He says, when the Haymarket Theatre is quite full, and Drury Lane is (as often happens) three-quarters full, those who sit on the back benches are equally remote from the actors. In this case, the cost of building for the other fourth might and ought to have been spared. And it is by no means the same thing, whether an actor speaks in a space, less by a fourth. It cannot be doubted that the size of the houses first led to the introduction of mere shows; seeing became the first object, and the dramatic art the second. They have also immensely increased the expenses, both incidental and regular; have raised the price of admittance, and materially contributed to the bankrupt condition of their proprietors.

10. The hours of dining interfere with those of the theatre. This circumstance is one of great importance, for it operates almost to the exclusion of the more refined classes, and throws the ascendancy, and the power of deciding on the merits of the performance into the hands of the uncultivated. If the play were to begin earlier, it would interfere with the hours of business; if later, there is an end to all night whatever; and a man who does not sleep by night cannot work by day. It seems a question, whether it would not be better to reduce the performance from five or six hours to three (as with us), and to lower the prices, than to admit the lower classes at so late an hour for half-price. Parliament, and the numerous societies and meetings, which assemble in an evening, also keep a great proportion of the educated classes from the play.

11. It is a bad thing that there are no police regulations as to the number of tickets issued. There are often more tickets sold

than there is room to admit; and a man who has been forced to stand in a crowd, and to see nothing, is not eager to go again. The long waiting and squeezing at the doors is also extremely unpleasant, and must be more so to the busy English than to other people, who have more time and more patience.

12. Political excitement makes men indifferent to the theatre.

There is doubtless a high and noble, as well as a diseased political excitement; and the former throws not only the drama, but everything else in the world, into the background. But we find this united with the greatest dramatic enthusiasm among the Greeks; while other nations made no greater progress in dramatic literature, because they were deficient in political spirit. This, indeed, is nearly connected with the question, how far the stage is susceptible of a political tendency and colour, or how far it ought to receive it. This is a question of degree. It is too much, when art forgets her own dignity and independence, and makes herself a mere instrument; too little, when one of the most momentous elements of dramatic elevation and effect is entirely excluded. Comedy, at all events, must treat of the present, and must be privileged to make it her own. The time is past when any effect could be produced by defrauded wards, bribed chambermaids, and the like. But it is not only the characters, foibles, and absurdities of kings of the present age, that are withdrawn from the pen of the dramatist; every new-made minister, every canting priest, every conceited professor, every world-reforming innovator, every drivelling adorer of antiquity, declares himself sacrosanct, and maintains that no poet has a right profanely to peer into his holy circle. Nay, the very players themselves, whose business it is to parody every variety of mankind, call out if their weaknesses are made ridiculous.

13. The monopoly of Drury Lane and Covent Garden has injured or crushed the other theatres. Where there is no competition, no emulation, there will be no artists, and the taste of the public for the theatre will consequently decline.

Whether, and in what degree, these theatres possess an exclusive right, is a matter that has been much contested. There is no doubt that they themselves have believed in the existence of this right, and that others, in the same belief, have lent them large sums of money, for which there is now no adequate security, but which would utterly vanish if the monopoly were destroyed, without any compensation. Several theatres have been licensed only on condition that they are not to perform the *legitimate* drama. But nobody can say what is this forbidden legitimate drama, or what the permitted burletta. Shakspeare's 'Othello,' for instance, was transformed into a burletta, by having a man seated at a pianoforte behind the scenes, who, about every quarter of an hour, at the shifting of the scenes, struck a few chords as softly as possible. Is it not absurd, say the defenders of the freedom of the drama, to

enjoin that the perfect, the classical drama, should be performed only in one place, while all others are condemned to the imperfect, the unartistical? Why may every bad translation of a bad French play or vaudeville be represented everywhere, and Shakspeare and Massinger only in an enormous house, where people will not go to hear them, because they cannot hear them if they do go? It were surely far better to regulate all the bad and objectionable to one theatre, and to throw open every stage to the excellent. This foolish monopoly has no other effect than to make people pay the highest price for the worst things; whereas free competition would produce the best representations at the lowest prices; exclusive rights, of this kind, never increased incomes, nor created capital; they produce nothing but conceit and negligence. "I possess," said Mr. Warburton, "a 500*l.* share for which I never received one penny interest. On the contrary, I have to advance money to maintain a useless establishment, indebted three times its value, or look for repayment from the sale of the old dresses and the benches. I should willingly give up my capital, if I could but see more rational laws for the theatre, and the removal of all restrictions on the drama." "Free competition," remarked another person, "will prove where the greatest talents, the most refined taste, and the greatest industry are to be found."

These and similar arguments were met by the assertion that the decline both in acting and in prosperity, of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, was attributable, not only to the license granted to small theatres to act, but to the opening of many without a license. The attempts of the great theatres to assert their rights in a legal way failed, because the expenses were so enormous, that the decision usually found them bankrupt. The public, too, generally took part with the defendants. The multiplication of theatres does not increase the number of artists, nor of amateurs, and low prices only deteriorate the quality of the audience, and submit every thing to the judgment of the uneducated.

Wearied with the length of these discussions, some enemies of all theatrical amusements came forward, and observed, that the law, even so late as in George the Second's time, placed "players, vagabonds, and rogues" on the same footing. Mr. Rotch said, "the theatres answered no other purpose than that of collecting together players—a wretched set of outcasts, who have no other means of subsistence;—and we are to take the trouble to legislate for such sort of people!"

"What," another asked, "is the best way of filling the houses?" "Dress a girl, who has handsome legs, in men's clothes;" she will bring £80 at the half-price," was his reply.

Highly as first-rate talent is paid here, second-rate is paid extremely ill. The utmost given in provincial theatres is three guineas a week. The salaries are, generally, much less than this, and the actors have to buy their own dresses.

A table of the receipts of Covent Garden shows a great variation of prices, the highest of which is, in the year 1811, £98,000 while in the year 1831–2, it has not exceeded £43,000. The table shows on the whole a great falling off; but the sudden rise in some years, and fall in others, shows the effect of good or bad management, or of the talents of a great actor. Whence, otherwise, a falling off of £19,000 between the years 1819 and 1820, and the following year again a rise of £15,000? or a difference of £16,000 between the years 1829 and 1830? There is, however, no corresponding table of expenditure; and without this it is impossible to know whether the years of increased receipt were also years of greater profit.

The Report of the parliamentary committee on the state of the Drama, contains a statement of the size of various theatres, from which I extract the following:—

	From the curtain to the centre box.	Greatest breadth of the pit.
	Feet.	Feet.
Drury Lane	61	50
Covent Garden	63	50
Haymarket	47	35
Italian Opera	90	62
Dublin	52	45
Tottenham Street	38	22
St. Carlo, Naples	79	63
Scala, Milan	90	67
Cirque Olympique	86	83
Théâtre des Variétés	52	43
Odéon	71	60
Feydeau	64	52
Théâtre Français	61	55

A very mistaken opinion has been put forth that though playhouses may be too large, opera-houses cannot. You may, to be sure, increase the strength of the orchestra, but not the voices of the singers; and hence the hard and toneless shouting and screaming, and the rapid destruction of voice.

On a retrospect of all the causes which have been assigned for the decline of dramatic art, they seem to me more than sufficient to account for its present deplorable state. I even fear that the grand remedy proposed—the young lady in men's clothes—will also soon lose its efficacy. Whether, however, the causes assigned be really the primary ones, and not themselves consequences of causes which lie deeper, is still open to inquiry. When, for instance, it is said that people do not go to the play, *because* they dine at that hour, it might, with equal truth, be said of another period, people do *not* dine at such or such an hour, *because* they go to the play: therefore, as these two *becauses* neutralize each other, we must find a third and a more satisfactory one.

If some nations have no dramatic poetry, and if others, after possessing, lose it, these are indications of very different causes and peculiarities. Notwithstanding the many similarities in the circumstances of the theatres in England, France, and Germany, the tastes and opinions of the three countries are, in some respects, entirely at variance. The exclusive direction of the national activity to the practical and material side of life cannot be favourable to poetry in England;—least of all to dramatic poetry, which absolutely requires a certain time to be allotted to it. The pungent political herbs which the French strew over their stage are not plants of a poetical soil; still less can the delicate flower of beauty and of poetry grow—as they would have us believe—out of the rank and pestilent mass of corruption which they have heaped together.

On the German soil everything takes root; and, for that very reason, nothing is indigenous; yet the utter anarchy of our theatre seems to me better than the despotism of France, or the indifference of England. But a vast deal more might be effected by intelligent managers, really masters of their business, and themselves not devoid of originality and poetry; by rigorous rejection of middling or bad actors; by encouragement of really good ones; by judicious cast of parts; by rejection of inferior pieces, &c., than is generally imagined. I cannot see the advantage to the Berlin royal theatre in the monopoly it is permitted to exercise against that of Konigstadt, also a king's theatre. Their own sound judgment and free choice ought to lead each of them to adopt a different sphere, beyond which it would be injurious to themselves to venture; but this has a very different effect from the compulsory restraints which paralyse their exertions. Unfettered emulation is favourable to art, and stimulates the public interest; so that in the end, all parties gain, and none lose.

It is the province of the stage, says Aristotle, to chastise and purify the passions. Instead, however, of holding in veneration this purification by the bright and refining fire of art, too many seek in the theatre only a confirmation of their own grovelling and vulgar passions; these react again upon the drama, till the lowest, coarsest, and most atrocious of the spectators may esteem himself pure and holy compared to the heroes of the pseudo poets. What an anti-climax! The genuine stage exhibits nature more noble, more sublime than in her wonted course; then comes a time when the audience will look at nothing but the image and reflexion of themselves; and lastly, they require the exhibition of crimes and vices of every kind, in order that they may exult in the contrast of their own excellence!

There is no art which demands such a power of self-oblivion and self-abnegation in him who would understand it, as the dramatic art. Such a talent of throwing the whole of the thoughts and feelings into other natures and other circumstances! In this respect

the qualities required in a historian and a dramatist are similar; though the mode of treating and of presenting the subject-matter appears, in other respects, completely opposed. All abstraction, whether historical, political, philosophical, or religious, is undramatic.

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London, June 18.

I was interrupted, fortunately perhaps; for my epic discourse on the drama must already have tired you.

To return to my daily history.—My labours in the State Paper Office go on prosperously; and perhaps it is conducive to my health that the time of work is circumscribed to between the hours of eleven and three. I have chosen the period of 1740—1763 to begin with, as it forms a continuation to my extracts from the Mitchell papers. The despatches from the principal kingdoms of Europe throw light on each other; and I hope that, when I have arranged everything, I shall be able to delight you as well as myself with my spoil.

I went to dine with Mr. T—— the day before yesterday; he had given me permission to come uninvited when I had no other engagement. This friendly unceremonious reception is very agreeable and convenient.

Yesterday I was invited, first, to the dinner of a society at Freemasons' tavern, and, secondly, to Mr. M——; whilst I was pondering upon the course I should take in this *embarras de richesses*, a third invitation from the Duke of S—— decided the affair. About this and my further fortunes I will write next time. For to-day, adieu.

LETTER XL.

Milbank Penitentiary—Extravagant Diet of Prisoners—Compulsory Silence—Crime and Punishment—Increase of Crime in England—Value of Statistical Details—Increase of Minor Offences, Decrease of Atrocious Crimes—Effect of Mitigation of Punishments—Reform of Criminal Law—Sir J. Mackintosh—Sir Robert Peel—English Mode of Codification—Punishment of Death—Comparative Statements of Committals and Convictions—Forgery—Imprisonment for Debt—Scotland—Ireland.

London, June, 9, 1835.

I HAVE had an opportunity of seeing the General Penitentiary, which is situated at the western extremity of London. It consists of one building in the centre of a very spacious court, and six other hexagonal buildings connected with it. This form was selected

from its affording, according to Bentham's opinion, the greatest facilities for inspection. Whether it be the best, is a question I cannot go into. The fundamental idea of the whole institution is, that a number of criminals may, by judicious treatment, be reformed and brought back to virtue. The government, under whose immediate direction it is, decides what persons are to be admitted, and reserves to itself the right of rewarding the good behaviour of the prisoners by shortening the term of their imprisonment.

The Penitentiary is directed by a board appointed by the king. Under this board, with different powers and duties, are, a governor, or inspector, sub-inspector, chaplain, schoolmaster, physician, masters for the work, keepers, turnkeys, &c. The rule of silence is enforced here, as far as it is possible. The occupations, chiefly sewing and tailor's work, are carried on in the separate cells. Some few only, such as grinding corn, washing, baking, &c., by several together. The treadmill, used merely as a punishment, and not with any view to production, has very properly been rejected. The profits of the labour are given three-fourths to the establishment, one-eighth to the prisoners, and one-eighth to the superintendent of the work. The prisoners are divided into two classes, distinguished by their dresses: those in the first, and those in the last half of their term of imprisonment. A very exact register is kept of their conduct, and the result accelerates or retards their liberation. No one, however, is dismissed in less than three years. The occupations for the whole day are accurately laid down. Each prisoner eats alone in his cell. For breakfast he has milk porridge, and half-a-pound of bread. For dinner, one day, two ounces of cheese and a pound of bread, with onions; three days, a quart of meat broth with oatmeal, rice, peas, &c., and potatoes, and half-a-pound of bread; three days, the same quantity of potatoes and bread, and six ounces of meat, with half-a-pint of broth. The supper is the same as the breakfast. All the officers of the establishment must belong to the Church of England.

On these brief details I must remark—

First,—If we calculate the value of the ground, the enormous building, the number of persons employed, and the cost of feeding the prisoners, the result will be such an extravagant expenditure, that every rogue there costs more than a travelling chorister or young artist*. It would be difficult to find in the whole world so expensive an educational establishment.

Secondly,—Philanthropists have made very laudable efforts to mitigate the hardness and cruelty which formerly reigned within the walls of a prison. But I must repeat here the censures which were called forth by the consideration of the poor-laws, on the

* Small salaries or allowances are granted by most or all of the German governments to young men without fortune, who travel with a view to improvement in the particular art to which they devote themselves.—*Translator.*

preposterous mistake of giving the criminal better food and less work than the independent labourer. And not only do these thieves, or whatever they may be, eat, drink, sleep, and lodge better than most of the independent peasantry of the continent, but better even than very many of the independent labourers of England; and certainly than the whole unfortunate population of Ireland. There are scarcely a hundred of the most opulent families in Berlin, who consume such fine wheaten bread as the prisoners here think they have a right to demand. This proceeding can hardly be justified on any principles of penal jurisprudence, or of political economy; not even indeed, by the scriptural example of the prodigal son. The fatted calf was killed when he was a true and reformed penitent, but not every day while he was yet a sinner.

Thirdly,—What is done in the way of reformation, particularly by the influences or exercises of religion, is not more than is, or ought to be, done in every prison or house of correction whatever. Silence and compulsory labour, in themselves, afford no means and no proof of reformation. A man who has on one occasion broken this silence, and been in consequence longer imprisoned, may stand higher in the scale of morality than one whose silence may be the mere effect of stupidity or obstinacy, though it may obtain him approbation and liberty.

Fourthly,—A great number of the prisoners are boys and girls, who have committed one act of theft, generally under momentary excitement and temptation. I cannot but think it an unfortunate and unjust penal system which condemns such criminals to years of imprisonment; and a most inefficient means of reformation to shut them up in a solitary cell, to work in gloomy silence. Would it really be a greater barbarity to do like our forefathers,—give these boys a good sound whipping, and trust their reformation to external causes, than thus to rob them of their faculty of speech, and transform them into dumb animals by way of making them men?

In all these arrangements there appears to me a great mistake of the judicious with the absurd.

The transition from this subject to the more general one of crimes and punishments is natural, and I am the more strongly tempted to enter upon it, from the notion which commonly prevails on the continent of the demoralization of England, and the ruin by which she is threatened from the great increase of crime. As many political quacks prescribe the same remedy, and in the same proportions, for the most different diseases, (such for instance as what they call a constitution, and that for all states,) so there are quacks of the contrary kind, who have a dozen different mortal causes for the *one death* which can come but once. According to their predictions, England is dying of poor-laws, of Catholic emancipation, of the reform bill, of municipal reform, of taxes, debt, drunkenness, above all, of crime. I have given you what

information I could collect on some of these subjects, and I shall endeavour, by degrees, to send you something on all. We will keep now to the latter. Drunkenness I have spoken of already; and I have only to add that, in the middle and higher classes, this vice has greatly declined; and that though the Germans were, for centuries, notoriously more addicted to it than the Spaniards or the Italians, they did not, therefore, fall into rapid decrepitude and extinction. I have not the smallest doubt that good regulations with regard to the sale of beer, and a different way of keeping the sabbath, would very greatly diminish this evil.

But the crimes, I hear the objectors say—the crimes! Do you mean, in your excessive partiality for England, to deny them altogether? or, perhaps, to transform them into virtues? In the year 1805, there were 4605 committals, and 2783 convictions; in 1831, 19,647 committals, and 13,830 convictions. These few lines of arithmetic confute all your sophistries, and lay open to view an abyss whose existence the blind alone can deny;—whose terrific aspect none but the moral indifferentist, or the revolutionary leveller, who thinks such a state of corruption and decomposition the necessary prelude to political regeneration, can fail to recognize.

Spite of this anathema, I venture into the lists against the arithmetic, and all the consequences deduced from it. It is doing excellent service to introduce certainty into what is uncertain, and to clear up and confirm obscure and vacillating opinions by means of figures. But do these abstract numbers always preserve a sufficiently characteristic value? Are there no such things as arithmetical mistakes? And are not these more likely to occur in political science, than in the astronomical speculations of Ptolemy or Tycho Brahe? Or, may I not draw wrong conclusions from right data? Or, entirely lose sight of facts which co-operate in an important degree towards the production of a result attributed exclusively to one? Before people pin their faith with such superstitious reverence on figures, they should most carefully examine how they are obtained, and what is their exact value. The following thesis may serve as matter for a discussion, the result of which will, I hope, be, to bring us nearer to the truth.

First,—All the older tables on the statistics of England are notoriously imperfect and inaccurate; so that a comparison of former and more recent figures lead to no safe inference. According to them, for example, before the year 1828, no case of stealing by day, accompanied with forcible entrance into a house, had ever occurred in England. In general it may be observed that, in the statistics of early times (as in accounts of censuses, poll-taxes, &c.) the numbers are too small, because there were considerable omissions, and no one was counted twice.

Secondly,—No inference can be drawn with safety, nor any average taken, as to the general moral condition of the country,

from the tables which have been carefully drawn up for the last few years. Or, what conclusion do we arrive at? That, in the year 1820 alone, 272 persons were prosecuted for having in their possession forged bank notes; and that in the years from 1830 to 1833—that is, in four years—only two persons. Or, on the other hand, that for ten consecutive years there was not a single instance of breaking machinery, while, in the year 1831, 665 persons were prosecuted for this offence; in the year 1833, again, only one individual.

Thirdly,—The magnitude and importance of crime varies so extremely, that a mere addition sum, whether for former or latter times, gives no satisfactory information. A much more material question is, what are the kinds of crime that have increased? what that have decreased? And here we find (independently of all other causes) the great increase to consist in the number of the lesser offences against property, while atrocious crimes have diminished. For example, the number of persons prosecuted for

Simple theft were, in	1820	6499	1833	9818
Housebreaking by night	"	283	"	68
Murder . . .	"	11	"	7
High Treason . .	"	33	"	0
Child-stealing . .	"	3	"	0

From these examples I do not presume to deduce universal conclusions, but one which is undeniable in this case,—that totals of different crimes decide nothing whatever as to the greater or less demoralization of a country; but that one must value, weigh, and ponder, whether one case of murder or high treason does not lie as heavy in the balance as a hundred petty thefts.

Fourthly,—Alterations in certain laws (*e. g.* game and excise laws) occasion the rise or fall of whole classes of crimes and punishments. This is a circumstance to which too little attention has been paid.

Fifthly,—The number of prosecutions has increased considerably, from the circumstance that the injured party is no longer, as formerly, exposed to the danger of paying costs far exceeding the amount of the injury. If, for instance, a man was robbed of the value of a pound, he submitted, because it would have cost him at least six to prosecute.

Sixthly,—An increased number of prosecutions also arises from the mitigation of punishments, and especially the abolition of the punishment of death for simple theft. Formerly a person who was robbed scrupled to expose a fellow-creature to the risk of being hanged for a few shillings; and juries had equal reluctance to pronounce a verdict of guilty. The removal of these two latter causes has greatly increased the number of criminals *brought to justice;* but this proves nothing at all as to the number of crimes *committed.*

Seventhly,—Till within a few years no police, properly so call-

ed, has existed in England. Since the introduction of it, a multitude of offences are discovered and punished, which formerly went unpunished.

Eighthly,—The population has greatly increased within the last few years; and this has of course affected the number of crimes. Upon these various grounds, judges and magistrates of various degrees, and governors of the great prisons maintain, that, (regard being had to quality as well as number of crimes,) if it is too much to assert that the morality of England has improved, at least the proofs of increasing vice and crime deduced from the figures above quoted are superficial and inconclusive.

And now, since, if we have not actually arrived at truth, we have made some approach to it, and have rectified our point of view, all sorts of detached observations present themselves. This is no place for an accurate or full statement of English criminal law or criminal procedure. There is no doubt that they greatly needed reforms, and that they need them still. The punishment of death, for example, was attached to 160 different offences, till, in the year 1819, a Committee of the House of Commons, of which Sir James Mackintosh was chairman, first laboured at the amelioration and mitigation of these laws. Sir Robert Peel rendered a similar service to the country in 1826, when, by his law regarding theft, a hundred and forty other laws were abrogated.

This is the way in which codification is carried on in England —bit by bit.—One important point is taken up after another, and treated separately; and it never occurs to anybody to see any evil in this course.

That the new laws were strictly in harmony with the spirit and events of the age is clearly proved from this: that what is now regularly expressed by law was formerly irregularly effected by Royal pardon. In the thirty years succeeding the year 1688, the number of those condemned to death, compared to those executed, was as . . . . . 38 to 20

From	1755 to	1784	46 " 13
"	1784 "	1814	74 " 19

The punishment of death is now adjudged by law for burglary above the value of *5l.*; stealing from shipwrecked vessels; horse, cattle, and sheep stealing; robbery, murder, treason, arson, coining, and a few other offences.

In the seven years ending

	with	1819, were executed	662
"		1826 "	528
"		1833 "	391

The numbers executed in London are,

1827	33	1831	6
1828	17	1832	4
1829	21	1833	6
1830	25	1834	2

Criminals of every class, tried and condemned in London and Middlesex:

1827 .	2300	1831 .	2372
1828 .	2277	1832 .	2653
1829 .	2318	1834 .	2686
1830 .	3227		

In the year 1820, 1655 persons were transported for seven years; in the year 1833, 2546.

In the year 1820, 107 were executed; in the year 1833, only 32.

In the year 1820, 4089 persons were condemned to six months' imprisonment; in the year 1833, 7618. This is, therefore, the period of the greatest increase of prosecutions and convictions.

In the year 1833, 23,787 persons were arrested for intoxication; in 1832, 25,702; in 1833, 18,487; 7754 of whom were women. This increase, perhaps, arose partly from the abolition of a former tax on beer—the diminution, from the balance being restored, and from the establishment of a stricter police.

In the year 1832, 77,543 persons were arrested for various offences; in the year 1833, 69,959; the diminution, therefore, is 7584.

No education, and, least of all, the mere knowledge of reading and writing, can extirpate crime; yet the number of criminals is much greater among the ignorant. For an example, out of 197 prisoners, only 64 could read; out of 400, 250 might be called totally uneducated.* The proportion that female criminals bore to male ones was, in the years 1812-19, as 13 to 58; in 1819-26, as 15 to 80; in 1826-33, as 21 to 110. According to a report, there was one criminal each year, in

England	on	740	persons.
Wales	„	2320	„
Scotland	„	1130	„
Ireland	„	490	„
Cardiganshire	„	4930	„
Northumberland	„	2700	„
London and Middlesex . .	„	400	„
Dublin	„	96	„

Setting aside all doubt as to the accuracy of these figures, I must again remark that, here again, crimes of the most different magnitude are collected together into one sum-total; and that these numbers, consequently, afford no test of general guilt and innocence. It is impossible that as many petty thefts can occur in Cardiganshire as in London, for the simple reason, that the objects of theft do not exist. But those who, for the sake of diminishing the number of certain offences, would loosen the stricter bonds of social life, scatter men over the face of the country, or preserve their innocence by keeping them on a desert island,—these apparent philanthropists forget that a view of the world, with relation

* Hansard, xiii. 621; xvi. 637.

only to criminal law, is a very narrow and partial one; that the advantages of a higher civilization and nearer social intercourse increase in a greater ratio than the disadvantages; or that, if the shadows are sharper, it is precisely because the lights are brighter. Uncivilized people commit more crimes than civilized ones; and even were this not the case, their whole existence (inasmuch as it does not fulfil the vocation of man) is pitiable and abortive. Degenerate, enervated nations are doubtless far below savages, because they want the vigour necessary to regeneration, and because the consciousness of decline aggravates all the evils of it; but the entire removal of temptations to crime could only be effected by the destruction of many of the most valuable possessions and privileges of social life.

Among the celebrated lawgivers of antiquity, Draco tried to renovate and invigorate the whole state by means of criminal law. Events, however, proved that Solon's system, which was rather to promote and preserve the health of the many, than to eradicate the local diseases of the few, was far more successful. Not less inapplicable is the abstract doctrine of the Stoics, who considered every departure from the right as equally wrong; inasmuch as the right was one, and therefore it was indifferent how far removed from right anything might be, so that it *was* removed. According to this doctrine, every arithmetical error is equally wrong; and yet a merchant, who miscalculates to the amount of a penny, is not ruined, because he would be bankrupt if he was in error to the amount of 100,000*l*.

The same may be affirmed of morals; and it is a great advance in English criminal law, that it no longer adjudges the same extreme punishment to crimes of the most different magnitude.

The question, whether the punishment of death should be retained in cases of forgery, gave occasion to very remarkable proceedings. A thousand bankers petitioned for its abolition, on the ground that it did *not* protect their property. They affirmed that it was almost impossible to find witnesses willing to give evidence, or juries to convict. Of ten accused, about one was convicted and punished; while in cases of prosecution for murder, nine out of ten were convicted, and only one acquitted. So also, eleven hundred jurymen declared that they esteemed it a greater wrong to sentence a man to death for forgery, than to equivocate with their oath in such cases. In consequence of these and other expressions of public opinion, the punishment of death for forgery was abolished in August, 1832; and only two sorts of forgery remain capital,—forgery of wills, and forgery of powers of attorney for the transfer of stock.†

That part of English law which regards imprisonment for debt has been considered peculiarly open to reprobation. In two years

* Hansard, xiv. 969. 1393. † Ibid, xiv. 969. 1393.

and a half, ten thousand persons were imprisoned in London, at an expense of from 150,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*, and most of them for this cause:—credit is given in the most incautious manner—often dishonestly offered; and then the tyranny of private property (the only thing considered in the matter) is asserted with such rigour, that vast numbers are torn from their occupations, deprived of all means of subsistence, and totally ruined. Even Lord Eldon (who is not accused of being a rash innovator) said, "the law of imprisonment for debt is a license to act in a manner more injurious and inhuman than was ever done towards slaves*."

Here again I come to a matter in which legislation, by its very apparent abstract equality, becomes infinitely more oppressive to the poor than to the rich. This naturally produces feelings of hostility to the law; and this, again, tends to produce revolutionary convulsions, which greater care to maintain equal justice would altogether avert.

In Scotland, as well as in England, theft is by far the most common offence. It is, however, characteristic that, among 1808 persons who were prosecuted in the course of a year, 484 were commited for assault. About half were found guilty, and sentenced; generally, to three months' imprisonment.

Causes of the most different description doubtless contribute to increase the number of crimes in Ireland. In the year 1822, we find 7512 persons convicted; and this number had risen, in 1832, to 9759. 'Assault' here plays a much more conspicuous part. Under this head we find, in 1822, 2313; and, in 1832, 3193 prosecutions. Spite of the deplorable confusion and agitation of recent times, the number of cases of murder has fallen from 74 to 31, whilst that of misdemeanours has risen from 1106 to 1734. In 1822, 101 persons were executed; in 1832, only 39. In the sum-total of Irish criminals, many years exhibit full a thousand illicit distillers of whisky.

The blame of all these things, and of others which are notorious, falls partly on the government, partly on the people. As soon as the former grants an equal measure of justice *to all*, the latter will become better and more peaceable; or, if that expectation should fail, they may be constrained to observe law and order in a very different manner from what has hitherto been possible.

London, June 21.

As my other reports were long enough, this has lain by me, and I now add a remark or two on the blank page.

It is not true that the rise or fall of the morality of a people can be measured by certain phenomena, which, if I may use the expression, stand at the very outermost limits of civil society. Such an extreme fact is crime. The morality or immorality of by far

* M'Culloch's Dictionary, Art. 'Credit.'

the greater number of men lies within the verge of crime, and may undergo many changes and much depreciation, without coming under the cognizance of courts of justice, or into the balance of statistics.

The converse is equally true; that certain actions or tendencies, which in one age have been regarded as absolute proofs of virtue, afford no proof whatever of a real general improvement in mankind; such are the foundation of monasteries, donations to the clergy, numerous masses, prayers, sermons, &c. &c.

The task of observing and of judging are, indeed, far more easy, when directed solely to these dark or bright spots of social life, and when those who dwell in the more level regions are altogether disregarded. I, on the contrary, consider the opinions, feelings, and actions of this enormous majority as completely decisive. If, then, we put aside criminals, we cannot doubt that the great bulk of the community have gained in morality, when we consider how much an intolerant theology, a shallow philosophy, and coarse manners have lost, and are daily losing, ground.

For myself, I see the development of the highest morality in the progress of intelligence and of legislation on such subjects as pauperism, slavery, corporations, monopolies, trade, manufactures, education, &c. What is thought and done on these matters gives to a people a solid and permanent existence, a consistent career: here lie the germs and the fruits of life and of death. If these most important changes be enlightened by the sun of truth and humanity, some reflected light will fall on the dark regions of penal law.

If we compare the mass and the worth of all that is sound in England, with the mass and the vileness of all that is unsound, the former appears in a state of much more vigorous and rapid increase than the latter. I trust, therefore, that the knell which some are so fond of ringing in our ears will be but a warning call to double solicitude and double zeal for improvement.

LETTER XLI.

Kensington Gardens—Travellers—Anecdotes of Burckhardt—Prussia—Personages of the Old Testament.

London, Friday, June 19th, 1835.

I BROKE off my last letter with the information that I should dine at Kensington on the 17th of June. The weather being favourable, I drove out early, and walked about in the garden, park, or wood—for any of these names may be applied to it. The large oaks, beeches, elms, horse and sweet chestnuts, are nevertheless its

chief ornament; and the sheep stroll about on the green turf as if they were in Paradise. There is a particular charm in the circumstance that the London Parks are not (like our Thiergarten) exclusively devoted to human beings, and quite without animals. Here, on the contrary, cows, horses, and sheep share the rights and enjoyments of their masters.

The company consisted of nine persons, among whom was Mr. Waddington, author of a work on Ecclesiastical History, who had been at Jerusalem; and Mr. Davison, who had visited India, Egypt, and Mexico, and intended to go to Timbuctoo, in order to proceed from that place either to the Cape or to Egypt. He entertains the hope of meeting with a civilized people in the centre of Africa. On my objecting that such a people must long since have advanced to the coast, he replied, that the ancient Egyptians were not a wandering people. But who knows from what distance they came before they reached the Mediterranean, and whether there is not more truth in the stories of the triumphs of Sesostris than we are generally disposed to believe? Among other things, Mr. Davison related two anecdotes of Burckhardt. As I do not know whether they have ever yet been published, I will repeat them.

Buckhardt, after having had an audience of the Pasha of Egypt, was called back, and the Pasha said to him—"You speak Arabic with too much purity to have learned it merely by conversation. You are a German, or an Englishman, and are travelling about to write a book; say at least in it, that you did not succeed in deceiving one native of the East. You have learned every thing very perfectly, but I discovered you by your feet; they are not those of an Arab, they have long been cramped in shoes."

On the road to Mecca provisions are often scarce, and Buckhardt contrived, very dexterously, to put some bread, which had been left, into his sleeve. Upon this a Turk said to him, "Now I have found you out! You are a Christian dog; you cannot trust to Providence for a single day, and therefore you have stolen the bread."

The accounts of the learned travellers entertained the company much; but at last, from modest listening, I nearly fell into useless talking; or, what is worse, into a quarrel.

One of the gentlemen present, a German into the bargain, had the boldness to affirm that "Everything that has been done in Prussia was done with English money!" I added—"And with Prussian blood." On which a short but rather keen discussion ensued.

We then fell upon the subject of Hebrew, and the same person maintained that all the personages of the Old Testament were *canaille*, and would be hanged if they were alive now. I said that I could not make out why Abraham, Job, or Solomon should be hanged. "To understand that, you must read the Bible." "I have read it, and perhaps more thoroughly than you,"—&c. &c.

LETTER XLII.

Buckingham House—Dinner at Mr. Murray's—Sir Walter Scott—Cobbett—Hunt—Demagogues—Lord Brougham—Mr. O'Connell—Prospects of England.

Monday, June 20th, 1835.

Yesterday, in company with Mr. D——, and several other persons, I visited Buckingham House, the king's new palace, in St. James's Park. Many objections might be made to the arrangement and proportions of the exterior, though its extent, and the colonnade, give it a certain air of grandeur.

But what shall I say of the interior? I never saw anything that might be pronounced a more total failure in every respect. It is said, indeed, that, spite of the immense sums which have been expended, the king is so ill-satisfied with the result, that he has no mind to take up his residence in it when the unhappy edifice shall be finished. This reluctance appears to me very natural. For my own part, I would not live in it rent-free; I should vex myself all the day long with the fantastic mixture of every style of architecture and decoration—the absence of all pure taste—the total want of feeling of measure and proportion. Even the great entrance-hall does not answer its object, because the principal staircase is on one side, and an immense space, scarcely lighted, seems to extend before you as you enter, to no purpose whatever. The grand apartments of the principal story are adorned with pillars; but what kind of pillars? Partly red, like raw sausages; partly blue, like starch—bad imitations of marbles which nobody ever saw, standing upon blocks which art rejects, to support nobody knows what. Then, in the next apartment (in defiance of keeping), no pillars, but pilasters; then pilasters without base or capital; and then with a capital, and with the base preposterously cut away.

In the same apartment, fragments of Egypt, Greece, Etruria, Rome, and the Middle Ages, all confusedly mingled together; the doors, windows, and chimney-pieces, in such incorrect proportions, that even the most unpractised eye must be offended. The spaces unskilfully divided, cut up, insulated; the doors sometimes in the centre, sometimes in the corner—nay, in one room there are three doors of different height and breadth; over the doors, in some apartments, bas-reliefs and sculptures, in which pygmies and Brobdignagians are huddled together—people from two to six feet high, living in admirable harmony. The smaller figures have such miserable spider legs and arms, that one would fancy they had been starved in a time of scarcity, and were come to the king's palace to fatten.

The picture gallery is highly spoken of. I allow it is large,

and the Gothic branches, depending from the half-vaulted ceilings, produce a certain effect. On the other hand, this imitation of Henry the Seventh's chapel is out of its place here, where the doors and windows belong to other times and other nations. These doors and windows, again, are in no proper proportion to the whole; the immensely high wall cannot be hung with paintings; and the light, coming from above on two sides, is false, insufficient, and, moreover, broken by the architectural decorations.

This palace, therefore, stands as a very dear proof that wealth, without knowledge of art and taste, cannot effect so much as moderate means, aided by knowledge and sound judgment. Of what use, then, is it? The best thing that could happen would be, if Aladdin, with his magic lamp, would come and transport it into an African desert. Then might travellers go in pilgrimage to it, and learned men at home might puzzle their brains over their descriptions and drawings; wondering in what a curious state of civilization and taste the unknown people, who built in such a style, must have lived! and how such deviations from all rule were to be explained! In the disputations that would arise, the people would be, if not justified, at least excused, and their liberal grants of money would be urged as extremely meritorious; but the king, and, above all, the architect, would be found guilty of a violation of all rules of art and of sense.

June 20th.

I dined with Mr. Murray, the eminent bookseller, from whom I have received great kindness and attention. I met Mrs. A——; the wife, the daughter and son of Mr. Charles Kemble, the latter of whom is thoroughly versed in the German language; his sister I have already mentioned as a distinguished singer; Mr. Milman, the reviewer of my 'Hohenstaufen,' &c. I sat between Mrs. Murray and another lady of agreeable manners. We found that her mother and mine were both of French extraction, and this formed a sort of ground of acquaintance. She entirely declined an English origin, and said, "I am a Scotchwoman." This pointed assertion of the national difference might have suggested many observations; but I was like Holberg's prating barber,—I fell again into the hundred-times repeated subject of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth. The transition from this to Sir Walter Scott was easy. I observed how much he was read in Germany, and that the pure morality of his works made them more congenial to our tastes than those of Byron, who, spite of his genius, has too much of the diabolical and the painful. From Scott's 'Abbot,' I said, we obtained a more correct knowledge of Mary's character, than from all the works of her *un*-historical advocates.

The conversation was going on, on this subject, when Mr. Murray, who probably had heard a part of it, rose, came to me, and said in a whisper, "Do you know who your neighbour is?"—"No."—"It is the daughter of Sir Walter Scott."

I can hardly describe to you what an impression this unexpected intelligence made upon me. It was not fear lest I had said anything disagreeable—not satisfaction at having said anything flattering; nothing of this kind passed through my mind. I scarcely know why, I dwelt on the one idea—Walter Scott is dead. I felt only the grief of the daughter at having lost such a father;—her sorrow at hearing him speak only in his works—of hearing from strangers from a distant land a faint echo of her own feelings. I am not ashamed to confess that I found it difficult to suppress an emotion which was entirely out of place in a cheerful company, and would probably have been the most distressing to her to whom I could the least have endured to give the slightest pain.

* * * *

Cobbett has followed his quasi-colleague, Hunt. Their opinions and modes of thinking, so far from acquiring any ascendancy, might be made to serve as a test to the House of Commons for regarding things from a point of view, which (in the usual course of civilization) self-raised men never reach, or to whom it never becomes natural. These men thought, lived, felt, like plebeians, and therefore found an echo in the people;—and it would have been more rational to investigate the causes of this, than to make it a subject of lamentation. Instead of wasting their time in fruitless abuse, people would then discover means of redressing real evils, of showing the groundlessness of false complaints, and of exhibiting absurdities in all their nakedness. If there be any individuals who think to turn the demagoguical heritage of these men to account, they will probably find themselves mistaken. The spirit of resistance to power, which grows with rank luxuriance on the rough uncultured soil of the people, has a native life, which, when trained and pruned, bears the noblest fruit,—such for instance, as heroic devotion to country. On the other hand, the revolutionary tendency which is nurtured in the closet, which borrows all its force from the annihilation of the positive, and thinks to lead nations captive with a few phrases, is shallow in its origin, presumptuous in its course, destructive in its results. Popular life is far too rich, varied, earnest, and vivid, to be long chained to the dry bones of a superficial system. Their sorrows and their joys are not to be learned from the political herbariums of system-mongers; and, when once it comes to blows, there are thoughts and feelings in motion than are not dreamt of in the philosophy of these political pedagogues.

Even the popular talent of so distinguished a mind as Brougham's wears itself out, because it sometimes trusts more to rhetoric than to truth. O'Connell, on the other hand, whenever his powers fail him, lays himself down on the soil of his injured country, and rises, like a new Antæus, to fresh struggles. This is the secret of his strength; and it extends as far as he has reason on his side. Hence, when he proposed the Repeal of the Union, his power

vanished with the justice of his cause, and he was driven out of the field by Mr. Spring Rice, backed by a large majority.

While many of our continental augurs (I cannot help returning to them) see nothing here but confusion, crime, and misery, I am much more inclined to apply Ariosto's celebrated stanzas on the frankness and loyalty of the old knightly times. Peel and Russell, who have mutually unseated each other in the lists, now unite in the new municipal reforms; and a majority of members combine to carry one of the most important measures, without mingling any passion or party rancour in these instructive and necessary discussions. Let the great prophet of Berlin then do the like, and spare his Jeremiades for another time. If he says, that time may come;—I reply, that he knows no more of the future than others who persist in applying a French measure to English affairs.

If he must prophesy, let him do it boldly for Prussia. Let him have the courage to condemn the spirit which has been our fosterer and our deliverer, which has given us a name and glory among the nations.

I write the same things for ever: but are not the same reflexions for ever forced upon me?

LETTER XLIII.

English Atmosphere—Greenwich Hospital—Thames—Decline and Fall of Nations — Regent's Park — Sunday — Children — Smuggling—Germany, France, and Russia—English Women—King's Pictures—Flemish School —Haymarket Theatre—Beggar's Opera—Comic Acting—Pit Scene.

Saturday, June 21st, 1835.

In the first place, my hearty good wishes for your journey to Swinemunde, which was fixed for to-day. I hope the weather may be as bright, or rather more so, than it is here; for even on the brightest day in England there is no clear view of the distance; —a veil of mist spreads itself over everything, so that only the nearest objects present a distinct and sharp outline. In Italy there is often a mist, but it is rose-coloured, or deep blue, and plays through the whole chromatic scale of colour. The English mist persists in its uniform gray. So it was yesterday.

Having done my work, I went with Mr. M——(who had already prepared another pleasure for me) and his wife and daughter, to Greenwich, which is six English miles from London; and yet in London, or a continuation of it; for the streets and houses extend thither in an unbroken line, and at night the numberless shops

were as brilliantly illuminated as in the centre of the capital. One always feels inclined to doubt the possibility of such an immense mass of human beings living together, and finding food within so small a space. London is certainly the Omphalos, or centre of the earth, no less than Delphi was that of the Hellenic nations. From no place do so many veins and arteries diverge in all directions; a continental system attempting to stop this circulation would be as absurd as (in our days) the old English navigation law, which claims a monopoly of life and motion.

The hospital, or rather palace, for old seamen, at Greenwich, was probably intended to surpass Louis XIV.'s Hotel des Invalides. It certainly does surpass St. James's Palace and Buckingham House. Its site on the Thames is happily chosen, to recall to its inmates the activity and excitement of their earlier years. Such an institution cannot, however, be justified by the laws of utility. A crown given to the invalid returning to his own home goes farther than a pound sterling in such a magnificent edifice. But the nation which erected it may say, 'If I like to spend my money thus, what is that to you?" *Exegi monumentum!*

The paintings of storms at sea and of naval battles, and the portraits and statues of naval heroes, are a record of gallant deeds, a school of history, and an incitement to heroic imitation, though they do not afford much proof of a high cultivation of art.

From my place at table, I looked down the Thames and saw the ships coming up with the tide and a fair wind, with all their sails set, like black and white eagles, while the dragon-tailed steamers hurried roaring past them. The company consisted of several gentlemen and ladies, and I should have felt myself quite at home, had I been able to follow all the rapid turns of conversation. A calculation was made, that in the same time in which an Italian speaks ten, a German twelve, and a Frenchman fifteen words, an Englishman utters, or rather does not utter, but slips out, with elisions and abbreviations, twenty-five. My health was drunk in a very friendly manner: and now I was to make a speech. I felt no want of matter, thoughts and feelings (for do I not send you a treatise every day?)—but in what language was I to speak? My English would have been quite too bad, and German would have been unintelligible to many of my hearers; so I contented myself with drinking 'Long life to Old England.' *Esto perpetua!*

I went home in the evening with Mr. M——, and we stayed talking till midnight, partly about the past events and future prospects of England, partly about the state of civilization and the character of Germany and Prussia.

I should not have a drop of historical blood in my veins, if I did not sympathize in the melancholy with which many look back into past times; if I could not understand the feeling which urges so many a noble mind to try to retain unchanged the institutions

which supported the power, and increased the glory of England. But flowers fade, trees decay, buildings fall into ruins, and nations disappear from the earth. Where, then, lies the sustaining and revivifying power? Not in the unchanging, the uniform, the motionless; these are rather the signs and characteristics of death,—nay, even death is but another name for change and re-creation: and thus, for the continuance of vegetable life, we require fresh seed; for the maintenance of the strongest edifice, constant inspection and repair.

The individual man must die; but he dies and leaves his blessing to his posterity. He knows that they will not be like him in everything; far from regretting this, he wishes that they should avoid his faults and his weaknesses.

But all this is trivial. I meant to say something very different. I deny the necessity for the utter decay and fall of nations. It is said, nations consist of individuals—all individuals must die—therefore all nations must die.—The analogy and the inference are false. Because all plants die, does it follow that all the genera and species must die out? Does not a power of eternal regeneration lie in the great whole?

No nation has ever fallen but by its own vices and crimes; and the belief in an eternal existence—the duty of maintaining that existence—is the first article of a national creed, the first rule of a national law.—*Nil desperandum.* This firm persuasion rests not on selfish presumption; on the contrary, it is inseparably connected with the recognition of the existence and the permanence of others, and the utter rejection of all lust of conquest and of overthrow. According to the common notions, Athens was doomed to death when the Persian, and Rome when the Gaul, were within her walls; Prussia, in the Seven Years' War and the war with France; Spain and Russia, when Napoleon entered Madrid and Moscow. But it was not so.

There indisputably do exist incurable causes of ruin. But even then the laurel may overshadow the grave, as well as the cypress—witness Carthage and Numantia.

Our times are more prolific in the means of prolonging national life than any preceding ones. First, in material means,—in the greater knowledge and improvement of the earth and its productions, in more active intercourse and more liberal mutual assistance. Secondly, financial and military,—in the more equal division of all things, and the more equitable claims on property and life. Thirdly, legal and political,—in the abolition of slavery, villenage, and the exclusive tyranny of any individual or any class. Fourthly, moral and religious,—in the stream of eternal life, which may and should pervade, sanctify, and bless, every relation of human life from the fount of genuine Christianity. Therefore, again I say—*Nil desperandum!*

Monday, June 26, 1835.

Yesterday I wandered into the Regent's Park, and saw how the people amuse themselves on a Sunday. Of eating, drinking, singing, music, dancing, not a trace—they walk up and down, and lie on the grass, which is now growing sear and yellow. A number of pretty children; but not in those joyous groups of graceful attitudes with which the little Parisians so often delighted themselves and me in the Tuileries.

I dined with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. My little essay on our municipal system gave occasion to a discussion on this subject, and the conversation on finance, taxation, free trade, commercial unions, &c., which lasted the whole time of dinner, was extremely interesting. I acquire some information in every society, and I am often delighted to have an opportunity of representing our fatherland in a light as true as it is favourable.

Firmly as I am resolved not to report one word of the private conversations of individuals, which could be in the slightest degree disagreeable to them, I trust it is no gossip, *à la* ——, to repeat a *contraband* story or two from an authentic source.

A few days ago a lady sent ten guineas, and a merchant 3000*l.*, to the Exchequer, with the acknowledgment that they had formerly defrauded the revenue to that amount.

The Custom-House officers received information that a great number of Swiss watches were smuggled in certain bales of goods, on board a certain ship. All search, however, was fruitless; at length it was discovered that holes were cut in the thick packing cases, and the watches hidden in them.

A ship discharged slate as ballast; in the slate Florentine mosaic was most dexterously concealed.

People are right, in one view, to look upon smugglers as criminals; in another, they are the great promoters of moderate duties and free trade. On this ground, they deserve more praise than many German liberals, who, in spite, of all their pretended superiority, cling to old prejudices and petty interests, deny the advantages of the German commercial league, and give the lie to the very opinions they trumpet forth.

Mr. —— told me that Monsieur —— is just arrived from Germany, and gave him a great deal of information about that country. According to him, not only has the old hatred to France entirely disappeared, but the Germans now look to her for succour and for wisdom. Of the boasted German nationality he could not discover a trace—and so forth.

It is true, and no less honourable than true, that blind, passionate, national antipathy has been softened by the blessed influence of peace; but if France were to show any desire to enter on her old career, the same aggressions would excite the same resistance. Mr. ——— has, perhaps, fallen in with some persons who, like B—— and H——, regard patriotism as a prejudice; and in bad

French describe to him Germany—with which they have nothing in common—as a ripe plum, which the French may shake down and eat at their pleasure. What would these magnanimous cosmopolitans say, if one were to try to prove to them, from the gossip of a few Carlists, that France was longing for Cossacks and Bashkirs to deliver her from a state of anarchy, and restore the reign of law and order? Has not history, then, sufficiently proved that a foreign people can no more confer freedom, than a dastardly people can inspire courage, or a licentious purity? Centuries of experience ought to teach the French, that, out of their own country, they have never succeeded in permanently attaching hearts or heads; and that their powers and exertions, when applied at home, have brought forth far more lasting and honourable results. Whenever the moment shall arrive in which they will consent to relinquish the persuasion that they are the predestined guardians and governors of other nations, full justice will be done to their admirable qualities; and when they cease to excite anxiety and dread, they will cease to inspire secret aversion. Germany and central Europe have equal reason to reject the selfish philanthropy of France, and the autocratic domination of Russia.

"Frederic II. of Prussia," writes Lord Hyndford, in the year 1741, "is a madman, who will ruin himself in a few months. He does not understand that he is nothing, unless by attaching himself to others; he forgets that the House of Brandenburg can play but a second or a third part, and he madly insists on unkertaking a first."

So for centuries thought, spoke, and acted the northern and western neighbours of Germany. Germany was the field of blood on which Sweden and France haughtily cast losts for the spoil of the greatest of empires; and, after Sweden sank into insignificance, the Russian and French diplomatists seated themselves on the imperial throne at Rastadt, and played roulette for electorates, archbishoprics, bishoprics, dukedoms, and principalities. Germany deserved her chastisement for having kissed the dust of the feet of her southern prefects and her northern satraps.

If the French could so far master their vanity and their lust of conquest as to regard all territorial extension of their power as injurious, they would immediately conciliate all minds, and might regard Germany as their rampart against the aggressions of Russia. But how is it possible that Prussia, for example, can come to any cordial understanding with them so long as they daily maintain that the left bank of the Rhine is their right and their inheritance? A thousand years are in the sight of these gods no more than a day; and love of country (which they justly boast in themselves) they treat as a folly which must give way before the power of a few phrases about natural boundaries. No neighbouring nation has the least to dread from the Germans as an *aggressive* people. It never does, and never can, occur to them to make conquest of

Russian or French territory. The continuance of oppressive burthens, the waste of means and energies, attendant on war establishments and standing armies, is therefore mainly attributable to France and Russia. They, secure in their position, might without the slightest danger set an example which the rest of Europe would gladly follow. Such an example would afford the best proof of honest and pacific intentions.

The old talk about natural friends and natural enemies generally refers to petty considerations, and implies vulgar opinions and sentiments. A loftier wisdom and a truer charity teach that *all* nations are natural friends; that all have reason to rejoice in every step in the career of human improvement, on whatever soil it be set. But the old formulas have been succeeded by new ones,—for every age has its political partialities and prejudices, according to which every thing is judged, and which are regarded as unerring pole-stars. Now we have barriers of rank, equality, constitutions, absolutism, sovereignty of the people, &c. In every one of these ideas lies an element of what is true and venerable; but as soon as we regard what is individual and conditional as absolute,—as soon as we magnify the limited beyond its actual size, —all truth and beauty vanish, and we see only caricature and deformity.

Were it not for the omnipotence of phrases and of prejudices, how, for example, were it possible that people could believe that the question of legitimacy—that is of legal succession—involves the whole weal or wo of Spain? Undoubtedly a firmly settled law of succession is one of the greatest advantages of the monarchical form of government; and he who excites or rather forces doubt upon it, throws a firebrand into a house, already tottering beneath the weight of time and decay. But these doubts may be ended nobly: Constantine and Nicholas will have a brilliant page in history, when compared with Pedro and Miguel, Carlos and Isabella. The morbid matter in Spain is of extremely various kinds; and behind the names which are used as war cries, there lie hid, on either side, matters of a very different nature, and contradictions too monstrous for the intervention or non-intervention of foreigners,—that algebraic equation of politics,—easily to solve, or to reduce to equal and pure quantities.

European politics, from the fortunate absence of a direction forced upon them by necessity, have fallen into the delays and entanglements of diplomacy. And yet, if we put aside the interests of the mere moment, there is but one grand task to achieve: namely, to take care that France and Russia neither come to the shock of open hostility, nor unite for the subjugation of Europe. This is the mighty, and almost superhuman task of central Europe. If, on the contrary, any of the other nations,—Prussia, for example, —subjected herself, from fear or from favour, to a foreign policy, whether French or Russian, and suffered herself thus to be towed

in their wake, she would act a part unworthy of herself; a part which, so long ago as 1741, Frederic II. disdained. The true and enlarged policy of France and of Russia—the best interests of both countries—demand that the centre of Europe should be powerful. But if this grand point were abandoned, it does not follow that Germany must make such an avowal of weakness as to cling for protection to either of these giants; she must seek her safety from herself. If central Germany, Austria, and Prussia, are really united, they may resist all aggressions; they have more to fear from their own disunion than from the union of their enemies. And even were this not the case, they have England on their side. England! I hear some exclaim with scorn, England! who consumes her strength in her own wretched broils! who is so fallen from her ancient glory, that she regards the flatteries of French diplomatists and journalists as her highest reward! who outdoes France herself in the extravagance of her revolutionary opinions!.shall we trust to England for succour or for safety? What folly! Once, indeed, Europe held fast to this anchor; but now, thanks to French assistance and her own levity, the anchor is broken, and the cables so worn, that they would not moor a fishing-boat securely.

I by no means undertake to defend the policy of England on all points during late years; but as little can I defend that of her accusers. States, like man and wife, sometimes get into ill-humour with each other, and vent it in mutual annoyances.

But those who are bound by a common interest, and common sympathies, should not be separated by transient disgusts. And if such were to arise between Prussia and England, a real statesman would not, like an angry woman, push things to extremity, but endeavour to restore and to consolidate the natural relations by wisdom and moderation.

If, which Heaven avert! Russia were ever to march an army to the Oder, or France to the Rhine, the British lion would rouse himself from his lair, and show a strength which those little dream of who think him decrepit and effete, because he did not choose to rise up, and to come and go, at their bidding!

You cry—a political letter, a tiresome letter! and I admit the charge, the more readily as I have fallen involuntarily into the course, when I should have been much better and more agreeably employed in speaking of the daughter of ———— my neighbour at table. But I can sooner find courage to attack the policy of powerful courts, than to speak out my admiration of those who are the most worthy and the least covetous of such eulogies. I therefore confine myself to this general declaration, that English men and women please me more, the more I know them.

Wednesday, June 23rd.

The day before yesterday I dined with Mr. T., yesterday I saw the King's collection of Pictures, and went to the Haymarket

Theatre. This, omitting reading, writing, and visiting, is the outline of my history. As to the first family, which is as refined as it is simple, I must repeat my former praises, if you desire a commentary on my table of contents. As to the pictures, Waagen, who is master of the subject, will at some future time make his report. It consists, almost entirely, of Flemish masters, and here are specimens of their peculiar merits, in three different styles ;— landscape, comic scenes, and portraits, Berghem, Vandervelde, Cuyp, Potter, Mieris, Teniers, Ostade, Vandyk, and Rubens, are the most remarkable; several less celebrated masters deserve the place they hold among them. But the historical pictures of the Flemings are often tasteless and exaggerated; their allegories cold; and their Holy Families, portraits of their own families, or at any rate of mere human beings. The grave Dutchmen succeed best in drollery and caricature; the lively and passionate Italians, in calm and serious refinement. The artistical character of each is thus in perfect contrast to their ordinary nature; perhaps this very contrast forms the necessary complement of their being. I see nothing like this in the English. Their music, sculpture, and painting are now, as formerly, very inferior to those of any of the nations which have acted as leaders of the human race: yet their Shakspeare rules supreme over every part of the world of grief or joy. He is the universal monarch of modern poetry, compared with whom other poets are but lords of subordinate and bounded territories.

At the Haymarket I saw the 'Beggars' Opera,' which has been so long celebrated and admired. The simple airs have indeed quite as much originalty as most of the modern music that is now so much preferred; it has considerable vivacity and characteristic conception; but the inventive genius is not always in perfect harmony with the sentiments; probably because most of the melodies were old ones, and derived great part of their effect from their antiquity. The 'Beggars' Opera' is a pleasing production, but cannot be classed among the imperishable models and masterpieces of art. I have more objections to make against the story on seeing it acted than when I read it. In particular, Captain Macheath is too nearly allied to a vulgar vagabond, and has too little force or originalty, to justify the dispute of the beauties for his favour. All the coarser and more overstrained characters were the best supported. The sentimental parts were as insipid as an English dish of vegetables. The singing was very much applauded, and certainly was better than that in most French vaudevilles. This is a very slender merit, and yet I cannot conscientiously give it greater praise.

As to the second piece, 'Teazing made Easy,' I must repeat my former opinion about the principal parts. Certain favourite actors, Buckstone, for example, seem to use the same action in representing very different characters. A particular manner of speaking and moving, particular gestures and noises, are resorted to so con-

stantly by some comic actors (as in Germany), that they rather represent a class than create one of those individual pictures which we can single out from all the world. On the whole, the representation was lively and entertaining: the shrewish Mrs. Teazer (Miss Daly,) and Mrs. Humby (who was the Lucy of the Beggars' Opera) as Molly Mixem, were very amusing. The mixture of tenderness and anger in the former piece; of gentility and vulgarity, of submissiveness and impatience, in the latter, was admirably given by this lady, and not over-coloured. A place in the pit of the Haymarket costs a thaler: this price, combined with other inconveniences, would frighten even those in easy circumstances in our country; but here people have more money.

Behind me sat a lady, for such I thought the thaler entitled her to be considered. At the end of the first piece she opened a basket, took out a bottle and a glass, and offered her right-hand neighbour a bumper. The contents of it being too strong for him, and making him cough and wink his eyes, her left hand neighbour called out, "Go on, go on!" But his exhortation was of no avail; whereupon this Hebe of the Haymarket drank off the rejected liquid fire with a serene and cheerful countenance!

This dramatic interlude did not seem to excite my astonishment only, but that of the Englishmen around. Probably, therefore, it is fair to regard it is an exceptional or abnormal incident, such as are to be found in all countries.

LETTER XLIV.

English Popular Eloquence—Specimens of Speeches to Constituents—Pledges—Absence of Philosophical Principles—Debates on Paper Currency and Ballot.

London, June 24th, 1835.

The tone and manner which the Members of the House of Commons adopt when speaking in their places is in many respects different to that with which they address their constituents. This difference would be absolutely condemned by over-rigid critics, who denounce popular eloquence as altogether mischievous. It certainly is not without its abuses; but still less is it entirely devoid of utility. Occasional extravagances are immediately corrected by men of different opinions. Neither is it so easy to decide as to the expediency of the pledges which are demanded and given. On the one hand, it is both natural and just that the constituents should desire to know how the candidate intends to vote on certain leading questions: on the other, unconditional promises

on every point would annihilate the true character of a representative system, bring back the miseries of the French *Cahiers* of 1789, and would, in fact, render all deliberation, and all rectification of errors and prejudices, impossible. Such a constant despotism of the constituents would render the members mere machines.

As I cannot take for granted that you are acquainted with the speeches made at elections, I will send you a short abridgment of those of a few remarkable men.

[Here follows a very abridged report of speeches made at their several elections by the following members:—Mr. Abercromby, Dr. Bowring, Mr. Bulwer, Sir F. Burdett, Sir J. Campbell, Messrs. Cobbett, Grattan, Hume, Jervis, Sir Robert Inglis, Sir E. Knatchbull, Lord Mahon, Lord Morpeth, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. Roebuck, Lord John Russell, Lord Sandon, and Lord Stormont. These it has been thought advisable to omit.]

But enough of these specimens. You find in them the absurdities of certain extreme opinions; yet it is impossible not to discover some grounds and occasions even for these extremes,—not to perceive that a portion of truth lies at the bottom of them. And, after all, it is better that there should be a representative of every conceivable way of thinking in Parliament, than that an overbearing power should compress all into one form, and tinge all with one colour. No individual ventures downright to recommend either persistency, or change, in the abstract; all concede the necessity and the possibility of improvement. But the uncertainty, the doubt, the ambiguity, lies here; that every one attaches a different idea to this word improvement; every one would take his stand on a different step of the ladder. There is more danger to be apprehended from this confusion of ideas in the mass of the people, than from the glaring errors of individuals: at least, the excessive dread which the English have of anything that looks like a theoretical system, or an absolute philosophical principle, will render it, perhaps, more difficult to devise measures and remedies applicable and acceptable to all.

The bare abstract philosophy of the French and Germans leads, it is true, to no definite end; but without science, the heaping together a quantity of detached facts and precedents serves only to increase the confusion and darkness. What is there that might not be proved in this manner, in an old and complex state of society?

But if it is not to be expected that any scientific school should arise to guide the unsteady current of opinions; if it is least of all to be desired that a narrow utilitarianism should be generally received; yet those are greatly mistaken who predict that the exasperated parties stand on the brink of a fearful revolution. As soon as they come to the discussion and decision of serious questions (with the almost single exception of church affairs, where things are smuggled into the territory of conscience and divine ordnances); as soon, I repeat, as they come to great practical ques-

tions, the majority feel the necessity of moderation and concession. They must see that a victory won on insecure ground can give to the ministry, whose rise is built upon it, no pledge for its durability. Hence the Whigs voted with the Tories against the repeal of the malt tax; and hence the important questions on the currency and the ballot were decided by a large majority. Lord J. Russell and Sir Robert Peel, with their respective adherents, far from being actuated by blind party rage, acted in concert.

Both these subjects were expounded in the House of Commons with acuteness and solidity; especially by Mr. Poulett Thomson and Lord J. Russell. On both occasions I should have voted with the majority.

The idea of creating wealth by the manufacture of bank-notes,—creating it, moreover, for the sole advantage of one class, the agriculturists,—is a most preposterous one, and, in the end, could serve only to favour the debtor, to the injury of the creditor. It is only when some generous ruler surrenders a large sum, free of interest, that the receivers, those manufacturers of wealth, can conveniently divide the interest, as the profits of a bank; they may then speak very favourably of the benefits of an increased paper-currency, from their own experience.

The evils and vices of the English, as of every elective system, are not attempted to be concealed in recent discussions. It is only asserted that, in the present posture of things, no adequate remedy could be found in secrecy of suffrage; and that it would be right to wait the result of longer experience, before applying entirely new principles. If all the tenants of England were proprietors, it is not to be doubted that their votes at elections would be far more independent than they are. But whether the destruction of the aristocratical influence of great landed proprietors would be injurious, and the increase of democratical interference beneficial, is a question on which opinions and views are naturally very much divided.

LETTER XLV.

National Gallery—English Painters—Poussin, Claude, Sebastian del Piombo, Correggio—Gloomy Predictions—Weather—Blue Devils—English Travelling—Coleridge's Table Talk—Canning—The French Character—English Philosophy—Cologne.

June 25th, 1835.

My time here is so limited, and every day so fully occupied, that I am not able to see many most interesting things. Thus, I went yesterday, for the first time, to the National Gallery. It is inferior to many others in the number of pictures, but it has some of

the highest class. Among these I cannot reckon, according to my feelings, the historical and scripture paintings of West and Reynolds, nor the landscapes of some English painters. A series of paintings by Hogarth confirms what we already know from the engravings, of the peculiar and witty conceptions of this master. Some of Wilkie's pictures may be placed in the same rank as the best pieces of familiar life of the Flemish school. We find Rembrandt here in a new character, namely, as a finished painter of small figures: and there is a Bacchanalian scene by Nicolas Poussin which I prefer to anything I have seen of that master.

The landscapes of Gaspar Poussin afford fresh proof of the vigour of his poetical view of nature, although his deep shadows conceal many parts worthy of being seen. Some sea-pieces, with buildings and ships, by Claude Lorraine, are perfect beyond description. What lights, what clouds and waves, what an etherial sky and atmosphere! It is only in her loveliest days that Nature presents herself under such an aspect; nor has any artist but Claude known how to seize and immortalize this evanescent beauty. The longer one looks at these pictures, the more striking are their truth and beauty. They are among the most finished productions I have ever seen by this artist.

The raising of Lazarus, designed by Michael Angelo, and painted by Sebastian del Piombo, is of the same size as Raphael's Transfiguration, and a worthy companion to it. It is a complete dramatic poem; and portrays every emotion which this miracle of the Saviour would naturally call forth in the mind of man,—doubt and faith, hope and thankfulness, wonder and fear. Each individual bears the stamp of his distinct character, impossible to mistake; and yet, spite of such infinite variety, a perfect unity of design and effect is preserved. And how perfect is the drawing and execution!—a fresh proof of the greatness of Michael Angelo and of his pupil.

Two pictures by Correggio exhibited this master to me in a new and unknown perfection. The first, Venus, Cupid, and Mercury, has undoubtedly (as a near inspection shows) suffered in one part, but, seen from a proper distance, it produces an effect almost incredible. It is not a mere painting; it is rounded like a statue: nay, it is not sculpture,—it is nature herself in her fullest truth and beauty. The eyes appear to see; the extended arm may be grasped; the knee is really bent; the light falls full or broken on the living body; the bosom heaves with the breath. Pygmalion's miracle is here accomplished! What scandalous declamation, some Puritans will exclaim, about an abominable naked woman! Well, then, let us go on to the second, still more marvellous picture; for that Correggio understood how to paint flesh, how to manage chiaro'scuro, how to relieve and foreshorten the limbs, is well known and acknowledged. In this picture we see Christ crowned with thorns; near him is the fainting Mary, supported by

her friend; on the right, a soldier; on the left, Pilate looking out from his house. What majesty in the Christ! Godlike power and human suffering, consolation in sorrow, confidence in the midst of pain, devotion and resignation,—all these problems and mysteries in the nature of the Redeemer are revealed and confirmed by art to the apprehensive eye. And the Mary! The last groan still trembles on her pale lips; her closed eye speaks a language more expressive, more touching, more penetrating, than a thousand open ones. It is only by degrees that one can turn from this sentiment, which carries one beyond all outward things, to the consideration and estimation of the individual parts, and the admiration of the technical perfections. The body of Christ is neither soft nor hard,—equally removed from both these faults. And the singularly beautiful hands! the crown of thorns, so finely painted, that this alone would secure admiration to any other artist! Whoever thinks that Correggio could not represent corporeal beauty without affectation, that he never understood the spiritual, nor got beyond a cold brilliancy of the surface, should see these pictures, and convince himself that Correggio might, as compared with the painter of the Farnesina as well as of the Transfiguration, justly say, "Anch' io son pittore!" The Christ, the Mary, and the conception and treatment of the subject, may justly be reckoned among the masterpieces of any artist or of any school. How much I wish that Tieck, the most enlightened judge and enthusiastic admirer of Correggio, had seen these pictures! He would not only have found his assertions confirmed, but his most daring and secret anticipations fulfilled. If you think that my old predilection for this master (see my 'Italian Letters' and the 'Wilhelmine') breaks out again here, wait till Waagen, who is of the same opinion about this miraculous work, can give his account, and confirm my opinion.

I dined yesterday with Mr. L. He is a Tory, thinks the prospects of England more gloomy than I do, and fears an approaching revolution. On a difference of opinion as to the proper meaning of this word, I proposed to adopt,—England is in a state of revolution when the 3 per cent. stocks stand at 30. He promised to pay me the expenses of another journey to England, if I find the funds higher at my return. This proposal was, of course, not accepted. Complaints, I added, often pass in our days for proofs of sagacity or of benevolence; contentment, for stupidity and indifference. An Englishman, who had returned six months ago, after an absence of many years, remarked, that he sought everywhere for the distress, poverty, and disorder, which are so much complained of, but had not yet been able to find them. So it is with me.

Friday, June 26th.

Had I a day of rest yesterday or not? I was at work and in motion the whole day; and the only difference was, that, for the first time for many weeks, I did not spend the evening in com-

pany, but went to bed at ten o'clock. Body and soul seemed to long all the more for this, certainly rather trifling, refreshment, because, for the last three days, storm, rain, and cold have prevailed to such a degree, that the warmest winter-clothing was not too warm, and in any room without a fire the breath was visible.

To-day Nature seems to repose. This unseasonable season has sometimes thrown me into fits of unseasonable melancholy ; I have thought how ill it must fare with you in Swinemunde with such weather. Your object appeared to me defeated there, and mine no less here; for with all my zeal and industry I can no more exhaust the treasures of the past and the present, than I can drink up the sea. My spoils no longer appeared to me so rich; on the contrary, I was ashamed of my project of laying anything so superficial and insignificant before the world. In about forty days I must leave London, and, independent of all literary avocations, I want more time than that merely to see what is in every guide-book. Nor is the time allotted for seeing the face of the country less insufficient, and whatever I add to the one must be taken from the other. A longer absence from home is forbidden by the wish of a speedy return, the exhaustion of pecuniary resources, the duty of giving lectures, and the expediency of printing my remarks on the present state of England as soon as possible. Every day gives birth to new events and new circumstances, and it is quite impossible to find anything final and conclusive in these regions. Then I thought of the two sides of English travelling, "outside and inside," and each, for different but sufficient reasons, pleased me as little as the other.

Such was yesterday ;—to-day the sun shines, and though I shall not rashly tune my lyre for a hymn, I shall adhere to my intentions, and meditate upon the improvements and accommodations of travelling in Great Britain.

In the year 1678 an agreement was entered into, that a coach with six horses should perform the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, a distance of forty-four English miles, in three days! In the middle of the last century the mail-coach was a day and a half in performing the same journey. Now, it is done in four and a half or five hours ! Up to the year 1763 one post-coach went once a month from London to Edinburgh, and was twelve or fourteen days on the road; now, there are a vast number of coaches and steam-boats, the former of which perform the journey in from forty-five to forty-eight hours.*

When we consider how alterations of this kind gradually extend over the whole world, and what an incalculable mass of labour and time is thus spared; when we think how this fact is connected with innumerable others equally advantageous, we are justified in regarding these advances as highly important, and can hardly wish back again the good old times, at least as far as travelling is con-

* M'Culloch's 'Dictionary,'—Roads.

cerned. But if this point is conceded to me, I can go on from it to other points, such as the progress which must ensue upon more extended and yet closer intercourse, and more easy communication; and so, from improved roads, carriages, inns, eating, drinking, &c., to the increased number of travellers, the more varied objects, the physical advantages, the intellectual cultivation, &c., &c.

Saturday, June 27th, 1835.

Appearances are deceitful: yesterday, after a sunny morning, came cold, fog, storm, and rain, worse than for the last three days, —such weather, in short, as I never saw at this season. All plans for visits, parties, theatre, &c., lost their attraction: I was thankful to wade to the State-Paper Office, and then to the Athenæum.

At the latter place I took up Coleridge's 'Table Talk,' and was delighted with the varied, interesting remarks of this extraordinary man. There is an annoying, vexatious way of lying in wait for and seizing every word a man speaks; but the spoken word of a man of genius is not less precious than the written, and it is a loss when the former is not treasured up by attentive hearers, and transformed into the latter. I will give a sentence or two of very different sorts, as a specimen, accompanied perhaps with marginal glosses.

"Canning kindled such a flashing fire around the government, that one could not see the ruins of the edifice through it."

Very true. He played the part of an advocate as a means of warding off attacks. Very different from this part is that of the historian, who has to divide his sympathy equally between opposite sides, and represent each with equal interest. The business of the statesman is action, and his prime qualities are calm, undisturbed reflection, and acute perception of existing wants. Canning understood this well as soon as he thought the right moment for action was come.

"The French are like grains of gunpowder; each one, separately, is dirty and despicable, but put them together and they become formidable."

The copy at the Athenæum was marked with great *nota benes* of English approbation. Yet the latter half of the sentence alone is true, and the well-known expression of "swinish multitude" is just as applicable to certain classes in England. And if we speak of the French who are above the common herd, it is far nearer the truth to say that they are generally brilliant and amiable. I should rather liken them to quicksilver, which, on a level surface, moves in every direction in a thousand sparkling and apparently independent globules. As soon, however, as the level line of the surface is from any cause in the least degree altered (for example, by foreign hostility), the severed drops rush together, and he who fancied he could guide or govern them is suddenly borne down by their resistless weight. For this reason it is the grand policy of foreign powers to prevent such unions, or, at any rate, not to give occasion to them.

"Every man is either a born Aristotelian, or a born Platonist. I do not believe that the one can ever be transformed into the other."

This contrast is certainly more frequent than is generally thought, and betrays itself on innumerable points, even in those who have never attained to any philosophical consciousness of the difference; but I deny that it is so absolute that no union of the two can be imagined, or ought to be attempted. The mere superficial mixture and patchwork, which is the method of the greater number of Eclectics, is indeed one that leads to error, or to nothing; but it cannot be true that all the powers and operations of the mind should tend to nothing else but a hostile contraposition and mutual confutation. It were far more appropriate to compare Aristotle and Plato to body and soul, the independence and the union of which together constitute life, and the separation would be death and annihilation if we had not the hope of a resurrection. My attention has been strongly directed towards the colossal greatness of these two men, who, though dead for centuries, yet live, by an article in the 'London Review,' in which a shallow utilitarianism arrogantly seats itself on the throne of philosophy, and throws around itself a royal mantle of patchwork. No turning of phrases, or shuffling of words, are sufficient to conceal the original barrenness of this system, or to entitle its professors to intrude even into the vestibules of philosophy. The English sentimental philosophy was defective on the side of philosophical perception. But what a nobleness of thought does that display in comparison with this system, which, spite of all attempts to deny it, is at last merely selfish! If, in the former, thought and feeling were not accurately balanced, in the latter, thought and feeling are equally dried up under the domination of self-will and caprice; and this philosophical hay is proffered as the last result of all ages, in comparison with which the flower-gardens of Plato and the forests of Aristotle were unmeaning child's-play and pedantic obscurity. If this philosophy were ever to take root in the heads and hearts of the great body of Englishmen, I should think that a more dangerous revolution than any which is dreaded.

I will give you the marginal note to the fourth passage from the 'Table Talk.' The good city of Cologne has for many years been so loud in its own praises, or has been the object of so much poetical or unpoetical flattery, that it will be horrified when it learns what feelings took possession of Coleridge within its walls. He writes as follows:—

> "In Coln, that town of monks and bones,
> And pavements fang'd with murderous stones,
> And rags, and hags, and hideous wenches,
> I counted two and seventy stenches,
> All well defined and genuine stinks!
> Ye Nymphs that reign o'er sewers and sinks,
> The river Rhine, it is well known,
> Doth wash the city of Cologne;
> But tell me, Nymphs, what power divine
> Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine?"

LETTER XLVI.

Visits — Bentham — Originality — Doctrine of Utility—Locke—Haymarket Theatre—'The Queen's Champion'—Sheridan's Rivals—Mr. K.—Hamlet.

Sunday, June 28th, 1835.

I CAN very well imagine the situation of a foreigner who lives here entirely without society, and is consequently miserable and out of humour with the country; but I certainly cannot sympathize in it: on the contrary, it is impossible for me to avail myself of all the kind and polite invitations I receive. Yesterday evening I was invited by both B—— and D——; to-day by K—— and M——; to-morrow by Lord E—— and Earl M——. Instructive and agreeable as this variety is, both body and mind want repose; and from time to time it is a duty and a necessity to comply with their demands. Yesterday, after I had travelled from Petersburg to Paris and Madrid in the State-Paper Office, I went to call on Mrs. A——, and presented to her a copy of my letters from Paris in the year 1830.

The conversation fell on Bentham and Locke. The former was of opinion that the study of ancient philosophy was injurious to originality, and that the world stood in need of something new and different. I think, on the contrary, that he whose originality, so far from being destroyed, is not invigorated, by the near contemplation of great spirits, has in reality none, or so little that it is not worth talking about. There is no greater felicity for a mind, whether more or less vigorous, than to come in contact with superior natures. It is not placing myself far from the light of others that will make me a sun. The real advantage of a philosophical life does not consist in the gratification of vanity and self-complacency, but in a constant and intimate intercourse with the foremost spirits of all ages, and in the appropriation of the revelations of their genius; while in the course of ordinary life we are often condemned to the society of the dull and empty. When I was in Rome I heard some beardless German artists say, they did not go into the Stanze and the Sistine Chapel for fear of injuring their originality; and certainly they produced something so new and original that it seemed to have been painted before art had been cultivated at all.

Servile imitation is never of any value, and every age calls for new manifestations of thought and genius: this novelty, however, must not be a rude beginning, or a mere germ; but the blossoms which burst forth in their own peculiar freshness and beauty from the branches of the ancient stem of all intellectual culture. Often what is enounced as new is only the forgotten and unknown, or the old, turned and altered—for the worse. The doctrine of utility, as Thrasymachus expounds it, in Plato's Republic, has a very different force and freshness from the modern growth of shops and exchanges. Epicurus's system is indeed rather an abortive

philosophical essay than a philosophy; yet, viewed in connexion with the whole current of philosophical history, it is intelligible and natural: now, presumptuously put forth under the name of philosophy, it appears as absurd as pernicious. No doubt, by a perversion of language, good and useful, philanthropical and self-loving, &c. &c., may be used as synonymous. But these are generally sophistical arts, and a smuggling of evil under false colours. And to what end should the chaos of language be brought back, after the philosophical labours of thousands of years have established and defined the signification and value of words? He who does not know and understand the results of these labours, lives to the end of his life, without penetrating within the circle of philosophy. When Plato taught that, in each individual virtue the sum of all virtues lies hidden, this endeavour to synonymize and equalize was part of his office as a philosopher. He knew well how the particular stands related to the general, and blends with it. But when, in our days, an Englishman maintains that it is absurd to make any distinction between the understanding and the reason, his apprehension and knowledge may fit him to appear with credit in the halls or marts of trade, but certainly not in the courts of philosophy.

I sometimes hear people complain here, that Locke is not honoured as he deserves in Germany—a reproach which appears to me unfounded. We do justice to his character and his principles; but we certainly do not revere him as the father of all modern philosophy. Even the title of his book, 'On the Human Understanding,' shows that he apprehended and expounded only one side of philosophy. Of this side, however, Aristotle is a much more powerful snd comprehensive expositor; and Leibnitz and Spinoza will ever occupy a higher place as profound thinkers.

Did not the English themselves feel the unsatisfactoriness of Locke's philosophy? And did they not find something more living in the doctrine of immediate sensation; or seek, like Hume, to scepticize away the whole fabric of empiricism, which some deemed so immutably established? Doubt is certainly not at an end, for it is nothing positive; but the eighteenth century affords fearful proofs whither mere empiricism—which first questions, and then denies, soul, spirit, revelation, religion, and deity—may lead. The Germans have undertaken and executed (not indeed without awkwardness, pedantry, and absurdity) the vast labour of exploring once more the whole region of philosophical tendencies and systems, and of placing each in a new light, and giving it a new existence. The variety of these, and the fact that contradictions mutually annihilate each other at a lower point, to be re-produced in greater light and truth at a higher, is not a defect and a reproach, but an excellence, and a proof of the progressive nature of science. The philosophical structure founded by Locke cannot be regarded as the only habitable one; and still less does Bentham's doctrine afford all that the world requires for its re-

generation in the year of our Lord 1835. But I think I write the same things ten times over. I will therefore break off, and tell you that yesterday evening, after long deliberation on the choice of amusements, I went to the Haymarket Theatre, to see Sheridan's 'Rivals,' which I had heard so admirably read by Tieck.

The performance began with the 'Queen's Champion,' a piece in two acts, by Mrs. Gore;—an anecdote or two (true or false) from the history of Marie Antoinette, cobbled together in unhistorical connexion.

Such a fate as that of this most unhappy Queen cannot be even mentioned without producing emotion, if people have a particle of memory or of feeling. But these majestic tragic forms should be brought before us only by masters; they should be treated with a sacred awe; their mighty and heavy sorrows, and the fearfully profound lessons of history, should not be sold by ounces by every small trader. Who could bear to see Lear, Cordelia, Hamlet, Ophelia, and such characters and natures as these, exhibited in two or three dramatized anecdotes, borrowed from the gossip of a court, or the booth of a fair? Such anecdotes are, at all events, incomplete and out of place, when thus severed from the great current of destiny and of history, and put forward as weighty and independent matters.

There was much to praise and much to find fault with in the performance of 'The Rivals.' I was afraid that there would be exaggeration, but I did not find it in the entire conception, only in particular passages. Indeed Mr. Strickland, as Sir Anthony Absolute, was deficient in that power of voice, and vehemence of gesture, which are requisite to give due importance to the character, and the proper colour and grandeur to his anger. One could hardly believe in the past—that is, his youth,—neither could one exactly understand the present. The low comedy, indeed almost the buffoonery, of some passages, seemed to me, too, quite out of place. Bob Acres (Mr. Webster) and David (Mr. Ross) were, in many respects, very good caricatures; but I miss, as I have before remarked, the real creative power, from the constant sameness of the technical means. Thus, for example, certain servants' parts are invariably squeaked out in the same disguised voice, which hardly makes one laugh the first time, and, when repeated, becomes tiresome and disagreeable. Mrs. Malaprop (Mrs. Glover) great in in all the three dimensions of space; Julia (Miss Taylor) as individual as the feeble sentimentality of the character would allow; Lydia (Mrs. Humby) the most original and lively of all; but I should have liked to see the pertness, caprices and fancies, a shade more elegant and fantastic; many things were too much like a lady's maid, or too coarsely impertinent, and wholly devoid of poetical refinement or inspiration. But, after all, Mrs. Humby is, in her way, the best actress that I have seen here, and comes nearer to Demarceaux than any of the others to Mars; not to mention German actresses.

London, June 29.

Yesterday I paid all sorts of visits, and supped with Mr. K.——, the celebrated actor. The conversation turned on the dramatic art, and on Shakspeare. He, too, thinks the former declining, and that it is hard to say how it can be revived. He thinks that Hamlet's almost incomprehensible character has more of unity and coherence if his madness is regarded as real, and not feigned; such monomania, he said, was quite consistent with understanding and deep reflection on other subjects: at all events, that it was absurd to represent him as an amiable young gentleman. I hope, some time or other, to return to this subject with him. Miss K—— sang a scene out of Handel's 'Saul' with great discrimination and feeling; and a few German songs, which transported me back to my home.

LETTER XLVII.

Difficulty of understanding England—Radicals—Tory Policy—Devonshire Election—Corporation Bill—Irish Church Bill—Oxford—Security and Tranquillity of England.

London, June 29, 1835.

H——'s account of the celebration of Ascension Day gave me great pleasure. Heaven grant that all the party may meet for many years around the board of their friendly host, and none be absent on worse grounds than an instructive journey to England!

And how instructive! It is perhaps easier to form to oneself a conception of any other country, without seeing it, than of this—our continental notions of it are in many respects so partial and false. Few Germans, probably, have studied the history and affairs of England so long and so attentively as I, and yet it is only since I came here that my knowledge has acquired certainty and consistency. Newspapers like Speter's and the Staats Zeitung are quite incompetent to diffuse just views. Things are *not* as they represent them; and all their conclusions are, of course, false.

I know that I may be told it is a silly arrogance in me to pretend that *my* views are the only just ones; I do not look, however, through my own spectacles, but through innumerable English eyes or spectacles; and my view is not bounded by the partiality or the hate of *one* newspaper writer, curtailed by the mutilations of censors, or warped by political projects, or by private hopes and fears. I see, and hear, and converse with persons of the most different opinions;—and are all these honest efforts to be utterly fruitless? Are they to give me no voice as opposed to those who have neither time, opportunity, inclination, nor vocation for such studies? This is not arrogance,—at least no otherwise than all individuality is, in a certain sense, arrogance.

When I called ——— an amateur in politics and in history, I was far from meaning this as a reproach, any more than I should have thought it one if he had called me an amateur of old German literature and poetry. Each of us does that which suits him, and as much as suits him, and we belong to each other, and understand each other, spite of many a discussion. And so it will be to the end of our days!

———'s letter deserves the greatest admiration for the number of good jokes, *jeux de mots*, similies, &c. I never saw a more abundant or vigorous crop of them; and I should be a great blockhead if my serious labours made me unjust to the gay manner of looking at the world, or incapable of understanding it. What I complain of is, that the general impression of England which he produces is a dark one, while I am continually more and more struck with the bright side. Many believe that her last stormy evening has set in, while I feel only the fresh morning breeze that precedes the dawn. Might not as much danger be inferred for Germany,—as formidable symptoms of disease be detected in her condition,—from ——, or from G——'s longing after atheism, which you tell me of, as are here to be apprehended from the radicalism of certain Benthamists? There is no danger from either. One of these gentlemen, who took a very high tone, has lately committed himself so grossly, that he has completely overshot, or, if you like, fallen short of, his mark.

Are not, then, (I hear you reply) even Mr. Pattison, the Chairman of the Bank of England, and the wealthy banker, Mr. Grote, infected with Radicalism? It is true they have come into Parliament as liberals; but they were the very first to protest against the idea of refusing the Supplies. Their whole line of conduct, and the objects they have in view, are utterly different from those of the Jacobins of 1792.

Sir Francis Burdett, once denounced as the most dangerous of demagogues, voted with Canning, when the latter became the champion of liberal measures: while Lord Grey thought himself justified in a course of continued opposition to him. He would not suffer himself to be led or driven farther on the side of liberalism; and the other day a coalition between him and the Duke of Wellington was confidently talked of—a thing which, a few years ago, would have been thought impossible. The disposition and tactics of the French opposition generally are, to blow up all the bridges between them and the enemy: those of the English, on the contrary, to build them. While it is pretended that everything here is in confusion, and is going to rack and ruin, this honourable disposition manifests itself most distinctly to all who do not confound a few bubbles and effusions of rhetorical vehemence and vanity with influential opinions and real power.

It is undoubtedly true that Wellington and Peel frankly rejected the plan of some high Tories for turning out the ministry, by the opposition of the House of Peers. This experiment indeed

had been already made. They had the King and the House of Lords on their side; a new House of Commons was chosen under their influence, and even in that they were in a minority. If it is repeated towards the present ministry, they may dissolve the Parliament, and the new one will then be elected under *their* influence; so that their adversaries will only have destroyed their own work.

The defeat of Lord John Russell in Devonshire proves nothing as to the strength of parties generally: it only proves that the majority of tenants in that county, who vote under Lord Chandos's clause, are wholly dependent on Tory landlords. In consequence of a sort of re-action, the very *unconservative* proceedings at the Ipswich election are brought to light, and all the elections from that time to this have been in favour of the Whigs.

After the question of the exclusion of those who do not possess the qualifications now required in an elector is decided, the Corporation Bill will, without doubt, pass the Commons, and, I think, the Lords. It is too manifest an improvement not to command a majority of opinions in the country.

The notion, that every abuse in the general or local administration of the country is to be respected as a sacred private right, is too absurd to last.

———— declaims against the Corporation Bill, and regards it as the climax of revolutionary degeneracy and mischief; and yet he lives quietly in a country which has possessed a completely similar municipal system for seven-and-twenty years. He regards the influence and the representation of property,—of mere material (not intellectual) qualifications,—as the true antidote to all revolutions; and forgets that the mass of property represented in the Reformed House of Commons and the reformed Corporations is infinitely greater, and consequently the influence of property stronger, than it was formerly. Either his premises, therefore, or his conclusions, are wrong.

The fate of the Irish Church Bill is more dubious than that concerning Corporations. It is complicated by the numerous personal and pecuniary interests of patrons and possessors of livings. It is also very uncertain what effect the cry "the Church is in danger" may have on English constituencies, and what colour it may give to another House of Commons. This cry has little or nothing to do with genuine Christianity. As to any application of Church property to secular uses, that is a thing not to be thought of. Are there then no circumstances which can excuse, nay justify, such an application? He who maintains, spite of numerous examples, that none such can exist, runs the risk of provoking the counter-assertion, that every application of the public revenue to ecclesiastical purposes is unjust and inadmissible. Abstract negative dogmas like these can never exhaust the circumstances of the case; and the high Tories and the Radicals, spite of their violent hostility, meet at that final point of abstraction, where Church and State

lose all reciprocal and living influence. Even in the middle regions, convictions are undoubtedly at variance; but how many former ones has not Sir Robert Peel found himself compelled to abandon? I should not wonder if the proposition to pay the Catholic clergy were to come from his side, as a means of escaping the appropriation clause.

At all events the old Tory system is driven completely out of the field. Oxford, which formerly rejected Peel, now finds great cause to be discontented with the Duke of Wellington, and is left to worship her own idols and cherish her own prejudices.

Whether, however, either or both of these bills be passed, or be thrown out, of one thing you may be certain,—that there will be no riots, no revolution; but that amid all the triumph and all the lamentation, order will reign supreme and undisturbed, and the year 1836 will begin with legislation in all its forms, just where 1835 left it.

LETTER XLVIII.

National Prejudices—English Aristocracy—Lords and Commoners—Desdemona—Russia—The Emperor Nicholas—Prussian Government—Guarantees—Public and Private Law.

London, June 30th, 1835.

I DINED yesterday with Lord ——. In comparison with some Germans who were speaking French, I might hold my English for real English. But I am much more of an Englishman in another sense; namely, that I do not want to adjust England to a German pattern, although I am perfectly aware of the advantages of our country, and the defects of many of the institutions of this. The importance of the English aristocracy appears in quite a different light, when one sees the walls of their rooms hung with the master-pieces of Raphael and Titian, than if they were covered with receipts of the interests of mortgages. Yet even here are bankrupt noblemen and over-wealthy commoners, who like A——, can give twenty thousand pounds to each of their five sons as a Christmas-box.

A—— buys several estates after having ascertained their value; among others he purchases, without bargaining, a very large one from Lord ——, with everything on it. On taking possession he finds that many things are missing in the dwelling-house, and writes desiring to have them restored; Lord —— answers, that the things belonged to Lady ——, who had taken them with her, and that he did not expect that so rich a man would make so much pother about such trifles. On which A —— replies that he had bought the things, and was astonished at my Lord's wishing to retain property which he had sold. That if all the things were not on the spot within a given time, he would throw up the bargain, and sue his Lordship for damages. That he, A——, had become a

rich man by attaching importance to trifles; and that perhaps Lord —— had been forced, by a contrary practice, to sell the property of his ancestors. Hereupon a whole wagon full of things arrives. A—— then writes to Lady —— that he would not allow himself to be bullied, but had great pleasure in returning to her everything that she at all valued.

Lady E——, when comparing Grisi with Malibran, remarked that the latter acted Desdemona with exaggeration. I have before expressed the same opinion in my letters from Paris, and certainly Schrœder-Devrient is far superior to her in this character. But it is the fault of the bad *libretto* and the music, that every actress makes Desdemona far less gentle and engaging than Shakspeare drew her.

London, July 1.

I am now, then, at the beginning of another month, and at the end of three more I must return to Germany. Yesterday I looked over fifteen folios of ambassadors' letters—for the most part an unprofitable labour. Another time I sit a whole day over one volume, and I shall certainly not complete what I projected—spite of the compliments I receive on my industry.

I am not so happy as M— J——, a French lawyer, whom I met yesterday at Mr. H——'s. He wants to understand only one thing, the English courts of justice, and means to go back in a fortnight.

I have met with Germans and Russians here, who extolled the institutions of their respective countries to such a degree, that everything English was made to appear absurd and mischievous in the comparison.

This way of talking is thoroughly revolting to my historical nature: I require, at least, a far more accurate observation, in order to discover how and whence the good or the bad arose; and in what way it is connected with other things. Religious toleration is greater, for example, in Russia than in England; but this by no means proves that the higher civilization of the former country is the sole cause: it proceeds from many considerations which the English also suffer to have their due weight in India, though not in Ireland.

It is difficult to say which nation in Europe forms the fairest estimate of other nations. The first step certainly is, to understand them, and not to judge before we know anything about them. In this respect the Germans have hitherto been the most industrious; but they have often obscured their descriptions by dry pedantry, or shallow affectation of genius. If the French produce more such works as that of Victor Cousin on Prussian Education, nobody will venture to accuse them again of superficiality.

I mention the Russians; they have just learned something from Europe, and many of them already fancy it their vocation to teach Europe.

A Russian education, if not a tyrannical, will certainly be an oblique one; something in the style in which they harness the

two horses in their droschkas, one quite awry; which barbarism is as little worthy to be imitated in Berlin as other Russian fashions. The French ultra-liberalism, and the Russian absolutism, are two dishes offered gratis, which a rational German will equally reject, without affecting to impose his own fare on the two *restaurateurs de l'Europe.*

In one respect, however, the Russians are far happier than many of the nations of Europe. They have a constitution suited to their wants. A constitution! you exclaim; they have no constitution at all! They have, I grant, no Chambers, no elections, no right and left side, no *tiers parti*, no right and left centre; but they have, what polities require, no less than mathematics, they have *a* centre; and that is the Emperor. A deliberating and debating body, a general code, an equal church for the whole Russian empire, with all its tribes—all this were senseless and impracticable. The *forms* of older and more homogeneous states are perfectly inapplicable to this pattern card of nations, religions, degrees of civilization, &c.

They want *a man* to direct the whole, and their emperor is a man, in the full sense of the word, body and soul. In him great qualities for dominion are unquestionably combined; an imposing yet attractive exterior, admirable activity, a rare strength of will and dauntless courage. These were the qualities which gave him the crown in a moment of the greatest peril; and the manner in which he subdued that peril rendered him worthy to wear it.

But the last approving or condemning judgment will be pronounced by history, when it is known whether he uniformly respected the rights of independent states, and esteemed their amity more valuable than their subjection.

A merely personal guarantee is certainly always more or less dependent on the life of the warrantor. However, the constitution of the Emperor Nicholas seems to me of such a sort, that I would rather have an annuity on his life than on that of many a paper constitution.

No policy should, or indeed can, be founded on personal qualities alone, because they are all subject to a thousand influences. People often ask me here, Who can guarantee you Prussians against a total overthrow of your admirable and liberal institutions whenever the king dies?

I might answer, his successor; because I know that, with a head and a heart like his, such a revulsion is impossible. But, granting that a king of Prussia were to arise who knew nothing of his people, or of his age, and that he conceived the arbitrary project of forcibly introducing the character of another people and another period, it were utterly impossible. We trust in persons, but we trust in things too.

It is therefore impossible to restore the closed gates, the internal duties, the villenage, the recruiting and flogging, the duty-labour, the tithes, &c.; or to abolish religious toleration, the schools, and

the universities. The bright and the dark side of the old and of the new may be examined, developed, reformed; but there will be no revolution, backward or forward.

On this point (as I have lately experienced) the idea of Right, regulating in appearance, but often confusing in reality, is urged. Scarcely has less evil been inflicted under the plea of right than under that of force. Does not indeed the frequent repetition of the maxim, "*fiat justitia pereat mundus*," prove that the spirit of justice is entirely misunderstood, and the letter only attended to? True justice sustains the world; it is the breath of the living, not the grave of the dead. At first this absurd dream arose out of the false notion that Right only preserved its character by constant uniformity and immobility. People forgot that the high office of legislation would then be utterly annihilated, and that nothing would remain but the application and administration of law.

The second grand error, (of which I have so often had occasion to speak) is the absolute supremacy which public law arrogates over private, or private over public. Strange—that not a few champions of the German institutions of the Middle Ages (when it serves their turn) seek to apply to them the absolute private law of the times of the Roman Emperors; although this was wholly incompatible with the stirring political life of the infamy of modern Europe. This is connected with the fables of Herr von Haller, who wants us to believe that at that time, or at some time, the state arose out of nothing, and consisted of nothing but the sum total of innumerable little contracts which moved about, *ad libitum*, like Epicurus's atoms, and thus effected all the wonders of the development of the human race. He and his disciples see light solely in the existence and maintenance of this atomistic confusion, and concede to the caprice of any body establishing anything, unlimited power to all eternity. According to them, if a worshipper of Venus *vulgivaga* founded a temple in her honour two thousand years ago, it would be an unjust violation of his will to convert it into a Christian school. This sounds ridiculous and monstrous. But is it less ridiculous if, as I am told, Greek must be unalterably taught by a certain grammar in some schools here, because that is the will of the founder; though that grammar, which was the best in his time, is the worst now? Is it less foolish and pitiful to demand compensation for every slight loss consequent upon new laws, and to drop all consideration of the enormous gain of the new impulse to civilization?

Every year—nay every day and every hour—produces some change in me and in my powers and my rights. If I lose the blossoms of youth, I gain the fruits of mature manhood; and if I overlook this compensation, I fall into useless, unnatural lamentations. A generation which throws off all reverence for its forefathers will take no root, and will be thrown aside in its turn—as the events of the French Revolution sufficiently proved. A gene-

ration which looks backward in search of all help and all instruction, will, like Lot's wife, lose all sense and motion.

I write a great many variations upon the same grand theme; but my life here constantly leads me into these reflections: have patience, and indulgence, therefore, and kindly accept what each day brings forth.

LETTER XLIX.

India—Territorial extent—History of British Conquests—East India Company—China Trade—Trade and Revenue of India—Indian Law—Hindoo Character—Contradictory Accounts—Duration of British Power in India—Duties of Parent States to Colonies.

London, July 1st, 1835.

I HAVE promised to write you something respecting India. This was a rash promise, for a whole life would not suffice to obtain a complete knowledge of it, and, if I speak of everything, I must necessarily be superficial. *Qui embrasse tout n'etreint rein.* But, on the other hand, it is far from my purpose, or my pretension, to exhaust the subject; I shall merely select and compress some portions from the abundance of the materials which I have before me.

The name of India glides over the tongue as easily as those of Germany, Italy, &c.; and yet it is not a single country, but an aggregate of countries and nations, of the most varied nature and character, and almost equal in extent to the whole of Europe. The Ghauts, in the Deccan, are 13,000 feet in height; the Himalaya mountains are 27,000. The length of the course of the Jumna is 1200 miles; that of the Brahmapootra in 1650; that of the Indus 1700. The territory through which the Ganges flows comprises 20,000 square (German) miles. When the water is at its usual height, 248,000,000 of cubic feet of water flow from the Ganges and Brahmapootra into the sea in one hour; when at the highest, 1,458,000,000.

I mention these facts merely by way of example, to show that, in contemplating India, we must almost wholly lay aside our European standard, must enlarge our views, and give freer scope to our fancy. What an infinite variety of changes, improvements, enjoyments, and of knowledge are connected with the first voyage of Vasco de Gama! Even the highly gifted mind of Camoens could have no presentiment of these consequences; least of all could he foresee that a London trading company would advance from such an insignificant beginning to the sovereignty of the whole country.

It was in the year 1590 that the first English ships undertook a voyage, but without success, to India. Nine years later a sum of 30,000*l.* was raised by subscription; and in the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted to the newly-formed company the exclusive

right of trading to Asia, Africa, and America for fifteen years. The first fleet consisted of five ships, with four hundred and eighty sailors. James I. gave to the Company, in 1609, a perpetual charter, but its operations were interrupted by the rebellion and the wars with Holland, till Cromwell and Charles II. again confirmed its rights; but even at that time the grant met with much opposition from persons who wished for free trade, instead of the monopoly of the Company.

In the year 1680 the first ships sailed for China; and in 1698 the Company obtained, for an annual tribute, the first piece of ground, on which Calcutta was afterwards built. But about the same time, a great dispute arose between the Company and the government, respecting loans and payments to the latter, and it was also injured by the competition of rivals, who formed a second trading company. Its shares fell to thirty-seven per cent. In 1708 the two companies were induced, chiefly through the influence of Lord Godolphin, to consolidate themselves into one. The history of its disputes, wars, conquests, commercial enterprises, revenue, expenditure, and debts, fills a multitude of volumes, and even an abridgment of it cannot be given in a letter. It is, however, worth mentioning, for the explanation of the most recent events, that so long ago as in 1783, an opinion was entertained that the Company, which exercised a sovereign power over vast territories and various nations, required a different constitution. A bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, which paid little regard to the rights hitherto enjoyed by the Company, and would have transferred almost the whole power to the king's ministers, was rejected by the House of Lords; but a different bill, introduced by Mr. Pitt, passed both houses in August, 1784.

The holders of shares, the original proprietors, retained essential and very great privileges: 1000*l.* stock gave the proprietor one vote in the general meeting; 3000*l.*, two votes; 6000*l.*, three votes; 10,000*l.*, and above, four votes. The general assembly chose twenty-four directors, of whom six went out every year. A governor-general and four counsellors governed in India. A chief justice and three counsellors were at the head of the administration of justice; another board directed the commerce, and a board of control took cognizance of all the several branches of the government. This board of control had at all times free access to all accounts; received copies of all important regulations and reports; exercised an influence on the proper determination of the dividends, &c. In the year 1788, twelve hundred and eighty-five persons were entitled to vote in the general meeting. Of these fourteen were entitled to four votes, twenty-three to three, one hundred and nine to two, and eleven hundred and thirty-nine to one vote.

On the 21st of July, 1813, a new law was passed, for the regulation of the East India Company, of which the following is the substance. The possessions to the north of the equator remained

under the dominion of the Company. It retained the exclusive trade to China, and also the tea-trade. From the 10th of April, 1831, the Parliament (after paying what the state owes to the Company, and giving three years' previous notice) is empowered entirely to put an end to its exclusive trade. British subjects are authorized to import all kinds of unprohibited goods (tea excepted) from Asia (China excepted) into Great Britain. Only certain ports, however, in Asia and Europe were entitled to this privilege, and restrictions are imposed respecting the manner of sailing and landing. No merchantman, not belonging to the Company, may be of less than three hundred and fifty tons burthen. No person can settle in India without the permission of the directors. They are to expend at least one lack of rupees annually in the education of the inhabitants, and to employ only persons who have a certain degree of education. Regulations are laid down for the employment of the revenue, the payment of debts, the fixing of dividends, which are not to exceed ten per cent., &c. The revenues of the Company, in its character of sovereign, were to be administered wholly distinct from the revenue arising from its commerce. Regulations relative to new taxes, the application of the revenue of the country, &c., must be laid before the Board of Control. Every person appointed to an office in India must have resided there a certain number of years.

The nearer the time approached when this new charter of the East India Company was to expire, the louder were the complaints made of its mode of government and of its commercial monopoly; and, in fact, the reasons which, in former centuries, united the weak and unconnected energies of individuals in one associated body had entirely vanished, and commerce, having grown up to vigorous maturity, demanded, and required, emancipation and freedom. In particular, it was proved that the Company, in its commercial capacity, was annually declining, while the commerce of individuals (in spite of so many still existing restrictions) had increased in an extraordinary manner. Thus, for instance, the exports of the East India Company from 1790 to 1795 were, upon an average, 2,500,000*l.*, and from 1808 to 1812, only 1,748,000*l.* On the other hand, the free trade amounted to 5,981,000*l.* In the year 1814, only 818,000 yards of cotton goods were exported to India, and in 1832, 57,500,000 yards.

For these and similar reasons, Mr. Grant, on the 13th June, 1833, (Hansard, xviii., 698,) introduced a motion for the entire freedom of the trade to Asia. Among other observations he said: —Our main object must be to benefit the inhabitants of India, which, in the end, will prove beneficial to us and to Europe. During the last forty years, the English Government has effected great improvements in India; and the inhabitants have acquired a political existence, which was formerly regarded as impossible.

This is an additional reason for severing the government entirely from the commerce of the country. If the English mean to retain their position as a great commercial nation, they must proceed in the course of a liberal legislation, or expect to lose the great sources of their wealth. In conformity with these principles, the restrictions on the trade to India cease; the trade to China, and the tea-trade will be thrown open; the interference of European authorities be limited to the most important affairs; the administration of justice improved; the settlement of Europeans permitted, and the Indians be no longer excluded from public offices, &c.

You know that these proposals were adopted in every essential particular, and have since been carried into effect. No part of them was more vehemently opposed (chiefly from motives of private interest) than the freedom of trade to China. It was affirmed that the Chinese would deal only with the East India Company; that they would entirely prohibit the exportation of tea, and the English would be compelled to do without it. Of all these assertions and prophecies, none have been fulfilled. English individuals now trade in that country with as much security as the Americans used to do. Tea, which was dearer in Great Britain than in any other part of the world, is daily becoming cheaper, without losing its quality; an immense sphere of commercial enterprise is opened, from which very large commissions are already received; and the Chinese have no more inclination to keep their tea unsold, because England changes its commercial laws, than our sheep-owners have to keep their wool, because a Whig ministry has taken the place of a Tory ministry.

To this short indication of the progress of the legislation, allow me to add a few detached particulars. The export of British manufactures to India amounted on an average, from 1768 to 1792, to 1,921,000*l.*, and it has since very much increased.

	£
In 1814 the value of goods imported by the East India Company amounted to	4,208,000
By private individuals	4,435,000
In 1831, by the Company	1,107,000
By private individuals	5,229,000
In 1814, value exported by the East India Company	826,000
By private individuals	1,048,000
In 1831, by the Company	146,000
By individuals	3,635,000

By which we perceive the decline of monopoly, and the increase of free trade.

The import duties on many articles from India are improperly higher than on the same articles from the West Indies: for instance,—

	East Indies. £.	*s.*	*d.*	West Indies. £.	*s.*	*d.*
Sugar, per cwt.	1	12	0	1	4	0
Coffee, per pound,	0	0	9	0	0	6
Spirituous liquors, per gal.	0	15	0	0	9	0
Tobacco, per pound	0	3	0	0	2	9
Wood	20 per cent.			5 per cent.		

Equally partial appears the regulation, that English goods may be imported into India free of duty, whereas Indian goods pay in England from 10 to 20 per cent. These differences and anomalies will probably be gradually rendered more conformable to the general principle of free trade and reciprocity; and, on the other hand, the low rate of wages in India, and the use of machinery in England, may by degrees balance each other without the interference of the government.

East India goods, which, in the year 1621, being imported into Europe by sea, cost 511,000*l.*, would have cost 1,465,000*l.* if they had come by way of Aleppo. The difference of freight, and other expenses, amounted to 953,000*l.* Little is to be expected from steam-navigation to India. By way of the Cape of Good Hope it is too costly, nay, impossible;—by way of Syria and the Euphrates there are great dangers; and even through Suez and Cairo it appears, from minute investigation, that there would be very great difficulties to contend with.

The principal revenues of the Indian government consist in the land-tax, and the monopoly of the trade in salt and opium; then follow stamp-duties, the mint, post-office, judicial taxes, &c.

In 1821, the value of opium exported to China was 4,166,000 dollars, and in 1830, 13,468,000*l.* The interest of the debt amounts to nearly 2,000,000*l.*, and an annual revenue of 23,000,000*l.* is seldom fully sufficient to cover all the expenses.

	English square miles.		Inhabitants.
Under the British dominion . . .	553,000	containing	83,000,000
With the addition of the allies and tributaries	1,103,000	„	123,000,000
With the addition of the independent states	1,280,000	„	134,000,000

The new acquisitions beyond the Ganges contain, besides, 77,000 square miles, with 301,000 inhabitants. In this total amount of population there are only about 400,000 native Englishmen. According to a statement laid before parliament in August, 1831, (Hansard, vi, 116.) there were—In Calcutta 3,000 Europeans; 20,000 British Indian freemen; 625,009 natives. In Madras, 200 whites; 8,000 free people of colour; 463,000 natives. In Bombay, 300 Whites; 162,000 natives. In Singapore and Prince of Wales' Island 108 whites; 108,000 natives.

Europeans have hitherto been prohibited from buying land and settling in India. It was thought impossible for Europeans to harmonize with the natives, and feared that the former might oppress and wholly overpower the latter. At length, however, a well-founded conviction has arisen, that this restriction is erroneous, and that the supposed dangers may be prevented by judicious laws, and the impartial administration of justice.

The laws are so essentially different, according to the nations and their religions, that they cannot possibly be comprised in one and the same code. The Mahommedans, for instance, are judged according to the Mahommedan,—the Hindoo according to Hindoo law. For many purposes there are three tribunals. The lowest (the moonsiff court) has only a native judge; in the second, an

European is joined with the Mahommedan and Indian judges. The proceedings are carried on in writing, and the examination of the witnesses is publicly carried on in the Persian, Bengalee, or Hindostanee language. The native advocates (vakeels) are appointed and superintended by the courts; their fees increase according to the value of the matter in dispute, but never exceed 1000 rupees. In some parts, for instance in Ceylon, trial by jury has been introduced; but in others the government has hesitated to venture on so important a step before the people shall be better educated. At Madras the natives declared that it was contrary to their manners, customs, and religious persuasion, to participate as jurymen in the administration of justice. Criminal causes are, for the most part, decided according to strict Mahommedan law. Two witnesses are required; but when the proof is not quite complete, extraordinary punishments are decreed. Against Mahommedans no evidence but that of Mahommedans is received. The testimony of women and slaves is wholly rejected. Formerly it was customary to use torture.

Crimes committed in Bengal:—

Against the person,	1822-4	3196	Against property,	1822-4	2170
„	1825-7	1960	„	1825-7	1524

I do not venture (for the reasons already explained elsewhere) at once to infer, from the decrease of these numbers, a corresponding increase of morality. All parties are agreed that the penal administration of justice in India has need of great improvements.

The armed force has hitherto consisted of king's troops, of the European army of the Company, and of the Indian army of sepoys. The whole number of European officers was about 5500, of whom 750 belonged to the king's troops. The total amount of European soldiers (exclusively of the officers) amounted to about 20,000 king's troops, and 10,000 company's troops. In time of war the force was very much increased, even to 300,000 men, and cost from 9,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. Among the king's troops promotion was, for the most part, obtained by purchase or by favour; in the company's troops, on the contrary, by seniority. There were likewise differences with regard to the pay, and other matters, which rendered it difficult to blend them together. Young men were prepared for the military service in the college at Addiscombe, and for the civil service in that at Haileybury.

Compared with the former governments of the Mahommedans and Mahrattas, and the times of the internal feuds of the Hindoos, the latter have unquestionably gained by the better-regulated government of the English. All the defects of the latter appear trifling in comparison with the miseries formerly endured. Civil society (says the "Edinburgh Review," liii. 432) resembled a troop of beasts of prey on the one hand, and of timid defenceless animals on the other, which inhabited the same wilderness. Mr.

Martin, in his "Political and Financial Condition of the Anglo-Eastern Empire," says; "We find such a diversity of nations, characters, languages, civilization, and inclinations, that it is impossible to treat them all in the same manner, and to give them similar institutions." After they had endured, for centuries together, a tyranny which paralysed their energies and obscured their faculties, a mere process of legislation cannot all at once restore them to a sound and vigorous state. So great, for instance, is the mutual hatred and the abject subordination of the castes, that if a man of lower birth were suddenly promoted for his exalted qualities above persons of higher birth, this would excite the greatest discontent and horror in the public mind. It is equally impossible to place a Hindoo above a Mahommedan, or a Mahommedan above a Hindoo, There is no point on which there is a greater variety of opinions than with respect to the moral qualities of the Hindoos, and the consequent mode of treating them. If we begin with the dark side, Mr. Thornton says ("India, in its State and Prospects"); Veracity is wholly unknown to them; falsehood mingles with all the relations of life, and is carried so far in the courts of justice, that the judges are quite unable conscientiously to fulfil their duties. False testimony is not the exception, but the rule, and is given and confirmed with such calmness, self-command, and such an appearance of honesty as to disarm all suspicion. Cunning, deceit, and treachery are interwoven in every concern of life. In every transaction deceit is taken for granted, and the means of security are multiplied, though the closest ties of affinity afford no security. In India nobody is ashamed of vice; there is no public opinion—no dread of it—no patriotism—no benevolence. Where passions manifest themselves, they are only selfish and licentious,—if religious feelings appear, they are founded only on superstition and idolatry.

When I read this and similar descriptions, I was seized with horror at such a degeneracy of human nature, and at the consequences of tyranny, slavery, and superstition. But before I looked for further testimonies and proofs, I recovered my conviction, not only that, by the grace of God, a redemption from evil is everywhere possible, but that man, so long as he retains, as the image of God, a human countenance, still has in himself a never-dying root, an indestructible element of virtue, of truth, of innocence and regeneration. If practically applied, the exaggerated doctrine of election, (or rather of unconditional rejection,) and of predestination, to a merely animal existence, would lead to the most dreadful consequences; would exclude all philanthropy, education, and moderation, and would apparently justify the most shameful tyranny. But it is not so; the Hindoo has an original and indelible consciousness, that truth is above falsehood, and benevolence above malignity. But the concealed, stifled spark now requires extrinsic aid to rise in newly acquired

vitality into a flame: it needs education—patient, temperate education. Even Mr. Thornton himself casts a ray of light upon his dark picture, when he says that there is greater improvement in British India, than in those states into which European civilization has not penetrated.

There are other and different descriptions of India, by men who are fully as well informed, and can say *anch' io sono pittore.* The excellent Bishop Heber says, the national character of the Hindoos is decidedly good, mild, and affectionate. They are temperate, active, kind to their relations; in general, honest towards their masters, easily gained by kindness and confidence, and, after they have taken the military oath, admirable for their obedience, courage, and fidelity in life and death. With respect to their natural character (says Heber, in another place), I am inclined to think very favourably of it. Unfortunately they have many vices, which originate in slavery, an ill-regulated state of civil society, and an erroneous and immoral religious system; but they are men of high and gallant spirit, obliging, intelligent, and extremely desirous of knowledge and improvement.

Munro, in his History of British India, speaks in a similar manner. The Hindoo character has a mixture of good and bad qualities. Many, for instance, are selfish, others (especially among the agricultural classes) are generous and kind to their neighbours and inferiors. I do not know any other example of a great nation, under similar circumstances, having preserved, under a succession of tyrannical masters, so many good qualities and virtues as are still to be found in the inhabitants of this country.

What a boundless and noble task of human education is allotted to the British in India! Their actions will be tried and their reward determined hereafter, not by the quantity of merchandize which they have imported and exported, but by what they have done for the millions of men whom Providence has, in a wonderful manner, subjected to their dominion. All genuine education rejects a state of stagnation, but does not advance by fits and starts. It moves, and makes others move, indefatigably and regularly. If I overrate my pupils, or if I despise them, I, in both cases, miss the object. The school, properly speaking, affords but a small part of human education. Less good will be done in India by reading and writing, than by putting a check upon the Zemindars, who have transformed themselves from receivers of the taxes into a kind of hereditary lords; who arbitrarily tax or expel their vassals, and take not the least interest in their good or ill fortune. If these petty tyrants were restrained, the great mass of the people might obtain a more secure existence, and thereby a consciousness of moral independence.

The greatest and most powerful aid can and will come from the Christian religion. But in order to this, it must not be presented to the minds of the natives, by narrow-minded zealots,

who place its essence in invented subtleties and secondary points; it must not be offered as a delicacy, newly prepared and seasoned with sectarian spice: minds equally comprehensive and profound must bear before them the light of eternal, world-redeeming love, and must find means to melt the ten-fold brass in which the ancient Indian doctrine has bound the heads and hearts of the inhabitants. If Bishop Middleton (as related in Hansard, xx. 33) held it to be his duty to prohibit the Dissenters from building a church steeple in India, (which is covered with minarets of the Hindoos and the Mahommedans), because this was contrary to English Christianity—what kind of a Christian lion must the Hindoos infer from this claw? Doubtless one that placed the supremacy of a church higher than Christian charity. The Brahmins, who are equally ambitious of power, might very reasonably believe him to be like themselves, and hence consider conversion to Christianity as superfluous.

But how long will this dominion of Britons over an immense Indian Empire be maintained? To this unavoidable and most important question the usual answer is, it will continue in proportion as they act with prudence and moderation. Tyranny and selfishness are undoubtedly the shortest mode of putting an end to all dominion; but the opposite line of conduct does not always afford a certain pledge of its long duration. The more carefully and liberally I educate my children, the sooner do they become independent, and able to direct themselves; and the more a mother-country treats its colonies in a similar manner, the soooer do they attain to an existence of their own, and dissolve the ties by which they had hitherto been bound. It might, therefore, be affirmed that the noblest task of Britons is, not to establish and retain their sovereignty in India for all ages, but to render it unnecessary. The sooner, by their indefatigable aid, all these Asiatic nations shall rise from their degraded state of existence to a corporeal and intellectual regeneration, the more glorious will it be for England; the more honourable to the moral and political training which she has given them.

Glorious, it will be objected, such a change may be, but it undoubtedly brings with it an immense and irreparable loss, perhaps ruin, to England. I cannot share in this apprehension; unless prudence should be wanting, when the time shall come, to recognise the real state of things, and moderation to acknowledge and profit by it. If (to continue my former comparison) a grown-up son leaves his father's house, and forms a household of his own, shall we say that this is a sheer misfortune for the father? True it is, certain relations, with their joys and their sorrows, then vanish, and no artificial means can restore the days of early youth! But the friendly, salutary intercourse may continue; and instead of the father speaking to the child, the man converses with the man. It is not in itself necessary that every separation of the mother-country from its colonies should be accompanied with war; there

may, and, reasonably, there ought to be, the dowry and settlement of a child, reared to maturity by the wise and watchful care of its parent. England and Spain have paid dearly for overlooking this truth in America. May the former not fall into the same error in Asia ; but be prepared and ready to meet what must inevitably happen !

In order to refute me, some person might continue my comparison, and say, when the children commence an independent existence, the father is old, and drawing towards his end. But I have already endeavoured to prove in another letter, from preceding examples and analogies, that for a people, as such, no necessary or absolute term of existence can be assigned ; that renovating means are always at hand, if it will only employ them at the right time, and in due measure, and remain clear from the sins and the errors which have hitherto caused the decay of nations.

LETTER L.

Dearness and mode of living in England—Prices—Stock in hand—Savings' Banks—Population—Diseases and Deaths—Emigration—Ultras of all Descriptions.

London, June 2d, 1835.

All the travellers whom I meet with are ready to despair, and to set sail again, on account of the exorbitant dearness of things; and the more distinguished the travellers, the louder are their complaints. This is very natural, because these great personages look upon it as their duty and their privilege to live in the same style as English people of their own rank. But there is such an enormous difference between the revenues of a German and an English baron or count, that the former (who, even at home, are often in straitened circumstances) in a competition of one week, have completely exhausted their means, and are forced to demand their passports. Others, who might be disposed to economise, are destitute of the necessary local information, or they are ashamed to limit their expenses according to their income. Nevertheless, a person may live in London as cheaply as he pleases,—that is to say, if he does not attempt to vie with the higher circles of society.

The prices of many articles have fallen considerably instead of rising. Thus all agricultural produce is lower. The following, for instance, is a comparative table of expenses in Greenwich Hospital :—

	1815.	1833.		1815.	1833.
	s. d.	*s. d.*		*s. d.*	*s. d.*
For 1 cwt. meat .	68 0	46 6	A bushel of salt .	19 9	1 6
Sack of flour . .	44 9	44 1¾	Quarter of malt .	69 0	54 0
A pound of butter .	1 2	0 8¼	12 lbs. of candles .	11 7	5 2½
A pound of cheese .	0 8	0 4½	A barrel of beer .	15 4	12 2
	1 cwt. hops .	£9 13 0	£6 15 0		

The great reduction in the price of salt, hops, malt and candles is chiefly owing to the remission of taxes.

This decline of prices has been alleged as the cause and the proof of the ruin of agriculture, as I have mentioned in a former letter; and it must be allowed that an individual farmer who, in expectation of a continuance of high prices, had inconsiderately taken a long lease of his farm at a high rent, may be obliged to sacrifice part of his capital. But, in general, we may conclude from very high, rather than from moderate prices, that the quantity of produce diminishes, and that agriculture declines. Now, however, the prices of almost all other articles have fallen; such as sugar, coffee, iron, coals, manufactured goods, wages, &c., so that everything preserves its equilibrium, and the general increase of population and of consumption sufficiently refutes the inference of general distress. Sheffield, for instance, formerly complained of the growth of pauperism, and yet the number of its inhabitants in 1801 amounted only to 45,000, while in 1831 it contained 91,000; in the year 1819, 3286*l.* had been deposited in its savings' banks; in 1831, 88,899*l.* The savings' banks in England and Ireland have a capital of 95,000,000 thalers (14,000,000.) for the most part certainly the property of the poorer classes; and the general increase of livery servants, carriages, horses, &c., proves that the upper classes are in affluence. Thus, in the warehouses of London alone, there are 23,000,000 lbs. of tobacco, 23,645,000 lbs. of coffee, 50,000,000 lbs. of tea, 800,000 cwt. of sugar, &c.; quite enough to stop the mouths of all those continental prophets of evil who are perpetually exclaiming, "*L'Angleterre est un pays ruiné, elle est aux abois.*" Nonsense. But I have already said much in refutation of it, and shall have something more to say when I speak of the finances and the national debt.

Yesterday I suffered myself to be persuaded to go to the Haymarket to see "The Haunted Tower." It is best to say nothing of these pretended works of art. As the Italians, in their over-refinement, go far beyond the limits of true art, so this screaming of uncultivated voices, and these awkward attempts at bravura, are below all art. I felt so uncomfortable and impatient that I thanked heaven when it was all over. The public was of a different opinion, and expressed the warmest approbation; nay, an old and very fat lady who was seated next to me stamped with her short legs as loud and heartily as the most expert drummer. You are aware that stamping with the feet is here, as in Paris, a token of applause.

I have received a very polite invitation to be present at the installation of the new chancellor of Cambridge. By accepting it, however, I should not only lose three days, which I cannot spare from my researches, but likewise I consider it improper to force myself into a place whence, for want of room, so many Englishmen must be excluded.

London, 3d July.

Permit me to send you again to-day some statistical tables which give rise to interesting reflections. The population amounted to

	England.	Gt. Britain.	Ireland.	In round numbers.
1801	8,381,000	10,942,000	5,395,000	16,330,000
1811	9,538,000	12,609,000	5,937,000	18,540,000
1821	11,261,000	14,391,000	6,801,000	21,190,000
1831	14,091,000	16,537,000	7,734,000	24,270,000

This rapid increase of the population proves that the notion that adequate means cannot be obtained for its maintenance is only a partial and subordinate truth. Moreover, the 24,000,000 are by no means worse off than formerly the 16,000,000. The taxes, for instance, have been more reduced, since the peace, than in any other European state.

The trading and manufacturing population amounts to 41 to 47, the agricultural (according to the different counties) 25 to 35 in a hundred. Throughout the whole of England there are from 300,000 to 500,000 more women than men; in Petersburg, on the contrary, there are 239,000 men, and only 140,000 women. In every part of Great Britain, too, the mortality has decreased; on an average of 18 years, there were 39 persons above a hundred years old. There are more old women than men. In England, every 20th child is illegitimate; in Wales, every 13th; in the county of Radnor, every 7th. Though the number of illegitimate children is very considerable in the manufacturing county of Lancashire, yet, of 13 children, 12 were born in marriage. In Middlesex, where the reverse might be supposed to be the case, only every 38th child illegitimate. These singular and, to me, inexplicable facts suggest many reflections. Let it suffice to remark, that these results lead us to form very favourable conclusions respecting the moral and domestic relations in England.

In London there died, in 1833, of

Consumption (the largest proportion)	4,355
Childbirth	275
Convulsions	2,140
Still-born	934
Venereal disorders	6 (!)
Drowned	108
Suicide,	55, &c.
Total	26,577
Baptised	27,090

The number of emigrants in 1833 were

To British America	28,808
To the United States	29,225
Cape of Good Hope	517
Australia	4,134
Total	62,684

It is certainly quite as mistaken a notion to prohibit emigration as to prohibit the exportation of merchandise or of money. On the contrary, it is rather a defect if a country has no means, whether near or remote, of getting rid of its surplus population.

By emigration, or colonization, the world has become peopled and civilized, and there is nowhere a paradise from which sin alone compels men to retire. If there were such a paradise, it would, at the most, be in Japan, which, nevertheless, is not the less free from sin because it shuts itself out from the rest of the world. The love of home, and the inclination to visit foreign parts, preserve their natural equilibrium when they are not interfered with by partial restrictions. It is commendable in governments to give information of the difficulties and dangers of emigration, when authentic information cannot be easily obtained; but it cannot be expected that warnings will deter those who, for sufficient reasons, are resolved or obliged to leave their country.

Above all things it would be proper to facilitate the emigration of political malcontents,—to send out some absolutists to the north-east, some ultra-liberals to the south-west, on voyages of discovery. Both parties only do mischief at home; and, on the other hand, the temporary travelling of the political journeymen mechanics tends to educate them. They would learn that one kind of bark is not for all trees, and that we should still less strip the bark from the trees to transfer it to a green bough. This operation does not produce flourishing German trees, under whose shade the cheerful people forget, in social enjoyment, the labours of the day; but a bare tree of liberty, the exact image of a merely negative, abstract freedom.

Many of our legitimatists, as they are called, have advanced no farther in their political botany than to a *herbarium vivum*, but which is only a collection of dry plants, and, for the most part, becomes a prey to the worms in a few years. They rest, as I have said before, merely on the dead letter of what is right, and deny all capability and all need of improvement. Provided with the easily-impressed stamp of legitimacy, they present themselves to kings and princes, boast themselves as the only friends of their country, call the shrug of their shoulders feeling, their grievances sacrifices, repeat, parrot-like, the same hollow, pretended world-redeeming phrases, distribute their copper counters (borrowed of Haller and Company) for genuine sovereigns, and kindly point out every one as infected with the plague who will not fetch the elixir of life from their laboratory. And these legitimatists, if placed in the *palais de la verité*, will reject, as very illegitimate, all the laws which the wisdom and justice of the king have given during the last thirty years for the good of his people, and by the power and suitableness of which all political epidemics have hitherto been averted. Those preachers of legality are but too often the enemies of legality, and see in their prejudices and passions the microscosm, after which the infinite world should be cut out and fashioned.

But, some may object, are their adversaries any better? who then are their adversaries? the ultra-liberalists! Do you call

those their adversaries? on the contrary, these two parties are in close alliance, and mutually do each other's work. The one, to be sure, lives at the North and the other at the South Pole; but if we run a stick from one end to the other, we shall have them all spitted together like larks; they lie, and live, and act, in one and the same direction. By the narrowmindedness of those retrograde Legitimatists, kings and princes, who yield to their guidance, make themselves hated, and by the interference of those centrifugal ultras, the nations who confide in them are led to anarchy and decay. It is the duty of every one who loves his king, his fellow-citizens, and his country, uncompromisingly to attack and combat both parties wherever he meets with them. Through ultras of the first class, kings have lost their noblest possession—confidence in their people. Through the ultras of the latter kind, the people have lost the vital principle of all societies—love for their governments. From just abhorrence of the follies of the false friends of freedom, kings no longer venture to advance a step; and from just abhorrence of the hypocritical friends of pretended legitimacy, who would make everything retrograde, the people rush forward like a whirlwind, which in its unbridled fury sweeps away their superiors, their governors, and then themselves. At last, when kings and demagogues, landed property and personal property, churches and schools, science and art, are plunged in the same bottomless abyss, then some of the heads of those delusive schools, who happen to survive, creep from under the rubbish, place themselves on the fragments of overthrown columns in the desolate waste, and outvie each other in reciprocal reproaches, in order to lay upon one party alone the blame in which they both have an equal share.

LETTER LI.

English Ladies—Prussia—Patriotism—German Malcontents—Police—Religious Intolerance—Catholics—Dissenters.

London, June 5, 1835.

I AM rather behindhand in my daily reports to you, partly because other things engage my attention, and partly also what I had to communicate would consist almost entirely of unconnected circumstances. I have been forced to decline several invitations, amongst others the fete of the Horticultural Society at Chiswick, as neither duty nor inclination will suffer me to lose a single day in the State-Paper office. Its treasures are so inexhaustible and are so conveniently at hand, that I am resolved to carry off as much as my very limited stay will permit. In the morning, therefore, till eleven, my mind is fixed upon the present, from eleven to three upon the past; then comes the reading of the

journals and newspapers at the Athenæum, visiting, dinner, At Homes, and sleep, but seldom sufficient.

I have often told you why I could not describe every party in detail, and I find my motives confirmed. The general character of society is not so spirited, striking, and amusing as in France and Germany. The French, for example, have more talents for society, inasmuch as the host, or some person or persons, place themselves like leaders at the head of the society, and put every thing in motion. Here, on the contrary, the conversation never extends beyond your next neighbour, and it would excite attention to make a speech across the table. If I have already told you this before, you may take the repetition as a confirmation of the remark. . . . At the Marquis of Lansdowne's there was again an assemblage of beautiful women; and he who is so puritanical as to reckon delight in beauty a sin, might rejoice his eyes with the diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, which adorned neck, arm, hand, and head, in brilliant variety. They might not, indeed, suffice to pay the English national debt, but could relieve the distresses of a whole county of impoverished landholders.

M. A—— told me of the arrival of a Prussian Liberal, who is vehement in his abuse of Prussia. Then, replied I, he is most surely wrong; without love for his country a man is no better than a brute, and the *ubi bene ibi patria* is for the most part the motto of selfish, heartless people, who are more attracted by cooks and wine-merchants than by friends, relations, and fellow-citizens. The mystery of the irresistible, inexhaustible attachment to the apparently inanimate soil, to a tree, a prospect, a meadow, a fountain; this mystery, so often ridiculed and despised, nay, viewed with the lamp of false enlightenment, pronounced to be absurd, proves the pulse of universal life which unites mind and matter; it contains a transcendental idealism which puts to shame all false philosophy, and especially that which would make spirit originate in the enjoyments of sense, or place upon the throne the utilitarian doctrine in her mantle of shreds and patches. The Laplander, the Hottentot (so say all collectors of curiosities) always desires to return home; what folly, what brutish stupidity! I know the value of mental development; but it is not produced by violently removing an individual in an humble situation from his natural soil, and carrying him through the air to unknown and incomprehensible regions. What neither can nor ought to succeed with German children in Geneva and Lausanne, will succeed still less with these Hottentots and Greenlanders. He who can say, "Here will I live, here I am happy, because my grandsire planted the tree, and my father rested under its shade," —he surely has not less feeling than the traveller who hastens from London to Naples, and hires apartments in St. Lucia because he has been told it is the most beautiful prospect in the world.

"The impressions on the senses," say certain philosophers,

"alone form the mind; there is nothing in the mind but what has been conveyed to it through the senses." But the beast has acuter senses than man; whence comes it, then, that his intellect is not awakened by the impressions of the senses? Why, then, does the eagle pay no attention when I place before him Raphael's Madonna? Why does the dog at the most begin to bark when he hears music? Has he, then, a perception of what is within, and of what is without him?

The mind, therefore, governs the world (*mens agitat molem*); and mind, in the highest sense, creates its own native land. He who is destitute of this power, who runs about here and there, to pick up, and enter in his journal the elements of a fatherland from all the regions of the world—and then patches together from this *olla podrida* the fanciful mosaic of a home,—all his wisdom evaporates, all his possessions drop from his hand, before the simple energy of mind which impels the peasant to leave his plough and seize the sword, when haughty and over-refined enemies would fairly demonstrate to him the worthlessness of the barren tract which he inhabits, while they are yet ambitious to add this desert spot to their splendid possessions.

It is by no means my intention to require that what is defective in our own country should be justified in spite of obvious truth, or that what is viewed with partiality should be overrated. On the contrary, I have the most sensitive feeling for the faults and errors of my country: not a feeling of hatred and contempt, but one originating in the strictest attachment. Who sees the faults of children more clearly, who blames them more severely, than parents? But is their heart therefore averted from them, or colder than that of the indifferent spectator? By no means. Thus should it be with our native land.

It is noble, it is praiseworthy, that expatriated Spaniards, Poles, and French, however severe their judgment on their opponents, should still love their country above all things; that the flame of their enthusiasm should be manifested in their looks, words, and movements, when the name of Spain, Poland, and France is but mentioned. Germany alone has incurred the disgrace of seeing Germans, who, for the most part, were driven from their native country only by their own folly, wander among other nations, and consider it as an honour heartlessly and unfeelingly to accuse their native land. It is not affection that calls forth their complaints and their eloquence, but hatred, vanity, and pride. Instead of leading with a careful hand, instead of contributing by personal sacrifice (and, first of all, that of their own false wisdom) to the cure of their diseased country, they rejoice at the appearance of every new evil, and like the vulture of Prometheus, tear the entrails of the land that gave them birth.

But this worst class of all ultra-liberals is very rarely of German origin; they belong, for the most part, to a nation which was once constrained to superficial cosmopolitism, and which

often weighs all the relations of family, the magistracy, subjects, &c., in the balance of cold reason.

I return to the point from which I set out. If a stranger (a Frenchman or an Englishman) dogmatically calls Prussia a despotic state, because he knows only his own standard, or applies his own measure, such a prejudice is to be gradually removed or refuted. A Prussian, on the other hand, who speaks in this manner, knows nothing of his own country, or does not care to know it. Both are equally blameable. I will not, however, be unreasonable. We endure great mental suffering, or a severe illness, more easily than a series of useless vexations,—than gnats and flies in our rooms and beds. The Prussian police has certainly sometimes been too busy with such vexations and fly-catching, and has driven even patient people to impatience. No revolutions arise from trifles, neither can they be kept off by trifles. The most comprehensive, the most rigid police, was ineffectual (opposed to great causes) in Russia and France. He who takes his lantern to look day and night after follies, will find them in plenty. By this process of the police, however, they lengthen like the tapeworm, but the head will never be laid hold of in such a manner. The folly of a day, the error of youth, ought to be considered as evaporated, as vanished. Instead of that, it is recorded in voluminous documents as *character indilibilis*, and the long list of sins is sent to presidents and ambassadors, that they may keep a sharp look-out after the guilty. But these very censurers did just the same in their younger days; they were members of orders, or *Landsmannschaften*, and relate, with much glee, stories of their pranks when they were students; and they are right in doing so; the froth of this university champagne has not affected either head or heart; and the police keepers of Zion, who never had a notion of it, were from their youth *Philister*, without head or heart.

In the year 1813, by the emancipation of the peasants, the independence of the citizens, and by exciting youth, the waves of the ocean were raised, which swept away the greatest despotism of modern times. Can we wonder, then, that after such a storm, all minds did not at once subside into a perfect calm, but, as in Gluck's "Iphigenia," some tones still echoed, some lightnings still flashed? Truly, those persons who now go about with their police watering-pot, to extinguish the last spark, would never, in those years of terror, have fetched, like Prometheus, the sacred fire from heaven, to purify the world from its dross and gain the pure silver of a new era.

Such modes of cure and renovation are happily not necessary every day. But if our youth does not sufficiently estimate the value of what has been gained, and of a tranquil orderly state of things, the error is pardonable, and a happy proof that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the over-anxious, the generous fire is not extinguished, but in reserve for times of new danger. Every useful fire, it is true, may spread and become a dangerous

conflagration, but the firemen do not on that account stand from year's end to year's end, with their engines and water-buckets, in the market-place; they do not blow their horn so incessantly that nobody pays attention to them. In Venice, Madrid, and perhaps in Paris, a secret police may have been possible and even necessary, but it is utterly at variance with the German character. By secret police, I do not mean merely the endeavour to discover secrets by means of worthless vagabonds, spies, opening letters, and so forth, but likewise the folly of public authorities instituting formal inquiries into things, which, if they were let alone, would quickly die away and be forgotten. Absolutists and ultra-liberals do each others work in this also, and are the cause of all the evil, and are colleagues without knowing or wishing it.

England has no police tyrants like France, and no petty spies like Germany, but it abounds the more in theological zealots. It cannot be denied that those of the Roman Catholic persuasion in Ireland have been for the most part produced by English tyranny. But to affirm, as many writers and orators now do, that the Roman Catholic Church has, at all times, taught and made converts in pure love and kindness, is trampling all historical truth under foot. Admitting this, Philip II. and the Duke of Alva would be the true defenders of a good cause, and martyrdom would consist, not in dying for one's own faith, but in burning those who are of a different opinion.

Has it not been said and printed in Germany that he who could and would not do the latter for his conviction, is very far from having attained true conviction? In the same manner, recent writings of the Sectarians here say,—"If superstition and idolatry, if the blackest manifestation of anti-Christ that the earth has ever seen, if these can save the soul of the sinner, this means of salvation is to be found in the lies offered by the Romish Church, the mother of abominations. The long suffering of God (especially his toleration of the Catholics) is miraculous, because it shows how he limits and keeps in check his own attributes. It is omnipotence exercised over the Omnipotent. Divine anger is an effort for the Almighty himself. How important must that be which it costs even God pain to accomplish! It is time, O God, for thee to act. They have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and put thy prophets to the sword. The Judge of men must arise and avenge his offended dignity. But I know on whom the mark of deliverance will be impressed, when the men with the weapons of death are commanded to pass through the land. Popery gives full scope to every vicious propensity, and yet holds out the promise of eternal life. It shows how men can lead the lives of devils, and yet apparently die angels. Ye, however, who bend the bow—shoot them down—spare no arrows. We will take all our bows from the armoury of heaven, and, should they wound to heal, or call forth plagues, we will still shoot against Babylon," &c.

With the same senseless, acrimonious, unchristian zeal, with which the Roman Catholic Church is attacked, libellers, on their part, attack the English Established Church. They do not aim at improving what is defective, but at overthrowing all that exists. Unstable atomism is to give to the church and the state new solidity and unity. What madness! Neither church nor state is dependent in origin or progress on the mere whim of the passing hour. The English advocates of the voluntary system in the church, and the French panegyrists of the *volonté générale*, cultivate the same barren, unprofitable soil. Scarcely a blade of grass springs up, with all their care; then comes the heat of the day, and what has been extolled and admired withers so rapidly —vanishes so quickly from the eye and the memory, that the next day produces the same transient pleasure, or the same trouble.

The religious sectarians and political levellers have an especial hatred of the science of theology. The grace of God has implanted in every man a sense of justice, of truth, of religion, of health. But when the science of justice vanishes, pettifoggers triumph; when philosophy disappears, ignorance steps in; when theology retires, incredulity and superstition take its place; and when the science of physic for the body, and of true policy for the state are lost, quacks and mountebanks flourish. Masters and scholars, pastors and congregations, cultivated knowledge and spontaneous feeling, are not opposed, but belong, to each other. He who would make shift with one-half, or raise the half to the dignity of the whole, lives in a dangerous error, which will soon bring its own punishment.

The treatment of the Roman Catholics in England is, in fact, less difficult than that of the Dissenters. As soon as it shall be thought fit to place the former on an equality with the English Church, or to treat them in the same manner as in Prussia, all difficulties will vanish. The Dissenters, on the other hand, have no firm connected system. They disperse, arrive, or vanish, often with unexpected rapidity. It is easy to find what, according to the Roman Catholic or the Protestant doctrine, is a church, a clergyman, a marriage, &c., and what importance is to be attached to all these things. But is every room, where a few dissentients assemble, to pass for a church? What persons can give validity to a marriage?—what rights and duties are to be attributed to them? Is every one at liberty to refuse contributing to the general burthens of the church? or is he absolutely bound to contribute as to the burthens of the state? These, and similar questions, are indeed, hard to be answered, and cannot be decided without an accurate comparison of all the circumstances. In Germany, where only two great parties exist together, all is more simple, and in greater masses, than here, where every internal difference immediately appears externally, and makes itself of consequence.

LETTER LII.

Party Views—Democracy—Waterloo Place—English and French Cookery—English Ladies.

London, Friday, July 10, 1835.

I MIGHT tell you a number of trifling occurrences of my daily life, if I had time to note every thought, and every transient feeling. But the archives of the past and the present, the dead and the living, claim every moment, so that I am, as it were, lost to myself. Instead, therefore, of stating circumstantially how I fared within these last few days at Mr. N——'s, Lord L——'s, and Count M——'s, take this short mention of their names as a proof that I continue to have cause to be satisfied. In answer to the melancholy expressions (uttered in dark, gloomy days), I can and most joyfully attest that my visit to England affords me, in an equally high degree, both advantage and pleasure. My harvest of past ages is as ample as my limited time and powers will allow; the permission to consult the public archives is as honourable as desirable, and the intercourse with men of the most different characters is equally agreeable and instructive. Add to this, the sight of the first city of Europe, the constant reference to the manifold activity, to an improving legislation, and to all those subjects which furnish the contents of my many letters.

The hope of obtaining an unprejudiced view of things by reading and writing, hearing and seeing, is indeed often disturbed from a quarter which ought already to have fallen into oblivion. Such cannonading of ultra-Toryism and Radicalism awaken one from idle dreams or self-complacent research. The first are for the most part only shot to cover the retreat, the last to deceive by feigned attacks. I add a few words on this subject. An ultra-conservative declared against the abolition of slavery: I find the apprehension which was entertained of the transition from a state of slavery to a state of freedom very natural; the doubts relative to the mode of abolition, and the amount of the indemnity not ill founded; but it is inconceivable to me how any one can defend the inhuman principle in itself. The splendour of the ancient world, with its wars for freedom or dominion, with its arts and science, often prevented us from observing the dark side of that fundamental evil; or it was considered as an indispensable means to produce those grand events. But in the West Indies, where the only question is, the production of more or less sugar or coffee!

Another Tory maintained that the greatest fault which his party had committed was the passing of the Poor Bill in the Upper House. This view of the case appears to me to be totally false. In the first

place (in the manner in which it was developed) it sets the main question, namely, the value of the law itself, entirely aside, and makes its adoption or reception to depend on totally different party reasons. The advantages of the new system are confirmed every day. Those who formerly paid, now save large sums; while those who formerly received, do not lose, and what is far better they are compelled to leave a state of impudent idleness for useful labour, and are consequently improved both in body and mind. In the extensive parish of Marylebone, as I was told by L——, at Lord L——'s, eight hundred, for the most part healthy and able-bodied, men extorted immense weekly sums for their subsistence; but since the new law holds out the prospect of harder labour and more sparing diet, the number has been reduced to fifty. Another housekeeper in London, Baron P——, assures me that his poor-rates are already reduced one-half.

What, then, would the Tories have gained by rejecting the bill? They would have caused the continued expenditure of a very large sum, perhaps have gained the goodwill of the lowest of the mob, (what an ally!) but certainly have forfeited the affection of the most respectable part of the population.

In the 'Standard,' the Englishmen who join the army of the Queen of Spain are called banditti, and the treatment with which they are threatened by Don Carlos is approved. What a perverse confusion of ideas! They go with the approbation of the Spanish government, and of their own, to combat for a cause which they consider as just and good. The governments may be mistaken—they may deceive themselves. Others, induced by opposite motives, may join Don Carlos; but how can either the one or the other be placed in the same class with banditti? or how can we assume (like Lord M——) that they can be animated by no more noble motive than love of money? The measure, however, of permission to enlist men, is highly approved of; soldiers and officers are eager to join, and in several regiments there are many who content themselves with half-pay in order to go to Spain.

In the last number of the 'Quarterly Review' there is an article in which the old municipal laws are highly extolled. Palgrave's opposition is praised to the skies, and all changes are reprobated as revolutionary and mischievous. *Qui prouve trop ne prouve rien.* I have already told you that Palgrave by no means desires entirely to abide by the old law; and so far as Sir Robert Peel agreed to the new principle, the Review, which commends him, might surely have gone with him, without forfeiting its conservative character. But people often forget that he who stands still while the whole world is moving, appears, in comparison with it, to go backwards, and in fact does so.

We hear so many lamentations that countries and people are going to ruin, and must do so, through the effects of daily-spreading democracy; yet its superficial panegyrists (if they were capable of

receiving instruction) might be fully refuted from the history of the last fifty years. Nay, the bitterest lesson might perhaps be, that democracy by no means predominates in countries where it is most highly extolled. How then is negro slavery in North America, or the power of dismissing civil officers in France, compatible with liberal institutions? Are not the French elective system—the custom of admitting substitutes in the army—the prohibitory system of commerce for the advantage of a few individuals, oligarchical in the worst sense of the term? England may, perhaps, be considered as the most democratic country, inasmuch as the people for the most part govern themselves, or to speak more correctly, because fewer threads for the purpose of guiding run to one central point. And yet, on the other hand, how is the whole country penetrated, in innumerable respects, by aristocracy, and founded on it!

London, July 12, 1835.

If I had not been interrupted the day before yesterday, I should probably have entered into a long discussion upon democracy. To-day I have no mind to renew the subject, and will only tell you, that I yesterday had a quiet and comfortable day; that is, from eight to half-past ten o'clock I worked at home, from eleven till four in the State-Paper Office and the Athenæum. When, on my return home, I attempted to settle down to my desk, I could not get on as I wished, which at first made me angry, but afterwards I found satisfactory reasons to excuse myself. I therefore drove to Hyde Park, strolled through the Green Park and St. James' Park, was as much pleased as the boys who were flying their kites, and enjoyed the fineness of the day, which was remarkably bright for London, in these parks, which are so beautifully rural, though so closely connected with the city. The preceding day I had ascended to the top of the Duke of York's column to take a view of the city, or rather of part of it, for fog and smoke veil the larger half, and only the dome of St. Paul's rises above the gray mist. How far different and more vast would the immense capital appear in the transparency of a Neapolitan sky!

You ask in what the comfort of the day consisted? Why, in the union of work and recreation—of science and nature. Besides, I have not yet come to the end of my story. At six o'clock I went to a newly-discovered eating-house, No. 3, Leicester Square. I had observed on the preceding day, upon the bill of fare in the window, "*rice soup*." This I had never tasted in London, and you will therefore think it very natural that I indulged my *penchant* for this dish, and, besides, bespoke maccaroni soup for the following day. It was excellent, without pepper; and, instead of the English, I found here the French-German cookery, and this exactly suited my taste. English cookery is by no means agreeable, as everybody is obliged to bite and chew twice as much as in France, Italy, and Germany,

which is trying enough to young teeth, but utter destruction to older masticators.

English cookery is that of nature, as described by Homer. Good quality of provisions is the basis and indispensable condition of good eating: therefore, without good fish, good meat, good vegetables, labour and art are thrown away; and, because the English have all these, they fancy that their object is attained. In this, however, they appear to be mistaken, for they want the second step in the progress of the art, or the scientific and tasteful combination of nature and art. Thus, we see every day, and in every company, one and the same sauce for fish. Every vegetable appears *in puris naturalibus*—every soup seeks to hide its weakness by a covering of pepper and spice. With the same materials the French cook can do a great deal more. As the Egyptian divinities, in simple dignified repose, appear with their arms and legs closely pinioned in the same position, and with the same expression in all ages; so do in England, in dull and unvarying monotony, roast beef, roast mutton, roast veal. As every god and goddess assumes in the hands of Phidias and Praxiteles a different posture and features, a milder or more serious expression; so do the sheep, the oxen, and the calves in the hands of a French cook; and the monotonous genus of plants in the system of Linnæus or Jussieu is broken, by the horticultural skill of these artists, into the most pleasing varieties. Art, indeed, goes beyond its limits, if it loses sight of its destination, if the roast is treated à la Bernini, the vegetables à la Hollandaise. In this case we feel that it has degenerated, and long for the simplicity of nature. The Germans in this, as in many other things, aim at a medium between the two extremes—at improving rude nature, and simplifying over-refined art. The will is good—Heaven grant that the end may be attained, namely, the production of a dinner combining the excellencies of nature and art. I was yesterday perfectly satisfied with mine, and, to crown the manifold enjoyments of the day, went to the Haymarket Theatre. 'Sweethearts and Wives' was performed better than anything I have yet seen. Mr. Buckstone (Billy), an overcharged caricature, indeed, but well sustained, the opposite of the more gentle Eugenia (Miss Taylor), and the flippant Laura (Mrs. Humby), and old Admiral Franklin (Mr. Strickland), afforded much amusement. In the second piece, 'The Wheel of Fortune,' Mr. Warde, as a kind of misanthrope, fell into that drawling, screaming, pausing and hesitating manner which is here highly applauded, but appears to me contrary to good taste, and for which I never could feel any relish.

All these secondary matters had nearly made me forget the most important matter, namely, a negotiation, the object of which is, to take a young English lady with me to Germany. There is no article of exportation in which the English are so far behind the French as in that of young women, sedate governesses, and old bonnes. The English might answer, this is a proof of our prosperity, of our con-

tentment at home, of attachment to our country; whereas poverty, ennui, and vanity drive the French women over the frontiers. I can only half concede the correctness of this conclusion: an easy and agreeable life certainly keeps the English women at home, and it is difficult to indemnify them on the continent; but the French gain, by this kind of exportation, more influence in Europe than by ambassadors, spies, and all active agents of the male sex. It was not on the exportation of herrings and stock-fish that the English government should have granted drawbacks and bounties, but on that of their amiable countrywomen. It is to be hoped that the present very judicious ministry will, at least, defray the travelling expenses to the continental capitals, and they may be persuaded that this outlay will prove more advantageous to Great Britain than many large subsidies for the importation of German soldiers.

LETTER LIII.

Diplomatists—The English Church—Newspapers—Taxes on Literature—Selling Wives—Divorces.

Monday, June 13th.

Yesterday, after finishing my work, I paid several visits, and received your last letters at B—— B——. They give rise to a few remarks. Beware of judging of the situation of the world exclusively according to the views of certain diplomatists; they gradually acquire an invincible predilection for some things, and a perverse aversion from others. And what they have said a hundred times, they fancy, at last, to be as true as the gospel. Their dignity, or their affectation of dignity, prevents them from having any intercourse with persons of different ranks and professions; consequently they seldom hear an opinion or conviction decidedly and positively expressed. Life in its variety leads to angles and edges; diplomatic intercourse, on the contrary, resembles the meeting of polished marble balls. The diplomatists of the continent, especially, find it very difficult to comprehend Great Britain, which is so entirely different from what they have been accustomed to. If, in addition to this, they have made their first essay at Paris, and put French spectacles on a Russian nose, everything wavers and dances before their eyes, and all defined outlines and forms vanish from their sight.

A celebrated diplomatist lately said, the King of England will create from thirty to a hundred new peers, in order that the Bill on the Irish Church may pass the Upper House. I, who am neither celebrated nor a diplomatist, say he will not create any! Then, continued the other, the Bill will be rejected, and civil war will be

organized by O'Connell. I say,—there will be no civil war; on the contrary, the Catholics will continue to content themselves with not paying tithes, and the Protestant Church, for which the zealots contend, will alone be the loser. Then, continued he, the Church will be ruined whether the Bill be passed or rejected; and if the Church is ruined the destruction of all England cannot be averted. I reply, —however long matters may remain in an unsettled state, a temporal spoliation of the Church (of which there is no mention whatever in the proposed Bill) will not occur, nor will the voluntary system be adopted. But as oaths and sinecures have been abolished in the state, they will likewise come to an end in the universities and the high Church. These changes will not lead to ruin, but only to the purifying of that which exists. The vitality of the whole British empire does not consist in one and the same external form of Church government: the Roman Catholic predominates in Ireland; the Episcopal in England; and in Scotland the Presbyterian; all live and will live more at their ease from year to year, if the stumbling-block of intolerance (which has been called a foundation of Christianity) is removed, and every church is founded on the main article of our holy faith,—Christian Charity.

You must not give entire credit to the journalists, any more than to the diplomatists. The simple, white light of truth is too insignificant for any of them, and must be parted into the coloured rays by refraction through their prism. But instead of playing on this many-coloured finger-board, each of them chooses *one* colour and despises and depreciates all the rest. Daily practice, of course, gives readiness and dexterity, and it would be impossible in Germany to make such infinite variations upon one subject as in France and England. Whether we lose much by this is another question. The political declamations of the newspapers certainly excite passions and dissentions, or make them more manifest. On the other hand, the stimulant is again sedative. The gunpowder, which in a confined space possesses immense power, and conceals in itself the greatest dangers, explodes innocuously when it can freely expand in all directions. Macchiavelli would probably recommend the writing of newspapers: *per sfogar gli umori.*

When you in Germany hear a noise, you fancy that every newspaper is charged with balls and grape shot, and that some must fall in the combat every day. But here the persons who are attacked, as well as those who are praised, pass unconcerned by the mouth of the gun pointed at them, and do not even look round.

Of the German newspapers, the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' alone has a distinct, I would say a German, character. In a highly commendable manner, it opens its columns to every opinion, that the reader may be able to unite all these rays in one image of truth. It is very seldom that we observe either predilection, or restriction from without. The Berlin journals may possess good will, but they certainly do not succeed in carrying it into effect. Everything is more or

less cut and trimmed, to serve certain partial and subordinate objects, and a conservative pair of spectacles is always used, that the eyes may not suffer from the too dazzling splendour of the sun of history.

It must be owned that every paper carries partiality to a far greater length; but by the side of the 'Standard' and 'John Bull,' there are the 'Globe' and 'Morning Chronicle;' and to amateurs of another class, the weathercock 'Times' may be recommended as a mediator.

All these large, dear, stamped newspapers (notwithstanding the difference of their characters) form as it were the aristocracy of the newspaper press; and opposed to them is the democracy of the unstamped papers. The former have, theoretically, a kind of monopoly, but cannot maintain it in practice against these demagogues. The stamp on newspapers had two objects in view: first, to raise money, and then to place the journals in the hands of opulent men; and, in the second place, to exclude the mob of writers. The last object has by no means been attained: for, first, the pretended dignified and well-bred journals have violated decorum and good-breeding, without, however, meriting the wholesale attack of the Radical Roebuck, who was compelled in one week humbly to retract several abusive sallies. In opposition to them, unstamped papers were established, but without permission, which, in the most shameful manner, attack property, morality, and everything venerable. Though they had not a very extensive sale (only 30,000 to 500,000 of the stamped papers,) they however did but too much mischief; and all attempts to annihilate them failed. If a bad writer was convicted and punished, the people often considered him as a martyr of liberty, or two new seducers sprung up instead of one. If the venders of unstamped papers were taken up and imprisoned, they were better off than before. There was no means of imposing a stamp-duty on papers circulated in this manner, and thereby raising their price. While the large journals, which are sold for sevenpence, pay a stamp-duty of threepence halfpenny, the unstamped papers can be sold for one or twopence. The antidote is therefore seven times as dear as the poison. We neglect, says the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xliii, p. 265, all means of inspiring the people with respect for the laws, and for what improves their corporal and intellectual situation, and allow the shameful portion of the press to act incessantly (and without any restriction on the part of the law of decorum and truth) on the mass of the people, and to promote rebellion, blasphemy, and treason. On this point O'Connell, the political adversary of the 'Quarterly Review,' agrees with it in the most essential points; he said in Parliament (Hansard, xiii. 638,) "The most inaccurate facts and opinions are announced without contradiction, and all those who are able and inclined to instruct the people are prevented from doing so, because they will not violate the law, and write for the unstamped papers. The advocates of the most dangerous doctrines,

on the other hand, have no such scruples, and circulate them, while no opportunity is anywhere afforded to refute them."

On this and similar grounds it was proposed to reduce the stamp-duty on the larger journals to twopence, by this means to destroy the sale of the papers illegally sold without a stamp, and to supply the people with necessary and useful information at a cheaper rate, and in greater abundance. The oligarchical power of the great monopolists, and the demagogical powers of the obscure writers would thereby be equally put down. As the idea, that the people shall not read, or read only papers submitted to a censorship, appeared to be wholly impracticable in England for a thousand reasons, but little objection was made to the above principle, but it was doubted whether the increased sale of the papers would be sufficient to make up for the diminution which the revenue would experience from the reduction of the stamp-duty. However, the duty on advertisements was reduced. Formerly it was 3*s.* 6*d.* for an advertisement in a newspaper, and in any other literary publication 5*s.* 6*d.*; it is now 1*s.* 6*d.* for more than ten lines, and 1*s.* for less than ten lines. The apparently high stamp-duty vanishes, however, in a great measure, when we consider that it includes the postage, and that the newspapers are sent through the whole kingdom, free from any further charge.

To me it appears indubitable, that, in the situation of England, the mischief which is caused by printed papers can be counteracted and cured only by means of the press. In this respect, as I have already mentioned, the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge acts with a power far exceeding that of all bad obscure writers. In proportion as more is read more will be thought. If good and moral notions are inspired into the mass of the people, an immense advantage results,—an increase in the power and influence of the mind. Wholly to reject this means, instead of purifying it, would be encouraging ignorance. He who does not know how to carry on war with these intellectual arms must learn, but cannot prevent the use and effect of them by prohibitory measures. But this leads me into regions where general positions do not avail, because every nation has its own place in the scale of civilization, and requires a peculiar mode of education.

The stamps issued for the London journals show the number of the papers.

For 1825 - - - - -	16,910,000
1828 - - - - -	17,735,000
1830 - - - - -	19,763,000
1831 - - - - -	22,048,000
1832 - - - - -	21,432,000

The number increases on the whole, but not in a greater proportion than the number of readers. For undoubtedly far more persons

out of a hundred are now able to read than ten or twenty years ago. That the London press far surpasses all the others appears from the following comparison. Newspaper stamps were used in

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1801	15,090,000	994,000	—
1810	22,519,000	1,459,000	—
1820	25,177,000	1,286,000	2,974,000
1830	27,370,000	3,133,000	4,025,000
1831	30,170,000	3,280,000	4,361,000
1832	29,427,000	3,264,000	4,518,000
1833	27,690,000	3,033,000	3,791,000

Many doubts are started respecting the accuracy of these numbers. However, they show the general tendency. I cannot here enter on the very special causes of the fluctuations. In 1832 duties to the following amount were paid:—

	£
Times* and Evening Mail - - - - -	63,949
Morning Herald and English Chronicle - -	7,743
Morning Advertiser - - - - -	5,404
Morning Chronicle and Journals belonging to it	3,794

The Dublin journals used 3,378,000 stamps.

Of the country papers the greatest amount of stamp duty is paid by the

	£
Edinburgh Advertiser . . .	1,952
Edinburgh Courant . . .	1,923
Birmingham Journal . . .	1,891
Liverpool Advertiser . . .	1,730
Manchester Guardian . . .	1,671

Great as the number of British journals appears, it is far exceeded by those of North America; for the former are estimated at only 34,000,000, and the latter at 60,000,000. The number of advertisements in the journals of New York is said to have amounted in one year to 1,456,000, and in all England to only 1,020,000. Doubtful, and even inaccurate, as these calculations may be, it cannot be denied that the stamp-duty and the high price certainly diminish the number of journals, of advertisements, and of readers. In America, for instance, a paper costs 4*d.* or 5*d.* less than in England. There were published in that country, in 1775, 37 journals; in 1810, 358; in 1828, 802.

In Bengal there were published, in 1814, 1 journal; in 1830, 33; —in Calcutta, 1814, none; now 8 journals.

* The great sale of the Times arises partly from its being the principal journal for advertisements of all kinds.

I leave it to you to make your own commentary on all this, and add only one comparison. A people that possesses no journals is destitute of the small coin necessary for intellectual traffic; it is restricted and hindered in the smallest transactions. On the other hand, a people whose literature and reading is confined to daily papers and journals, or is supplanted by them, fancies itself rich in the possession of this infinite number of pence and farthings; but gold and silver have gradually disappeared, and the faculty of recovering them is lost. The labour of serious thought and solid writing is disdained in this literary mill. He who can conceive three ideas, and put them to paper, passes for an author; he who offers the readers more, or expects more from them, is considered as a pedant, and deficient in that versatile dexterity which the age requires, and exclusively commends. Heaven grant that we Germans may not also forget how to think and read from the influence of this legerdemain!

The taxes on newspapers are connected with those on literature in general. They were, and, notwithstanding some reductions, are still, much too high. Thus the expense of 500 copies of a volume of 500 pages, is—

	£. s.		£. s.
Printing and Corrections .	88 8		
Paper	38 0	Duty	8 12
Boarding . . .	10 0	..	3 3
Advertisements . . .	30 0	..	9 0
Total . .	£166 8		£20 15

Eleven copies must be delivered to libraries which, for the most part, are not open to the public; and a third and most unreasonable impost is the previous payment of the full amount of the taxes, though the edition is frequently not sold, but thrown aside as useless. One of the strangest regulations is that imposing a duty on the importation of books. Books printed before the year 1801 are liable to a duty of 1*l.* per cwt., and if printed since 1801 to a duty of 5*l.* per cwt., an excessive and most absurd tax on all modern literature. How much more liberal is the Prussian government, which imposes a duty of only 1*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.

London, 14th July.

K. writes me that G. E. wishes for some information respecting the sale of wives in England. B. P., one of the most eminent English judges, with whom I was dining yesterday, gave me the following facts. In some parts of England an opinion prevails among the lower classes that such a sale is lawful, if it is made with the mutual consent of husband and wife. The laws have never sanctioned or recognised it; and it has no effect whatever in reference to a dissolution of the marriage, a second marriage, heirs, &c. When such

a case is brought before a court of justice, the parties are generally sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

The Ecclesiastical Court has the right to separate from bed and board on account of adultery, and for no other reason; but it can never permit either one or both parties to contract a second marriage. A full divorce (*a vinculo matrimonii*), and including a permission for a second marriage, can be granted by Parliament only, but on the above ground. As the proofs, however, are seldom considered sufficient, and the costs are always exorbitant, divorces occur very rarely, and among people of fortune; but, properly speaking, the mass of the people cannot obtain a sentence of divorce. Sentences of nullity of marriage (for example, because it was not performed by a regular clergyman, &c.) may, as by the Romish ecclesiastical law, certainly be obtained here; but they are of course, very rare, and must not be confounded with a divorce. Another lawyer told me, that though the law permitted a wife to sue for a divorce, on the ground of adultery, it was so extremely rare, that he could recollect scarcely a single instance of its occurrence. If, however, the other party can institute a similar counter-plea, no divorce takes place. Damages, in case of adultery, are determined by a jury. The Scotch laws vary, in some points, from the English; for example, the Ecclesiastical Court decides in the last instance, and can pronounce a divorce after a wilful desertion of four years.

All these laws are evidently much more like those of the Roman Catholic Church than ours; treating marriage as an indissoluble tie, and placed almost beyond human interference. The consequences of this law appear to me most important in what I might call its non-application. Several married ladies assured me, that no one looked upon a separation as even possible, and that the idea would no more occur than that of having two husbands, or two wives, at the same time. All considerations,—whether or not we shall endure certain grievances, whether we shall improve our condition by a separation, be at liberty to choose a richer or more beautiful person,—all these exciting, or insinuating evils of the domestic relations are obviated, or at least find an antidote, in the peculiar habit of thinking induced by this law. All marriages do not, on this account, become happy; but I affirm, that the English prohibition of divorce tends more towards the attainment of this object, than the too great facility of obtaining a divorce in other countries. Much, again, depends on the national character, and the very same law would have a very different effect in Italy and in England. If the family is, and is to remain, the basis of all larger human connexions, it seems to me, according to all I see and hear, to be here so firm and so sound, that it will long continue to bear and support the stupendous edifice which is reared upon it.

LETTER LIV.

English Ladies—English Literature and Philosophy—Authors and Publishers —James I.—Oaths—Don Carlos.

London, Wednesday, 15th July.

I will fetch up my journal with all possible brevity. On the 13th I dined at Baron P———'s, and became acquainted with his agreeable lady and two daughters, who understand German very well. Yesterday I dined at Mr. S——'s, where I saw, for the first time, Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, and his chaplain, Mr. D———. I then found ———. I mention this because I am gradually becoming better acquainted, and more at home in certain circles, by which the pleasures of society are much increased. Every time I hear and learn something new and interesting.

The English ladies are in general represented as mute, stiff, cold, prudish, and praised only for their beauty. To the last I have already done justice; but the same justice calls on me positively to contradict the other parts of the description. In the first place, most of the ladies are very well informed; so that the conversation is by no means confined (as is very often the case in Italy) to trivial compliments and commonplace. I am inclined also to affirm that the English women have more social animation, a more engaging versatility, than the men. As soon as my imperfect knowledge of the language allowed me to express but half a thought, or any feeling, I found them ready to comprehend and meet it, and that in such a lively, cheerful, and natural manner, that I cannot conceive any intercourse more agreeable; not a trace of stiffness, affected dignity, or insipid coquetry; but the just, positive, sound medium between two extremes. The same may be said of their dress. It is, on the whole, more simple than the German and French; nay, there appears, perhaps, now and then, a certain indifference to the petty arts of the toilet: on the other hand, it is very seldom that you see them dressed up and bedizened. You say, perhaps, that I am partial; with them I am, at least, very disinterestedly so; that is to say, I find the English ladies amiable, though none of them has returned, or could return, the compliment to an old devourer of manuscripts (Abel Remusat called me *Bibliophage*) like myself.

I could say much more of the English women; but it is very difficult to go into the minutiæ of character, if we cannot produce living specimens of this higher or highest botany. I must therefore, at least for the present, break off, to take to my notes, and communicate to you what first comes to hand.

I find one of them entitled English Literature. It contains, how-

ever, but few remarks; for we have so frequently discussed this subject, that little remains to be added, and we have only to inquire what the English themselves think about it. The thread of life of their greatest poets has been all too soon cut by the hand of Fate. Or perhaps not; for instance, I scarcely know how Byron could have proceeded any farther in the course he had pursued. He was rather a great poetic energy, than a great poet; for the excess of the demoniacal, which was in his nature, and which he developed at the time with predilection and hatred, is at variance with the noblest destination of a poet. In Homer, Sophocles, Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Tieck, I trace this highest impress, of a union of cheerfulness and profundity, of independence and sensibility, and of that charity, without which all poetry is but a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

Suffer me to be a little captious in my criticism—it is not ill-meant. In the character of Horace there are two distinct features —the Stoic and the Epicurean—both remarkable and peculiar, but not blended in one indivisible whole. In Dante's austerity, mildness and beauty are sometimes lost; and Petrarch's effeminate tenderness, may in the end, excite disgust. Ariosto does not offend me by his frivolity, but because he does not appear to believe, with all his heart, the gay scenes which he displays before our eyes. Aristophanes, with much more offensive ambiguity, possesses more elevation and gravity of mind than Ariosto. The proud, cold, state-road of Corneille and Alfieri does not lead so far into the sacred groves of poetry as the unpretending side-path of Goldoni and Holberg; and one piece of Shakspeare is sufficient to blow up all the poesy of the reign of Queen Anne. Lessing, who said, and knew himself, that he was not a poet in the full sense of the word, had yet a poetry of mind and character, which raises him above many who are richer in imagery and characters, or who fancy they are. Lastly, Goethe—has not his gigantic universality done him more harm than good? Yet this German Jupiter is to the new French poets as a work of Phidias compared with the picture of the 'Plague,' which is so highly admired in the Palais du Luxembourg. I return from this digression to Lord Byron; but instead of giving any opinion of my own, I will quote that of the 'Edinburgh Review,' (liii., 572.) The very ingenious critic, after doing full justice to the talents of Byron, adds, with equal truth and wit:—A dangerous and fanatic association between mental energy and moral degeneracy was awakened in the minds of many enthusiasts from the poems of Byron: they developed a system of morality composed of misanthropy and sensuality, a system of which the two leading commandments were—hate thine enemy and love his wife.

If poets become extinct in a nation, the poetic feeling may, notwithstanding, be long kept alive, especially by the female sex; on the other hand, they are no pillars of philosophy as a science. This branch of austere intellectual exertion appears, at present, to be

the most remote from the English, and a work like Aristotle's 'Metaphysics,' with its innumerable problems, must appear to them as superfluous and insignificant as Dutch toys. How many, even of the leading men, look only after a precedent, in order to arrange the present and future accordingly; and yet everything that stands isolated is unfit to establish an invariable rule, and the scattered parts can never be combined in a uniform intelligible whole without science. On the other hand, there is unquestionably more truth and life in every individual actual fact, than the empty formulæ of false philosophers; and if England possesses no other remedy against unsatisfactory empiricism than the new edition of it by the Benthamites, I, for my part, will rather abide by the old pharmacopœia of precedents.

But I have already told you this ten times. Let us, therefore, turn to another subject in literature, to which I have not yet alluded, —I mean the rights of authors and publishers. By a law passed in the time of Queen Anne, both had an exclusive copyright for fourteen years, which was prolonged for an equal time if the author was alive at the expiration of the first term. It was certainly a great mistake to make a privilege depend solely on the accidental or uncertain continuance of life. A new law, therefore, secures to the author, whether dead or alive, his property for twenty-eight years, and at all events till his death, should this take place *after* the term of twenty-eight years. It has been disputed whether this literary property would, after this time, be of any considerable value. We can hardly doubt this in the case of certain celebrated works, yet the above limitation is adhered to, because the further extension of the copyright would in proportion be less advantageous to the author than injurious to the public.

Thursday, 16*th July*.

I have undoubtedly been right in confining my historical researches to certain subjects and eras, and not wasting my time by indiscriminate reading. Out of curiosity I took up at the Museum some MSS., among them Nicholas Estrange's 'Collection of Jests.' The greater part are of the time of Charles II., but so destitute of wit, so obscene, and disgusting, that I cannot give you a specimen.

Compared with the time of Charles II., immorality, cursing, swearing, &c., have very greatly decreased. The latter vice was, for a long time, so far promoted by the legislature, as it imposed an immense multitude of oaths, and in part on persons who could often know nothing of what they were required to swear to. Thus, in the course of one year, 101,596 oaths were administered at the Custom House, and 194,612 at the Excise. By a law which passed in July, 1831, very many of these oaths have been abolished.*

In No. CVII. of the 'Quarterly Review,' the translation of my

* Hansard, iii. 1282; iv. 1310.

'Historical Letters' is reviewed with much talent, especially the question relative to Don Carlos. The 'Letters from Paris in 1830,' are also favourably noticed by the reviewer. When, however, he says, the author did not court society, and professes to have seen and become acquainted only with what strikes the eye of every observer in the streets, taverns, and theatre, I must take the liberty of contradicting it. I, in fact, sought and visited societies of various descriptions, only I have avoided specifying any person, and thereby giving offence,—otherwise the critic would have discovered among them wealthy merchants and distinguished literati, old and new peers, members of the Chamber of Deputies, the most celebrated diplomatists, and three of the present ministers of Louis Philippe.

In another periodical it is said, "the translation of Raumer's 'Letters,' is the newest literary production of Lord Egerton Gower, and we beg to offer him our best thanks for it. But should we ever be so fortunate as to possess the third part of his income, we would bear it very patiently if the whole world brayed at our happiest efforts."

LETTER LV.

John Sebastian Bach and Handel—The Parks in London—Grandeur and Wealth of England—Advantages of Germany—Value of the Past and Present—Immortality of Nations—Rich and Poor—St. Simon—Democracy of Christianity.

Saturday, 18*th July*.

I was obliged to put off to another day two very kind invitations, one from the Scotch historian, Mr. T. (Tytler?), in order to dine once more with Mr. M. sen., before his departure with his family for the Continent. Every conversation with the father or son, who are both well-informed men, is interesting and instructive.

Mr. T., like myself, studies at the State Paper Office, but we are the only persons who labour in good earnest. Far from envying each other, we mutually communicate such discoveries as may aid us in our researches. This always should be, though it seldom is the case.

After dinner I went to Mr. S. whose wife and daughter are desirous of penetrating the ancient chapels and sacred halls of John Sebastian Bach, and they will do so, as they have sufficient talent, if their patience does not forsake them in the first few weeks. Of the two fundamental pillars of German musical art the French and the Italians know neither, and the English only one,—that is Handel. When they shall equally appreciate the second giant—the Michael

Angelo of his age—John Sebastian Bach, and not before, they will stand so firmly, that the swell of the new-fangled torrent will not be able to overthrow and carry them away.

To enjoy the beauty of the evening, Waagen and myself walked through the three fine parks on the south and south-west side of London. Their popular features, their proximity to the immense metropolis, excited in me a feeling such as I have never experienced before. We, indeed, trace the helping hand of man,—but all is so natural, nay in parts apparently neglected;—in the distance are the long rows of gas-lamps, and, notwithstanding, we enjoy a sense of silent solitude. You see, from the whole, that a London day, with the utmost simplicity, yet combines variety and a charm unique in its kind.

Waagen and myself have seen and observed so much in our different pursuits—we are both past that time of life when men are easily deceived and infatuated—we are both at an age when the *nil admirari* so often appears as the result of the whole life, and yet our attachment to England, and our admiration of England, increase every day, instead of diminishing, as so often happens, with the prolongation of our visit. Thus, without intending it, we yesterday evening commenced a panegyric upon England, and then upon ourselves, for not having been deterred from undertaking our journey by all the difficulties which the spirit of the gold-mine, among others, threw in our way. It appears very singular to us to learn so much in a short time, at a period of life when we almost begin to forget; and not because any particular wisdom is instilled into us by any single individual, but by the totality of the daily impressions which arise from the manifold culture of the country, and its inhabitants, and from its wealth.

We sometimes deride riches, partly because the grapes hang too high; but I cannot esteem, as rich men, those who are accounted such in our country. When a man in full health goes to a watering-place, or a lady buys new furniture though the old would have lasted her life,—we say, indeed, these are people of fortune, they live like persons of fortune. Surely the man who fixes his heart on such a mammon as this obeys but a senseless demon. Wealth is power, bodily as well as intellectual, and as the sinful use of this power is condemnable, so is its right application praiseworthy and beneficial. Much, therefore, depends on the way in which this wealth was acquired, and what use is made of it. If it is the gift merely of chance, or of the lottery, it generally vanishes with the same rapidity with which it came. It is in that case no proof, no result, of real power.

Of all the prizes on earth, England has drawn the greatest, as Shakspeare long since felt and described with bold enthusiasm and warm attachment. Yet the inhabitants of this happy island, (*nimium fortunati sua si bona norint*) would be culpable, if instead of gratefully thanking heaven for their uninterrupted peace, thus were to forget the desolation which the useless barbarous wars

occasion in other countries: while here capital accumulates with interest upon interest, it is there more or less destroyed nearly every ten years. Those who are less favoured are therefore deserving of double praise, if they are not discouraged in mental and bodily exertions, indefatigably enter into a competition with England in every way, and in a career beset with the greatest difficulties, and are by no means everywhere defeated.

Great Britain has recognised the advantages of its position, and improved them by the most active exertions. It has become substantially and intellectually so rich, and has such a broad and firm foundation, that it has borne easily, and for a long period, evils under which other states would have expired. Riches, I said, is not merely money, nay, not even merely material property. Let us, for instance, oppose our toleration to English intolerance; it is we who are rich, and have acquired in that principle an immense capital, which daily produces certain interest. In the same manner, we have gained, by the abolition of military intolerance and of corporal punishment, a fund of human dignity, which cannot indeed be turned into coin, but by which we may overcome many rich people.

You see that I have involuntarily been led to show, that we are not quite so poor in our country as we often appear, when viewed through a pair of English spectacles mounted in gold. But this by no means lessens my praise of England: I am well acquainted with the oddities which are manifested, the little contradictions, prejudices, &c., and if I had a mind to give free scope to my tongue and to my pen, I might tell you much that was amusing and *piquant;* but he who skims off these bubbles does not penetrate below the surface. How many of such bubbles, which figure in all older novels and journals of travellers, have burst and disappeared within these few years! And so will those of the present day pass harmlessly by and make room for others. And now, in the great relations of life, have not vitality, and motion manifested themselves? Whether too much, has been often the subject of discussion. I would compare England to a beautiful statue, upon which all kinds of black flies are crawling; the Radicals would kill them by violence, but would thereby produce offensive stains: the Ultra Tories say, they belong to the statue and heighten its beauty, by the contrast of black and white. The Whigs want to blow them away, but then the Tories, in order to prevent it, hold their hands before them, at which the flies are either frightened and fly away, or when their time is come, become faint and fall to the ground and perish. Thus, the corn laws, the navigation monopoly, religious oaths have died away, and only the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, by schoolboys and students, is still considered as a kind of vaccination against all the diseases of sectarianism, though the whole effect of it is, that those who are called orthodox may set themselves down more conveniently to the fleshpots of Egypt.

Sunday, 19th July.

While I am seated quietly in my room, and writing for you eulogiums on England, I certainly do not think of courting favour by it. In the first place, an opposite view would probably receive greater applause out of England; and even here I shall scarcely please anybody. When Cobbett, for instance, in travelling about the country, infers, from the size of the churches, that England, four or five centuries back, was more populous than at present; when he everywhere sees ruined houses and deserted farms, how he would upbraid me, for not seeing anything of all this! When he complains that the peasantry consume so little of what they produce, this is about as reasonable as if I were to commiserate the cloth-worker and stocking-weaver, because he does not wear all the cloth and all the stockings manufactured by him, till they are worn out. When Cobbett goes on to characterise the merchants, that is, all who buy in order to sell again, as useless and unproductive, as drones in the hive, he misunderstands the nature of human traffic—though not more than Adam Smith, when he recognises only material productions, and forgets that they acquire form and value from the mind, which is the grand producer and creator on earth.

I never, therefore, can or shall agree with the exclusive panegyrists of the past, who would willingly make the history of the world retrograde; and as little with the advocates of the sterile, unstable, passing day. I mean to say, that he who does not understand the ages of Henry V., the time of Queen Elizabeth, the early periods of British history, as well on the dark as on the light sides, will likewise be incapable of judging correctly of the present. What absurd things, for example, are declaimed about the dark ages by certain literary fungi, who complacently view themselves in the light of yesterday! Are the old and wonderful cathedrals of England less manifest proofs of energy of mind, and hand, than iron rail-roads? Who takes the lead, the architect of Westminster Abbey or of Buckingham Palace? Who had a more comprehensive idea of the church, —Thomas à Becket, or a modern professor of theology, who would edify himself in a chair with thirty-nine sides or angles? Where is greater Christian heroism and chivalry,—in Richard the Lion Heart and his valiant compeers; or in those who imagine the existence of England to be dependent on the existence of the Turkish Sultan? Where shall we find greater clearness, euphony, light, and harmony, —in Shakspeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and his 'As you like it;' or in Byron's 'Don Juan'?—Therefore, honour your ancestors, that your posterity may do justice to you.

Every race has its own labour, its own task, its own standard. Happy is he whom Heaven so favours that he conceives different ages; thinks, lives, and feels in them. Phidias and Raffaelle, Sophocles and Shakspeare, Herodotus and Hume are near to his understanding and his heart. But one and the same age cannot

produce things so opposite in their nature. Hume's view of the world is as impossible under the clear sky of ancient Ionia, as the simple cheerfulness of Herodotus in the foggy atmosphere of London. Wo to the individual and the nation that does not see what it should and can do,—that aims at too little or too much,—that looks only forward or backward. All human developement consists of the past, the present, and the future. The child is a child only because the past does not exist for it, and the old man becomes childish when, as an extravagant panegyrist of the past, *laudator temporis acti*, he thinks no more of the future.

Hume inquires in what the euthanasia of England will consist. I again deny that we have a right to assume for any nation an unconditional necessity to die; it can and it ought to renovate itself, and always enter upon a new career. If this does not happen, the judgment of history on the dead will record, with the praise, grounds for censure. In the same manner as I do not consider the life of England to consist entirely in its political institutions, so neither do I see in them the exclusive possibility of a mortal disease. Allow me (that I may not always act the panegyrist) to point out two other considerable dangers. The difference between the richest and the poorest people in England is probably not greater than in other countries, only the rich here are richer, and the poor (in spite of all complaints) on the whole less poor than in many states of the continent. But if the possibility of profitable exertion should be diminished by any extensive change, the fall from a greater elevation would be more severe, the loss more painful, the transition to another state of things more difficult. Therefore, it is not merely a party or pecuniary matter, but a business of immense importance, to take advantage of the favourable moment to remove everything that is too artificial and complex, and to prefer a natural state to that of a dangerous over-excitement. The corn-laws and prohibitory system must be abolished, nay, practically the former do not operate at all this year; and Prussia and Germany show how a country that is less rich, less favoured by nature enjoys a healthy state, as soon as it rejects this over-excitement, and does not consider this kind of political mercantile brandy to be the cordial of life.

No state, as I shall prove to you, has remitted so many taxes within the last twenty years as England, and taxes too which in proportion bore the heaviest on the lower classes; yet the latter, here and in all Europe, contribute more in proportion to the public burthens than the rich. What they have gained in personal rights, since the time of the middle ages, is counterbalanced, on the other hand, by the circumstance that the burthen of military service, to which in former times only the feudal nobility were subject, has now become heavier, and is imposed on all without exception. He who possesses the greatest rights should bear the greatest burthens. This was the spirit of the legislation of Solon and Servius Tullus, and it is the business of our times to remove, by comprehensive

and liberal measures, the discontent of the masses of the people, which is by no means unfounded. A secret police and indiscreet blame of the absolutists are as inefficacious to remove the dissatisfaction which has spread among the people, as the abolition of property and of hereditary rights proposed by the ochlocratic tyrants of the school of St. Simon. When, instead of feudal services, taxes on consumption were introduced into England, and on the continent the miserably small tax on noble estates,—the superior classes gained an immense capital, and the inferior have since everywhere borne greater burthens.

But whatever may be effected in this respect by the most prudent and humane statesmen, they can never remove all grounds for complaint and discontent. From the soil of Christianity the rich must derive equity and charity; the poor patience and content. The grand object which must be constantly kept in view, is to diminish in a financial point of view, and to reconcile by a Christian spirit, the difference between rich and poor, and not violently to remove it. Genuine democracy by no means consists in making *all equal;* on the contrary, its object is to do away with all forced equality, and to give to every one, however differing in faculty and powers, the possibility and the opportunity to exert them unconstrained in their proper sphere; and that you may not misunderstand me, and hand me over to the commission at Mayence, I say, in Christianity, and in Christianity alone, which breaks the shackles of mind, is the dignity and the humility of genuine democracy. On this text I shall perhaps preach some other time.

The revolutionist respects no property. His object is (after he has selected the best portion for himself) to throw all the rest into the street for universal pillage. It is the object of the true statesman, on the contrary, not only to secure property, but to give property to every one. The greater the number of independent proprietors in a state, the more solid and durable is its situation. The smaller the number, the greater is its danger.

LETTER LVI.

Italy—Poland—Constitutions—Money—Labour—Value—Prices---Utilitarian Doctrine.

Wednesday, 22d July, 1835.

I PASSED Tuesday, till noon, in the same manner as Monday. I dined at Mr. ———'s, with five Italians, all of whom were probably on bad terms with the Austrian government. At least, they complained of the situation of their country, and I know enough of history

to paint this dark picture. (See my account of the decline of Venice in my autumnal tour.) But the Italians have twice ruled the world; what people can make the same boast?—and is it not natural that they should not run *this course* for the third time, but yield it to other nations? Their country is still favoured by heaven; and instead of chambers, constitutions, journals, and pamphlets, they have the beauty of the sky, of the earth, and of the women. Art and science are not dead, and the spirit of each individual is still youthful and vigorous. Only in a body (where renunciation of personal objects, restriction of individual will is a main object) they have seldom conducted themselves in a suitable manner, and therefore suffer as much by individual diversity of action as the French do by abstract universality. The desire to obtain an *entire undivided* Italy may be right, if we are to understand by it a unity which does not destroy the divinity; but if we are to understand a centralized Italy, with one sovereign capital, *à la Française*, I do not see, in such a change, even a euthanasia, and still less a real regeneration. The nobler problem is, to retain the rich variety of Italy, and only to cause the bond of intellectual union to be more apparent. The French are the most numerous, the most easily animated people in Europe; yet the English, Italians, and Germans have the advantage of them, because the activity of intellectual and civil life is not confined to a single spot, but provinces, towns, and villages have a direct share in it; because one sun does not shine alone (Paris), but there is a complete harmonious system of sun and planets. The towns of the second rank are far more active and lively than in France, and in Italy and Germany there is no acknowledged metropolis. This state of things has some drawbacks, but certainly it has very great advantages.

It is not possible, by means of a paper constitution, either suddenly to renovate a decayed people, or suddenly to civilize one that is uncultivated. It cannot have any salutary effect till it is the result of all substantial and ideal relations, and harmonizes with them; for this very reason all servile imitations and adoption of external forms is nothing but a vain undertaking. Put two chambers, an electoral system, or anything of this kind that you please, in Naples, Rome, or Milan, would new freedom and order really be immediately produced by this panacea? I very much doubt it. Let every Italian commence the regeneration of his country with himself; let him employ his aristocratic enthusiasm in improving the situation of the mass of the people, even with personal sacrifices; let him educate himself as well as his vassals, and with the growth of moral and intellectual freedom, political freedom will, unperceived, ensue. Nay, in the end it is essentially the same, for he who possesses intellectual and moral freedom will, in the end, find all the rest come of itself. Every government which avoids and hinders this kind of improvement is sinful and condemnable; every government which fancies that its existence depends on police regulations has a bad conscience.

The individual Pole in the north, the individual Italian in the south, of Europe, is perhaps superior to the individual of any other nation; but in a body, the Russians and French hold better, longer, more harmoniously together. The fate of Poland and Italy is to be accounted for, not alone from the circumstance of their having bad neighbours, but from this peculiar feature of the national character.

I said, constitutions cannot be transplanted; if placed in hot-houses they are stunted, and equally pine in the open air. What strange things were produced when Lord Bentinck benevolently attempted to introduce the English constitution into Sicily! The whole edifice fell to pieces in the first year! The Prussian municipal organization, which acts so temperately and calmly in its native home, would, if introduced into France, not merely annihilate the exaggerated system of centralization, but probably put an end to all obedience, and render a general government impossible. So much depends on national character and local circumstances. The English, who incomparably approximate more closely to the German character than the French, may introduce similar municipal laws, without incurring such a danger; or the necessary crisis, the unavoidable transition to new forms, will lead to a salutary equilibrium much more speedily than timid persons imagine.

At the house of Mr. P———, I engaged with Mr. ——— in a lively, I would almost say German, conversation, on money, labour, measure of value, and such matters. I am convinced that every attempt to discover, by abstract reasoning, anything positive, permanent, and universal on these subjects must fail. Money is at the same time a measure and measured, quantity and quality, rising and falling. Labour, that is to say, the application of bodily and intellectual power, is considered, and laid down by a more modern school, as the more permanent, unchangeable standard. But I cannot discover these qualities in fact. If a Polish peasant makes twenty thousand steps in a day, following his plough, and an English peasant does the same, the labour, in this abstract, arithmetical estimate, is equal; in like manner, when the best and the worst author write in a given time an equal number of words, two painters make an equal number of strokes, two musicians play the same number of notes, &c. But do I know anything of the performance of the people, of the nature of their work, if, setting everything else aside, I abide by this dry abstraction? Therefore, the motion of the legs, arms, and fingers give no certain and equable standard; the hunter who misses his game, does in this respect as much as he who hits it; the painter who produces a caricature, works perhaps a hundred times as much as he whose hand is at once guided by genius. We must, therefore, have regard to the product of the labour. But how diverse are the notions in respect to the *value!* This, says my opponent, depends unconditionally upon its utility to civil society. But what is meant by utility, and civil society? If I pay one thousand dollars for a relic, is it not worth that sum to the seller, and do I not think on my

side that I have made a good bargain? Infatuation! cries my opponent. If I pay a high price for the autograph of a celebrated man deceased, or a book from his library? Infatuation! If the lock of my beloved is worth more to me than ten thousand bushels of potatoes? Infatuation! If the British Parliament purchases two pictures by Correggio at an enormous price? Infatuation and prodigality!

At these and similar conclusions we must arrive, if we proceed logically in this course, and throw aside the developement of language, thought, and feeling, to worship exclusively the idol of what is called *utility*. It is not enough to fling to this Moloch all sorts of delicacies; for it devours with greedy haste churches, schools, libraries, picture-galleries, nay, even stones, if they have but passed through the hand of an artist! When all this is consumed, the insatiate monster turns to things which we fondly hoped were secure from his attacks; he falls upon the polished ornaments of our harness, and the collars of our dogs; he licks the tapestry from our walls, tears the carpets from our apartments, sucks the colours and patterns from the painted muslins and silks, pulls the flags from the church steeples, and the colours from the masts; for all this is shameful luxury, and useless for civil society. That, cries my adversary, is a totally false application and exaggeration of our system! Very well; but *ex ungue leonem*. But where will you Utilitarians (an odious word) stop in your reformations, or your proscriptions? At the Relic?—the Lock?—the Correggios? Or where, and wherefore? Your fundamental idea is false; for there are no positive limits to its application. So long as the notion of utility remains a relative notion (as it has done for thousands of years), which receives its definite meaning from other and more exalted notions and investigations, no reasonable person can deny its value and importance; but when placed as an absolute monarch on the throne, it destroys what it ought to honour and preserve.

But have I not told you all this ten times before? Well, you must forgive me if I speak on certain subjects χαιρως και ἀχαιρως. I know, indeed, that you are not a Utilitarian; and this time I write without thinking of you. Allow me therefore room for an appendix, a *coda* to my subject, with variations.

Wheat, remarked Mr. —— yesterday, is the most durable standard, and consequently retains the same value; for the same quantity has for thousands of years furnished the same nourishment, and man requires the same quantity for his subsistence as he did thousands of years ago. This was the notion of the French, when, in their Constitutions, they fixed the salary of their deputies in wheat, and not in money, because the latter so often changes its value. Within a year the whole Constitution became worthless; wheat and money, on the contrary, both retained their value and their proper destination. But it may be asked,—Is wheat designed by heaven not merely to be eaten, but also to measure the value of other things? I doubt.

First, different persons by no means require equal quantities of wheaten bread for their subsistence; nay, whole nations differ very much in this respect. A Frenchman, for instance, requires twice as much bread as an Englishman, and the latter twice as much meat as the Frenchman. A colony of the French settled in Germany, would rather cause the price of corn to rise, and the English the price of cattle. Besides, all wheat is not equally good and nutritious; but there is as great a difference between the different sorts as between metallic currency of a different standard. Lastly, wheat can least of all be assumed as the standard of value where it does not grow. Potatoes, rice, meat, fish, &c. might rather claim this right in many places. Must we not, then, allow, that a metallic currency, notwithstanding its defects, is the most convenient standard for every moment of a given time? In the proportion, and with the rapidity with which the mass of provisions increases or decreases, in productive or unproductive years, the quantities of money by no means change. But should it be objected, that this is not the point in question, but the constantly equal nourishing power of wheat, &c., I observe, that, in cheap and abundant years, far more provisions are consumed than in dear and unfruitful seasons; and therefore, no necessary and constantly equal demand can be assumed.

But let us for once set aside all these objections as wholly unimportant. Let us assume, that every man consumes at all times a certain quantity of wheat,—what have I gained by it? Do I therefore know that every man may easily obtain this quantity,—or what value, as an article of sale, or barter, or production, it has? Does not one article vanish among a thousand others which man requires? Are there not innumerable points of more importance than an inquiry into the nutritive power of wheat? Can I determine by it all other revenues and disbursements, reduce the value of all exertions to that of wheat, and comprise the manifold efforts of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures in one formula, or satisfactorily illustrate and explain it from so abstract a point of view? By no means. On the contrary, the errors which have arisen from these theories have led practically to great sufferings and evil consequences. How many land-owners, how many farmers, have been ruined, because in England the revenue of estates was mostly calculated in wheat, or because inferences for the future were drawn, without sufficient reason, from the average prices of the past? But enough of this discussion. In fine, I have merely affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, that in this moving earth there is nothing immovable; that in the contracted human mind we can find nothing positive respecting earthly and temporal things; in all that may be measured, not the infinite; and in no relative notion the eternal polar star of human thought, feeling, and action.

London, July 23d, 1835.

Yesterday I completed all the essential part of my labour in the public archives relative to the history of Mary Queen of Scots; and I am also ready, with the exception of some small portions, for the years 1740 to 1763. The question, therefore, was, whether I should begin a new work; for instance, from 1660 to 1713. However important this appeared, I decided, after mature deliberation, that it was absolutely indispensable for my work, to see England as it now is, and to collect facts, to confirm or to refute the result of the researches I have hitherto made. For this purpose it is necessary to take advantage of the long days for travelling; and so to lay down the plans for my journey, that, in case of need, I may be at liberty to take a day or two more than I intended, or to turn aside for the sake of seeing something remarkable.

LETTER LVII.

Schools—Universities—The Irish Church.

There is scarcely any point in which England differs so much from Germany as with respect to schools, universities, and education in general. I have taken all possible pains to become thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and to form a correct idea of it; notwithstanding this, I am sure that my report will not satisfy you, much less an Englishman. Yet let me make the attempt.

First of all, there is in England no system whatever of general national education by means of schools and universities, and no authority whatever for a comprehensive, or even partial direction of the whole. The state of things has not unfrequently been extolled as a proof of independence, and as facilitating a freer developement; also, because it is supposed to encourage individuals to interest themselves, and to unite for the promotion of those objects, precisely on the occasions, and in the degree, that the want is felt, and assistance needed. But this freedom has often proved nearly negative, and led to many irregularities: besides, in spite of all the efforts of individuals, there are no schools in very many villages; and in most of the towns they are neither sufficiently numerous, nor do they answer the most reasonable expectations. While Lord Brougham was giving a very magnificent description of the progress of education, he, however, owned that an additional expense of about 1,200,000*l.* per annum would be required to effect a general national education, and the 'Edinburgh Review' (vol. lviii.) affirms, that scarcely one-half of the children in England receive an adequate school education.

Like every church, civic community, and corporation, so also does every school require a certain degree of independence, in order to act with energy and effect. But if this independence goes so far

as to exclude all connexion with similar institutions, and joint direction is utterly disdained, everything falls into a state of self-flattering presumption, and, in the end, helpless isolation, and the shadow is but too often substituted for the real substance. Among us, perhaps, complaints have been justly made, in individual instances, of too much interference of the superior authorities, and of the mania of governing; but here we may learn what are the consequences, when there is no government whatever in these matters, and all is left to the caprice of individuals and to chance. The education of the people is one of the most important objects of public legislation; and the two erroneous ways are, either not to give it any direction whatever from higher authority, or to direct it tyrannically, on partial principles, and for partial ends: the two courses are equally wrong; and may, and must, be corrected.

Probably no country in the world possesses so many ancient venerable institutions for this purpose as England; and yet, with proportionably the amplest means, the least is effected. The entire independence of all the institutions for education has often led to the greatest and most self-interested abuses; it would be quite absurd to govern directly, on the part of the state, every individual as such, and yet entirely to withdraw its influence from the greater organs, the corporations, schools, universities, &c. The highest praise is undoubtedly due to the Prussian department of ecclesiastical affairs for what it has done, in conformity with the king's commands, and with the aid of his munificent grants for schools and universities. It is not by physical strength, but by intellectual energy alone, that Prussia can assume and maintain the character of a great European power. He who confounds this mental energy with licentiousness is a fool; he who, misunderstanding its spirit, would fetter it in arbitrary bonds deserves himself bonds and imprisonment.

From Cousin's work, translated by Mrs. Austin, the Prussian school system has been made more known in England, but yet not sufficiently; otherwise (to say nothing of others) so distinguished a man as Lord Brougham could scarcely have entertained such strange fantastic notions respecting it. The notion, that the interference of the government lessens and checks that of individuals is false; as England itself has proved, since grants of money have been made by parliament for the improvement of schools. But what a mean, paltry sum is 20,000*l.* per annum for such a wealthy country as England, compared with the infinitely greater efforts of Prussia, which is so poor! And yet even that small sum did some good. It was distributed on the express condition that a sum equal to that given by the government should be raised by voluntary contributions, by which the number of promoters of schools naturally increased, instead of decreasing, as many persons had erroneously supposed. The sum granted out of the public treasury was often not more than a third of the whole sums that were quickly and

laudably raised. The 'Edinburgh Review' (vol. lviii.) justly remarks, that the education of the whole body of the English nation can no longer be abandoned to chance, and left to the arbitrary arrangements of local support by private individuals. It is a mistaken notion that free competition, which is sufficient in other branches of profitable trade, will lead to the same result in this instance also. Even the Radical Roebuck feels the necessity of a general central superior authority, and recommends the Prussian coercive system.

Very confused ideas prevail in England respecting this system. The person who, in the House, speaks with the greatest moderation of the difficulty of compelling parents in England to send their children to school, is Lord Althorp. O'Connell may be pardoned for knowing nothing of Prussia, rather than many Prussians who will not allow that Ireland demands, and justly deserves, the same equal treatment which the king has long since given to his subjects of all denominations. O'Connell said,—"In Prussia the corporal is the greatest philosopher; and yet, in spite of this, the King of Prussia is the best reformer in Europe." The latter is perfectly true. With respect to the first part of the sentence, we leave O'Connell to settle the point with Kant, Fichte, Solger, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and others. I cannot understand Sir Robert Peel. He said,—"A compelled attendance on school must necessarily be combined with religious opinions: it limits religious toleration." In Prussia the attendance on school has nothing whatever to do with religious opinions: but is founded on the greatest and most general religious toleration, the salutary effects of which, Peel, as a defender of many religious restrictions, still denies.

The person who judges the Prussian institutions most dogmatically is Lord Brougham. He says (Report on the State of Education, 1834),—"It may matter little what sentiments are inculcated on all Prussian children by their *military* chiefs; but it would be something new in *this* country systematically to teach all children, from six to fourteen years of age, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, the absolute excellence of its institutions, and the wickedness and iniquity of every effort to improve them." If the noble lord, in the excitement of debate and the flow of his eloquence, let such notions and words escape him, we cannot wonder; but that, when called on by a parliamentary committee to give a dispassionate, true testimony, he should have uttered things so entirely false, nay, so utterly absurd, cannot in any way be justified, or even excused.

Sir Robert Peel compassionately intimates that our school children are tormented by theologians; and Brougham places them under the rod and cane of the corporal. That our military arrangements are a school of freedom, and for freedom, and the very antipodes of the English recruiting and flogging system, may perhaps be more unintelligible to an Englishman, than all the theological and

scientific curiosities of Oxford to a German. But what have military arrangements to do with our schools? If Lord Brougham has read anything but the title-page of Cousin's work, he may and must know that all he said about the Prussian schools was entirely visionary, and could only serve to mislead those who believed him.

The doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, so long upheld by certain parties in England, is not known in our schools, even by name; and if any professor at Oxford should venture to speak of church and state as, thank Heaven, any Prussian professor is at liberty to do, it would certainly be said—the heretic brought state and church into danger. In our schools and universities we know of no theological intolerance, no exclusion of Dissenters, no idolatry of what exists for the moment, no forced subscriptions; yet we are not by this alienated from Christianity, but hold fast to the imperishable diamond of the Gospel, without converting it into an amulet with thirty-nine points.

In Prussia, then, it would seem, the wickedness and impiety of every attempt to improve civil institutions is systematically enforced! In Prussia, which, without any boasting of journals and newspapers, silently effected the greatest reforms, and rose from a state of abject degradation, like a phœnix from its ashes,—the aversion and opposition between citizens and soldiers is abolished; the system of the defence of the country is easy, yet general and powerful; the regulations of commerce and of duties of custom, freer than in any other part of Europe; the peasants are converted into landowners; a municipal system introduced twenty-seven years ago, which England is now copying; and schools and universities placed on so firm a b , that the calumnies of Lord Brougham can only recoil on his own head.

From the descriptions of what is called the Prussian compulsory system, one would be inclined to believe that the children were coupled together like hounds, and driven every morning with blows to be trained! Should a parent be so wicked as not to give his children any education, and purposely keep them from school and church, the law justly gives the magistrates a right of guardianship. This remote threat may have had a salutary effect in individual cases; but I have never heard of the actual application of outward compulsion—*obtorto collo.* Morality, sense of honour, general custom, conviction of the great advantage of a careful education, suffice, among us, to excite all parents *voluntarily* to send their children to school. In perfect accordance with our school laws it is considered as equally sinful to withhold nourishment from their minds as from their bodies. If we duly appreciate the spirit of the laws, cavils about the letter fall away; but even the letter has had a wholesome influence, and without the application of corporal constraint, in promoting the intellectual emancipation of the people.

So much in necessary defence, not by way of accusation. But to return to the schools, of which the report of a Parliamentary Com-

mittee on the State of Education (1834) gives valuable information: it is founded on the questions which were put to fifteen hundred overseers, and to which they replied, with the assistance of the clergy and the schoolmasters. Most of the schools belong to two great societies—the National, and the British and Foreign School Society. The bond which holds them together is, however, entirely dependent on their own discretion, and the similarity of certain principles which they have adopted. On the other hand, it includes neither dependence, nor superintendence, nor scientific direction, nor any form, or positive code of regulations. It may be said that they have merely the same relation to each other as the Benedictine convents in the middle ages, before the foundation of the great congregations. The main difference between the two societies is, that the National receives children of all denominations, even Jews; but the religious instruction is given wholly according to the doctrines of the Established Church. The British and Foreign Society, on the other hand, gives no religious instruction according to the principles of any one denomination, but contents itself with reading and expounding suitable portions of the Bible. The two societies have lately become very extensive, and have encouraged and supported those who entered by little presents. But with this wholly voluntary attendance, no regular system for further extension can be prescribed or employed; neither are there any satisfactory institutions for the education of schoolmasters. The teachers sometimes receive a small salary, and sometimes have only voluntary contributions to depend on. There is very rarely any permanent endowment. The British Society, in consequence of the principle which it has adopted respecting religious instruction, receives no assistance or support from the clergy, and even for the National schools their co-operation is not legally enjoined, but is wholly voluntary, and temporary. One party, too, as I have already told you, look upon every appropriation of Church property to educational purposes as a secular misapplication. We must regard every opinion which would entirely separate these two parts of intellectual developement as, at the most, anatomical or chemical, but certainly not as vital and life-giving. If we hear it affirmed that a certain number of canons are requisite in every cathedral to promote merely the scientific cultivation of theology, there ought surely to be (according to the old church regulation) one appointed to conduct the schools, and, like the heads of our seminaries, to superintend the education of schoolmasters. But if all kinds of people spend only three, or, at the most, six months in acquiring such an education, it is obvious what an inefficient race of teachers must result from such a system.

As the number of day-schools was much too small, and the children employed for six days together in the fields and manufactories, unable to attend them, the idea of having schools on Sundays was conceived. These Sunday-schools have nearly doubled within the last fifteen years, and have certainly had a very good effect. The

few hours, however, dedicated to learning, are but a poor substitute for a more comprehensive and solid school education, and though it is commendable that most of the teachers in the Sunday-schools accept no remuneration, they are, on the other hand, unpractised, and not properly trained for this profession.

I find it stated that a million and a half of children attend the Sunday-schools; but this estimate does not rest upon any accurate information, and even were it correct, one hundred thousand Prussian children pass more hours in school than the million and a half of English children. We have also a more thorough insight into the deficiency of these establishments, when we hear from Mr. Braidley, that, in spite of the instruction given gratis on Sunday, there are, perhaps, fifteen thousand children in Manchester alone that do not go to school. This shows us the dark side of the factory system, which, though it may spare the body, overlooks the mind. I have already stated, in another place, why the humane law for factory children has in part remained a dead letter. Perhaps it would be possible to accomplish on Sundays what cannot be effected during the week. Mr. Braidley wishes for some compulsory means, and considers them to be practicable. Whether he is right or wrong I cannot decide; but it seems to be absurd to fear that every interference of the magistrate and the law must lead to the despotism of the ministers. They would not be able, by means of spelling, addition, multiplication, &c., to introduce a new system, reducing Great Britain to slavery. Those who relate frightful stories of these hobgoblins, do not, however, themselves believe them.

Undoubtedly much more might be done for education by means of the richly-endowed schools, if they were kept in activity by moderate superintendence, and adapted to the wants of the age. All these defects of the public establishments of education give birth to a multitude of private boarding-schools. Those are, of course, still less subject to any inspection or control; keeping school is considered a free trade, which flourishes or goes to ruin according to the qualifications of the master. But arguments might surely be alleged to show why the schools should be considered in a different light from the workshop of a shoemaker or tailor, and why the proof of a certain ability or qualification is here much more necessary than in other cases. *Fiat experimentum*, say they, *in corpore vili;* but here the experiments are often made on *precious bodies and souls*, that is, if the accusation be true, that in boarding-schools there is much corporal chastisement, and little attention to moral education. At all events, those who set up such schools, in the absence of regularly-endowed foundations, are almost compelled to consider pecuniary advantage as a principal object; and thus nearly all of them are exclusively for the children of the rich.

Still greater complaints have been made of the Gymnasia, especially of the celebrated Eton College, than of the schools. It is not my business *tantas componere lites;* I therefore add only a few

words on this subject. The censure respects the small number of school hours (said to be only eleven in the week)—the tyranny which the elder scholars practise, in a scandalous manner, over the younger ones—the excessive exercise of mere memory—the constant assemblage of so many scholars in one hall, which causes interruptions, and makes it impossible for them to work and think in quiet retirement—the partial or unequal treatment of the rich and noble—the corporal punishments, till the pupils have risen into certain classes, and, above all, the limited number of the subjects taught, and the antiquated mode of teaching.

Many of these grounds of complaint have been denied, others excused, and others placed in a more favourable light; notwithstanding, the complainants persist in their accusations, and say, laws which date their origin from the year 1441 require to be essentially changed; a corporal punishment by the teachers, as well as the reciprocal tyranny of the scholars, so far as they really take place, can certainly be of no use whatever. The limited proportion of hours devoted to instruction, the very many scholars studying together, and also the superintendence of the teachers, do not seem to accord together; and a greater number of hours of instruction, given to all together; and then unrestrained, independent study, such as our gymnasia for the most part encourage, would seem to be a better plan. With the exception of some instruction in religion and geography, it is confined almost exclusively to Greek and Latin; and for this, say the accusers, neither the best grammers, nor the best authors, are made use of, but generally only fragments, selections, and those not even according to the modern readings. Xenophon, Thucydides, Polybius, Livy, and the Greek tragedians, are not adopted; and the history of the middle ages and of later times, as well as modern languages, are not even thought of. So much the more time is thrown away upon the antiquated custom of making Latin verses, and both teacher and pupil are not a little vain of these cold, mechanical, unnatural performances. And yet how very few real philologists have the English seminaries produced during the last centuries. The great attachment which those who have been brought up at Eton continue to preserve to this institution is no proof of its excellence. Every man recurs with predilection to the days of his youth, and sometimes with the greatest fondness to what is least deserving praise.

Without doubt the instruction given in the German gymnasia is far more comprehensive and varied than in the English, although it would be a proof that we were retrograding, were we to affirm them to be quite perfect, and without defect. They have not yet been brought into entire conformity with the wants of the age and the demands of society; and the preponderance of that school of philology which lays the chief stress on the letter, is certainly not likely to have an advantageous influence on a German education in the nineteenth century. Many teachers, on the other hand, who

would penetrate deeply into the spirit of antiquity, not unfrequently degenerate into exclusive admiration of it—are ignorant of the progressive developement of the world—would, in their folly, mould church and state after the institutions of Athens or Sparta, and implant in the minds of their youthful scholars an indifference to present reality, and the existing order of things; a course which is attended with very pernicious consequences.

Nobody can approve less than I do the attacks made, in various quarters, on antiquity and our classical school education. Such persons would willingly have theological treatises read in the schools, instead of Homer, and the regulations for the police instead of Tacitus. But, on the other hand, if we would reduce these attacks to their own absurdity, and make them fall harmless to the ground, many persons must renounce their arrogance, as if they were born to be the leaders of the world, because they correct the errata in the immortal works of those great masters. He who admires only Greece and Rome, or only the middle ages, or modern times, is but half qualified for the education of youth, for understanding public affairs, and for managing the affairs of life. We cannot be either Indians or Egyptians, either Greeks or Romans; the study of their works is by no means designed to place us in a false position with respect to the claims and the objects of our own times. Herodotus was the more of a Greek because he was acquainted with Egypt; the Romans acquired from the Greeks a clearer view of their own nature and destination; Dante, led by Virgil, remained a Ghibelline of the thirteenth century; Petrarch returned to Italy from Africa and the Scipios (*Italia mia, benche il parlare sia indarno!*); Camoens, in India, celebrated the triumphs of his native land; and in proportion as the spirit of Demosthenes inspired him, Burke felt and understood his duty as a Briton.

The school is not instituted to impose a narrow-minded patriotism, but still less to inspire a superficial cosmopolitism, which busies itself with everything in the world, rather than with its own undervalued home, or with the nature, the history, and the institutions of its own country. Had Lord Brougham known anything of the nature and internal regulations of our schools, he would rather have taken the opportunity of giving a friendly warning on this head, instead of a rude reproof.

From the facts which have been stated or alluded to, we may, I think, deduce the following results, or, at least, set up the following theses for further disputation:—

1. It has had an injurious effect, that the government and the legislature do not pay any regard to schools, but leave everything to a voluntary system, which has been so zealously opposed (and with justice), when an attempt was made to apply it to the church.

2. Neither the number of schools, nor the subjects of instruction, are adapted to the wants of the present times.

3. There is an immense fund, derived from past times, and des-

tined for schools, but it has by no means been always applied in the most judicious manner.

4. It is the duty of the state and the church to take care of the schools, though the mode of proceeding may differ, according to the character of the people, and the progress of civilization.

The Scotch, with proportionably inferior means, have effected more than the English. Every village has its own school, which is more numerously and generally attended; almost all the inhabitants learn to read, and the most of them to write. The schoolmasters are chosen by the land-owners and clergy, after previous examination, and receive, in addition to a fixed salary, from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings per quarter for each child. ('Report on Agriculture,' p. 130.) Opposed to these agreeable testimonies, I find complaints, especially on the part of those who are averse to self-complacent indolence, and would urge other improvements. (Hansard, vol. xxiv. p. 514.) The schools, they affirm, are scarcely sufficient in the country, and still less in the towns, in consequence of the increase of the population. Thus, in Glasgow, perhaps only one-fourteenth, in Perth, one-fifteenth, and in Aberdeen, one-twenty-fifth of the children go to school; and of the five hundred thousand Highlanders, there are, perhaps, eighty-three thousand who cannot read, and two hundred and fifty thousand who cannot write. There is also a want of institutions of a middle class, preparatory for the university; and as the village-school is not sufficient for this purpose, the university itself improperly sinks to the rank of a school. The scholars go to the university when they are only fourteen or fifteen years old, are there permaturely left to themselves, and oblige the teachers to treat many subjects in a manner adapted only to the school. There is everywhere a want of superintendence and control; the number of hours of attendance is much to small, and the vacations take up six months of the year.

The Scotch universities certainly resemble the German more than the English do; on the whole, however, the preparation of the youth of our country in the gymnasia is far more solid and comprehensive; and, on an average, our students when left to themselves are three or four years older than the Scotch. Those who would foolishly shorten the vacations in the German universities (especially to prevent revolutionary intrigues) would be frightened at the Scotch vacations, which are twice as long; and I also, though for other reasons, must say that I disapprove it.

The appointment to offices in the Scotch universities is made by the city magistrates, or by the professors, or by the crown, as the founder of the institution. Each of these modes of appointment is liable to some objections. The magistrates cannot be supposed to be qualified to decide on the merits of the professors—the body of professors has other motives for partiality, and a certain tendency may be imposed by superior authority, from abstract, partial views. I consider it to be the best to have the opinion of the professors on

every appointment, but to place the decision in the hands of a distinct authority. The shame of proposing improper persons, and rejecting others qualified for the office, will, it may be hoped, remove the defects from which every external form is not wholly exempt. Our department of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction has certainly taken a much more liberal position, and exercised a far more impartial, more Christian and scientific influence on our universities, than the English church on Oxford and Cambridge. The Scotch universities are not to be considered as ecclesiastical institutions, and are not so dependent on the Presbyterianism of that country, as the English universities on their church. But as no examination and change of the statutes had taken place in Scotland for one hundred and thirty years, it was natural that the commissioners appointed in 1831 should in their report find many things deserving of blame. But when they say it is doubtful whether it is necessary to teach history in the universities, their own revisal may itself need correction, and Lord Brougham's attack might be properly diverted from the governments of the continent, and the proper place be pointed out to him for his vehement complaints of the want of instruction in history.

The fee for a course of lectures rises from two guineas to four guineas, and the income of the professors is from 113*l.* to 2213*l.* That this last highest income is the lot of the Professor of Chemistry, while a Professor of History is declared to be superfluous, is a characteristic sign of the times. On the whole, the lists of lectures in the Scotch universities are far less ample and various than those of Germany; and, on the other hand, many complaints made there are also applicable to us: for instance, that the effect of all the instruction in the university is not so great as it ought to be; that the students are indifferent to certain branches of science; that the certificates of the attendance on lectures generally prove nothing; that degrees are too precipitately conferred, &c.

The partiality, nay the cruelty, of the ruling English Protestants to the conquered Catholic Irish is manifested, as in everything else, in what relates to education. By a law of William III., Protestant education alone was tolerated; a Catholic who kept a school was liable to a fine of 20*l.* or three months' imprisonment. Thus all public instruction for the Catholics ceased, ignorance and barbarism flourished, and the object of making converts to Protestanism completely failed. Since that time much has been changed for the better; yet how much partiality and intolerance, how many subordinate objects, are still upheld, even in our times, under the pretext of Christianity, with reference to churches and schools! In the year 1828, there were in Ireland about 92,000 scholars belonging to the Established Church, 45,000 to the Presbyterians, and 408,000 to the Roman Catholics. Eight-elevenths of the schools had been undertaken by private persons, without the interference of the church or state, and must necessarily demand a suitable remuneration for the

instruction given. Three-fifths of the scholars were boys, and two-fifths girls. Since the government has made grants to support the schools their zeal has increased. There were applications from members of the Established Church, for 12 schools; from members of the Established Church and Presbyterians, for 2; from members of the Established Church, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, for 104; from Presbyterians and Catholics, for 7; from Presbyterians alone, for 34; from Presbyterians and Catholics, for 93; and from Catholics alone, for 537 schools.

Hence we see not only the very great want of schools, but also the goodwill and Christian concord and tolerance which prevail.

The last Report on Public Instruction in Ireland furnishes the following general results:—

There belong to the Established Church 852,000 members, about 10 per cent. of the population; Presbyterians, 642,000, about 8 per cent.; other Dissenters, 21,000; Roman Catholics, 6,427,000, about 80 per cent. of the population.

The Established Church has 196 places for religious meetings and 1338 churches; the Presbyterians, 452 churches; other Dissenters, 403; the Roman Catholics, 2105.

In 539 places there is no parsonage-house; in 839 places there is no resident clergyman; and 157 places have no divine worship at all.

There appertain to the Established Church—

Livings.		Number of the Congregation.
41	with	Not any.
99	"	1 to 20
124	"	20 " 50
160	"	50 " 100
224	"	100 " 200
286	"	200 " 500
209	"	500 " 1000
139	"	1000 " 2000
91	"	2000 " 5000
12	"	above 5000

There is matter enough in these few figures for instructive observation and salutary resolves; and there have been long debates in Parliament, for many days and nights, on this subject. I confess (and why should I deny it?) that it gives me but little pleasure; I miss the elevated style of generous bold sincerity, and often find, or feel incompleteness, secondary views, and subordinate objects. Some things, though insignificant, are ostentatiously put forward; and others, though important, are passed over. Every one is afraid of pronouncing the right word; every one endeavours to get something out of his adversary, which may bring the small majority to this or that side. Like Phædra to Œnome, they would then cry out

to him who spoke the truth, "Thou saidst it; not I." And yet every unprejudiced person knew the truth long before.

The commutation of tithes and the application of the revenues of the church, says one party, are different, and ought to be separated, for a more easy arrangement, and legislation, and each of these subjects should be treated distinctly. No one would object to these and similar arguments for the management of affairs, if they contained the truth, and the whole truth. But the main object of this party, which it does not avow, is,—to quiet the people's minds by a tithe-law, and thus to secure the ancient ecclesiastical arrangements; or, after the removal of that crying evil, to obtain a majority of votes for the rejection of the second part of the law, when brought in separately. On the other hand, the opposite party well knows what may be said, on the score of form and mode of proceeding, against the union of the two halves; and knows also that this union is the only means to get at and overcome the other abuses.

In the same manner, there is a want of sincerity in the discussion of the question on the surplus of the church revenue. The ministerial party represent it as large as possible, in order to gain votes in favour of a new mode of appropriating it; the opposition, on the other hand, deny that there is any surplus, in order to prevent strict investigation. But, if it is so certain that there is *no* surplus, why do they contend against investigation?—why do they at once represent it as useless? They ought rather to require and encourage it, in order to make their victory the more secure. Instead, however, of entering into the main questions, they find fault with some figures, and prove, what is a matter of course, that there are many mistakes. But what is a surplus, and what is necessary? If a bishop receives annually 1000*l.* or 14,000*l.*; if a parish priest receives 20*l.* or 200*l.*; according as I assume, arbitrarily, the one or the other statement, I come to very different conclusions. Surely many things must be defective, when some clergymen receive enormous incomes, while others starve; when 535 places have no parsonage-houses; when 339 places have no resident clergymen; when many rectors have no congregations, and congregations no pastor.

The ministry is entirely in the right path when it desires to remedy these crying abuses, whatever objections may be made to some of its proposals; but the ministry does not venture to tell the *whole* truth. It pertinaciously maintains the existence of a surplus, because it will not propose any other source of revenue, or point out any other means of support. Now, it must be granted that the supposed surplus may be greatly reduced, nay, perhaps wholly absorbed, by a more equal distribution among the Protestant clergy. But shall nothing more be done? Shall no regard be had to the Roman Catholic Church, which, in comparison with the Protestant, is extremely poor? Shall it, after having been entirely stripped, be referred to the voluntary system, which is justly considered as ruinous to the English Church? The property of the Protestant Church and schools,

and the established application of it, are, in the eyes of one party, inviolable and sacred; nay, the two parts are so arbitrarily separated and opposed, that the school, in a bad sense, is excluded as secular, and the holder of a living as inviolate, though he may have no church and no parishioners. Many have argued themselves into such a confusion of principles, calculations, assertions, and denials—have aimed at all objects, and talked of all things, only not of true religion and genuine Christianity. Sons, brothers, cousins, church livings, money, ministerial places, inspire too many orators, and *not* the highest command—charity and toleration. Now that Great Britain and Ireland have become one state, and that, politically speaking, all opposition between Catholics and Protestants is removed, provision ought to be made for the church and schools of the former. Prussia has not only asserted this principle, but carried it into execution: hence there is peace and harmony among the adherents of all religious principles, and equal love for the king, the government, and the country.

LETTER LVIII.

Post-office Regulations—Jews—Money—Bank of England—Hampton Court—Raphael's Cartoons—Ancient and Modern Art—The Beautiful and the Disagreeable—Religion and the Fine Arts—British Museum—Greek Sculptures—Their Perfect Harmony—Italian Opera—Mrs. Austin—Departure from London.

London, 26th July, 1835.

The most zealous advocate of the olden time must acknowledge the improvement of Great Britain, when he is going (as I am now) to travel through the country. Two or three centuries ago, it would have taken forty weeks to visit the places which I shall see in forty days; in which I do not include the time I may stay at any place, but merely the slowness or rapidity of travelling, and of the means of reaching certain places in a short time, and in an agreeable manner.

The first attempt to establish a post for letters was made in the reign of Charles I., in the year 1635, but it failed, on account of the civil wars. There has been a post-office since 1657, though the first rude beginning gave no presage of the extent which it was one day to acquire; for the number of letters now sent every week from London is estimated at 40,000.

The postage of a single letter is—

		s.	*d.*
For	15 English miles .	0	4
	30 " .	0	5
	300 " . .	1	0
	600 " .	1	3

The increase of the rate is, therefore, smaller in proportion, for long than for short distances, not to deter people entirely from writing, or at least not to make it too expensive. The postage on a letter from London to Prussia is 1*s.* 8*d.*

The gross receipts of the post-offices in 1832 were—

London	£628,000
Birmingham	28,000
Bristol	33,000
Liverpool	70,000
Manchester	52,000
Sheffield	11,000
Edinburgh	42,000
Glasgow	35,000
Dublin	101,000
Leeds	20,000

The roads have improved at the same time as the post-office regulations, especially since certain sums have been levied for this object. To promote the making of roads in many parts of Scotland, the government granted half the expense, as soon as the land-owners engaged to defray the other half, which has been of the greatest advantage to the cultivation of the country.

London, 26*th July*, 1835.

I was interrupted yesterday, and could not return to my usual course. At length, however, the interruption was very agreeable, and I had a long discussion with Mr. ——— about the state of the Jews in England. He was very glad that a Jew had lately been elected an alderman of the city of London, which was the first instance of the kind. I believe that the indelible character of the Jews, which has been as often a subject of praise as of blame, will vanish sooner than is believed, when the legal and civil regulations, which draw so strict a line, shall be abolished. England might, in this respect, advance more rapidly than other countries, for two important reasons: first, because the number of Jews here is, in proportion, much smaller than in most of the continental states; secondly, because the immigration by sea is attended with great difficulties; whereas, for instance, the immigration of Russian and Polish Jews into the Prussian states is but too easy. On the 17th April, 1833, Mr. Grant brought forward a motion in the House of Commons to emancipate the Jews, or to place them nearly on the same footing as the Catholics; and on the 23d July his proposals were adopted, in their essential parts, by a majority of one hundred and eighty-nine to fifty-two. But the House of Lords rejected the bill by a majority of one hundred and four to fifty-four. Among other speakers, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, that he readily acknowledged all the good qualities of the Jews, but he thought it impossible to admit per-

sons to a share in the legislation of a Christian state, so long as they declared Christ to be an impostor. The Archbishop of Dublin, on the contrary, voted for the bill, observing, that after such an emancipation of the Jews, it would depend entirely on the choice of the Christians whether they should have any share in public affairs or not. The smallness of their number does away with all fear of excessive influence; and if they, being in part rich people, bear a great share of the public burthens, it is equitable to give them rights in return. Any apprehensions that might be entertained for the church might be removed by special enactments, though the Jews are hardly more hostile to the church than Dissenters and Catholics, who have a share in the legislation. Besides, the Jews have no inclination to make proselytes, whereas their conversion to Christianity will certainly be facilitated by the proposed measure. Other members said, Deists and Atheists sit in Parliament, and the Jews can judge Christians as jurymen, or purchase votes, and send members to Parliament. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the subject, I should be inclined to say that, to place the Jews and Christians on an equality in England would be premature, so long as the conservative party was able to hinder the establishment of perfect equality between the Christians.

It would be an easy transition from the Jews to the theory of money, though I am not aware that the Christians are less fond of it than the Jews. Should this, however, be really the case, the reason of it is essentially in the legislation, which has long excluded the Jews from every other laudable pursuit, and left only the acquisition of property as the sole object of life. When I lately told a rich Christian merchant, in a few words, what I had done in the State-Paper Office, he said—'Now pray tell me, honestly, whether there is, on the whole continent, a single person who cares for this old stuff?' 'When I return,' I replied, 'I hope I shall find at least one person who has this extraordinary taste.' I ought, therefore, to leave it to Jewish and Christian capitalists to speak of what they understand better than I do; but the currency and banking system is here, as it is in fact everywhere, an affair which, in the end, affects everybody, and of which every one attempts to judge in his own way: permit me, therefore, to do the same.

It is very engaging to inquire, by the aid of history, into the progress, from the barter of single objects, to a fixed and certain standard, to a metallic currency. The bank circulation afforded facilities for shortening the business of making payments, and for saving in the wear of the coin. To enlarge the circle, banks of deposite, and paper currency were introduced. A state which thinks that it can increase the paper currency, so long as there is any object as a security for the assignat or bank-note, is certainly in the way to unbounded confusion in the finances, and to the overthrow of all the relations of property; a state which believes that it can at once convert paper into gold is foolish at the outset: and yet, have

not several of our political doctors thought that it was mere perverseness of the government not to make the bankrupt land-owners suddenly rich by a provincial paper currency?—have not others thought that the debts of the state might be paid off, without difficulty, in an hour's time, by the issue of a new paper currency?

But setting aside these absurd fancies, more difficult questions yet remain. For instance, whether, after the long suspension of payments in gold by the Bank of England, the return to the old system, so long announced, and at length accomplished, had a salutary or a ruinous effect? It is certain that no state can, without injury, entirely separate its mode of payment, for a long period, from the metallic currency, and it is equally certain that no flourishing commerce can be carried on, in its full extent, exclusively in specie. The new British law combines both laws, by making bank notes a legal tender, only not by the bank itself. The transition from the system of the entire dispensing with specie to an increased use of it, was attended with difficulties, and the diminished produce of the American mines coinciding with the increased demand in England, caused a change of prices, with great loss to many persons. The crisis was, however, inevitable, and had by no means so great an effect as in most of the continental states. It would be a great mistake to deduce the lower or higher prices of corn, manufactures, wages, &c., only from the dearness or cheapness of gold or silver. Nay, in point of fact, the quantity of the current coin is of less importance than the rapidity of its circulation, and the art of settling affairs without money, namely, by counter accounts. The whole year would not suffice to reckon up in shillings the reciprocal claims which are established or effaced on the London Exchange by a few strokes of the pen.

The notion that metal is a thing of special, infinitely greater value than all other things in the world; that it is the object of legislation to produce an abundance of it, by what is called an advantageous balance of trade, this notion has been sufficiently refuted in theory; and science, resting on this point of Archimedes, will, it may be hoped, succeed in dethroning the practically absurd prohibitive system. The measure, (yards or ells, much or little money) is easily to be found as soon as there is much to be measured. Coin is only the expression of the agreement, not the payment itself; on the contrary, the objects of value are in the back ground, and must far, far exceed the quantity of the metal, in order to produce real activity in trade and commerce. In the long run, it is the same whether we measure by the yard or the ell; and in the rising or falling of the precious metals, those classes are the principal gainers or losers for whom the metals are not so much the measure as the object of their traffic. He who has no money, and no other articles, is always very badly off; he who possesses both finds a compensation in the double change of the value of measure and the thing measured; he who possesses only one of the two generally rejoices in silence at an advantageous

change, and vents his complaints aloud when the change is to his disadvantage. Merely arithmetical considerations of figures and prices are not enough to enable us to discern and to estimate the true relations of social intercourse.

It is by no means my intention to give you even an abridgment of the history of the Bank of England, or an account of its mode of transacting business. I mean only to contradict the notion of its being unsafe, through its connexion with the government; whereas, from this point of view, which is perfectly correct for England, its safety is confirmed. It is equally erroneous to suppose that the bank issues at discretion as many notes as it pleases; on the contrary, the mass of bank-notes in circulation is always in exact and due proportion to the real wants and to perfect security. This, however, can by no means be affirmed of all the country banks. In the years 1814 to 1816, for instance, a great number of them in different parts of England failed, partly, perhaps, in consequence of unfortunate unforeseen events, but principally in consequence of imprudent conduct. Though the legislation on this subject has been improved, persons versed in the subject affirm that much more might, and ought to be done for the security of the public. The Scotch country banks, by more prudent regulations and stricter statutes, have happily stood their ground, even in times of serious commercial distress. In Scotland, every proprietor in a bank is answerable with his whole property; whereas the English law leaves a possibility to withhold the greater part of it from the creditors.

Up to the year 1759, there were no bank-notes in England of a less value than 20*l.*; in 1793 the first 5*l.* notes, and in 1797 the first 2*l.* notes were issued. Since 1821 none have been issued under 5*l.*; while in Scotland they are as low as 2*l.* The Bank of England allows no interest for deposites: the Bank of Scotland, from 2 to 2½ per cent. The savings-bank pay, for the most part, from 3 to 4 per cent, and limit the sum to be deposited in one year, by one person, to 30*l.*; and the whole capital to be deposited by one person to be 150*l.* These rules are, if not injurious, yet undoubtedly easy to be evaded, if it should appear advantageous to invest large sums in this manner. If you are curious to know why the Scotch banking system is declared by competent judges to be better than the English, you may read their works. I have already ventured to speak too long of these things.

London, 27th July, 1835.

On one of the finest days of July, I accompanied my friend Mr. Waagen to Hampton Court; the road to which lay through a cheerful, highly-cultivated country, enlivened with a gay variety of houses, villas, meadows, trees and flowers. The palace, though not poetic and fantastic like Windsor, is, both in its internal and external appearance, more striking than Buckingham House. In the famous Cartoons of Raphael, this palace contains a treasure

equalled only by the Stanze of the Vatican. We had the choice between attending the divine service, or being locked up for some hours in this sanctuary, and preferred the latter: the longer we stayed, the more deeply we became impressed with the life and animation of every form. After the lapse of three centuries, after the most barbarous treatment, and placed in an extremely unfavourable light, they still remain seven chefs-d'œuvre of the world. It is inconceivable how this master could have thought, felt, and executed so much during his short life. A few days since, I was dining with the celebrated sculptor, Mr. Campbell, when a gentleman of the party wished to prove that education alone made a man what he was, and that the same education would always produce similar results. It is certainly very foolish and reprehensible, when men do not all that lies in their power for their fellow-men, or if education be neglected; but we have still to find out the method, or rather, we never shall find it out, by which we can create out of nothing. That is the work of Omnipotence alone; his breath animates, (*numine afflatur*,) him we recognise in the sublime works of Raphael, Shakspeare, Phidias, and other kindred spirits. Education may expel the ignoble part, raise the mind to a medium elevation, and give it a certain degree of firmness and consistency: it can form men after its image, that is to say, after the image of the schoolmaster, but *non ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius.*

When I read the history of the creation, and see what God performed in each day of the week, and how all moves and expands, how all that is created labours in its contracted sphere of life, till it again falls a prey to death; when I so consider the creation in its manifold changes, I would call all this the content of the working days; but on the day when God, as the scripture says, rested, some single points of light seem to me to detach themselves from the eternal unbounded fountain of his spirit, in order, in contradistinction to that gigantic reality, to manifest with still greater, overwhelming omnipotence the doctrine of mind.

Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Cervantes, these are the "Sunday children of God."* Perhaps the great martyrs of the church, of the state, and of science, who endeavoured to reconcile reality and spirituality, set themselves the greater, the more difficult problem; but as God alone is able fully to solve it, as its bearing is twofold, as its light comes from two sides, these men are always judged and understood differently, extolled or blamed: thus Aristotle, Demosthenes, Alexander the Great, Gregory VII., Luther, and similar minds. Those Sunday children had only a Sunday life; on the shoulders of the latter, too, rests the burden

* The Germans give the name of Sunday child (*Sontags kind*) to one born on a Sunday, and particularly on one of those which they call "golden Sundays," i. e. the quatember days. Such a child, in the opinion of the superstitious, is able to discern spirits, and is destined to be peculiarly happy. Even with this explanation, the passage seems obscure.—*Translator's note.*

of earthly days of work. It is chiefly for the other millions of creatures of reality, that the celebration of Sunday was instituted, in order that the promised land of the spirit may at least be shown to them at a distance, and their sensual self-sufficiency be diminished.

As the clock struck, several hundreds of persons crowded into the hall of the Cartoons, but they hurried past without attending to them, or at most cast a glance at the new engravings, which do not express the character of the works half so correctly, as the old ones, which hung in our room—in particular, instead of the harmony of light and shade, a harsh false contrast is introduced. As a painting, the Draught of Fishes seems the most perfect; the figures and the landscape are equally admirable. But it is probable that barbarous hands have cut off a piece on each side, because the picture was too large to fit the place over the chimney. They all hang too high; and, for some incomprehensible reason, the upper round windows in this apartment are walled up, so that the only clear light is reflected upwards, from the pavement of the court-yard.

A religion which (like the Indian) buries all sense of beauty under distorted symbols, or (like Mahommedanism, and over-strained Puritanism) will not allow anything spiritual to be explained and illustrated by the visible form, are both in error. On the other hand, the neida a dthe essence of religion are not comprised in beauty alone, for then the Greeks would be the best teachers of religion.

The comic is a natural and commendable contrast to the tragic, and in this respect the Flemish painters stand so high; but I cannot be persuaded that, in the domain of art, what is absolutely ugly is necessary, as a contrast to beauty, or indispensable to make it fully perceptible. Hence I dislike all martyrdoms (that is, the representation of bodily sufferings); but few crucifixions appear to me tolerable, and even the cripples, beggars and demoniacs in the pictures of Raphael, the most amiable of all painters, are, for the most part, offensive to me. I am obliged to call in the aid of my understanding to calm my immediate feeling, and it is a question whether the understanding should here act as the director of the feelings, or whether the feelings are not better qualified to lighten the abstract understanding, and bring it back, from the devious path of mere reflexion, to simple beauty.

Once only in the history of the world, a whole people, as it seems, knew, recognised, and felt what beauty is—called it forth by some magic power, in every form, and separated it from all heterogeneous and incongruous parts. In other periods, which were favourable to art, only some gifted minds penetrated into the realms of beauty, while the majority beheld their labours more with astonishment, than as being themselves initiated; nay, those masters themselves did not rule in perfect liberty, but were fettered by the

demands of the ignorant, or by want of beauty in the subjects which they treated.

The British Museum possesses, in the Attic bas-reliefs, the works from Phigalia and from the Parthenon, and other masterpieces, a treasure of the noblest productions of Greek sculpture, which, in some respects, exceeds even the Vatican, and is certainly not surpassed by any other collection in the world. When I contemplate the sepulchral monuments, the combats of the Centaurs, Lapithæ, Amazons, &c., where terror, pain, and death constantly recur in the most various forms, why does not the whole, or the several parts, make the least unpleasant impression? Why do the eye, the heart, and the head remain in constant harmony? Because statuary had risen to the same elevation which Aristotle recognised in the Greek tragedy. In Sophocles the most dreadful is softened—even the death of Œdipus at Colonnæ is but a gentle departure, and the grief of Hercules is ennobled by his divine nature. So every Greek, every Amazon, in victory as in death, always remains dignified and beautiful. The joy is never savage or barbarous; pain never distorted and brutish, and even in death I recognise a consoling transition to a happier state. Compared with these sublime productions of Greek art, the Roman is not merely technically imperfect, but embued with a rudeness of feeling which it is impossible to mistake; and the great German and Italian school of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appears, it is true, internally impelled by Christianity towards the noblest goal of humanity and of art, but it has, I should say, unsuitably introduced the doctrine of election even into these regions. To the beautiful forms pardoned by God, are opposed the ugly bodies of the non-elect; to the healthy, the sick; to the blessed, the damned. In theology, in philosophy, in history, this dark side of existence may be employed at pleasure, but when it appears in art I feel hurt and uncomfortable.

This *caput mortuum* may be wholly separated; it should evaporate and become invisible: not till this is accomplished can we place Christian art above Greek art, as the Christian religion above the Greek religion. A great confusion of ideas still prevails, in considering and judging of these things. How often have modern works of art been praised in reference to the doctrine, and ancient works reprobated for similar reasons. But the demoniac is not a suitable subject for art, merely because he is mentioned in the Bible; or a Venus a subject to be rejected, because the worship of the goddess has ceased.

Music, without discord, is unmeaning and tedious, and painting and sculpture likewise need such discords. But every musical discord is necessarily resolved, according to the rules of art; while painters and sculptors often leave their dissonances unresolved, and eternized in stone. In every discord I feel its transition into euphony; it is but a motion, a creation of harmony; but no musician would ever think of affirming, that to sing out of tune is ever

permitted, much less that it is necessary in his art. The combats of the Centaurs and Lapithæ display a chain of discords, which originate, advance, and develope themselves—one could set them to music without violating the rules and euphony of the science. But were we to attempt a similar musical transposition with many celebrated statues, we should break all the strings of the instrument by the violence of the effort.

I ought to say a few words of the favourite and much-extolled Italian Opera. Yet, wherefore? It is a hot-house plant, altogether alien to the English soil, and merely serves to prove that the English are very rich, and can purchase and command what they please. Thus they pay exorbitantly, and listen throughout the whole year to two or three operas, by the newest undramatic composers of Italy, which the singers improve upon, to the general astonishment; and yet this degenerate style is to *real* music and *real* song, what the Zuccheri are to Raphael and Michael Angelo. The appoggiature, shakes, double shakes, and roulades of the Italians in the house, are translated, by the girls in the lobbies, into English. I scarcely know where I am to look for art or the absence of it, for what is serious or what is parody, for original or copy: if the one did not belong to the other, were not prelude or the afterpiece to the other, why should they be found so constantly together, and tolerated, in a country where it is considered sinful to sing a note on a Sunday, or to dance with a modest girl in respectable company. But I break off, that I may not unite against me powers otherwise at variance, and be roughly handled in a conflict with a superior force.

You have so often heard the Tower and the Colosseum described, that I need not allude to them. The Panorama of London in the latter is excellent; yet Satan would scarcely have chosen this spot, and this view over countless roofs, had he desired to divert us from heaven by the beauty of earth. Mount Rigi, and the convent of the Camaldulensians at Naples—these are the most glorious spots in the world, but where Satan cannot reign, because the indescribable beauty and sublimity of the scene are intimately connected with the sacred and divine.

The Tower, that great scaffold of bygone ages, how mild and humane does it appear! Its former laws, engraven with the sword, now very politely inform the stranger, that there is no design of taking his life, but merely his shilllngs.

London, 29*th July*, 1835.

I am so occupied with my departure, which is fixed for the day after to-morrow, that I can scarcely collect my thoughts to write anything down.

Mr. P—t—r has most obligingly given me all the necessary information for my journey, and my packet of letters of introduction which I have received from various parties has grown so large, that

I shall scarcely be able to deliver and profit by all during my short trip.

I called yesterday on Mrs. Austin. I may congratulate myself that she has consented to translate my letters on England. For my own sake, I requested her to alter and omit whatever she might think necessary in my letters. Many things in my book will appear dry to her, yet I have the vanity to hope that I shall sometimes coincide with her in thoughts and feelings. Should I be deceived in this, she may either leave out this expression, or correct me in an explanatory note.

London, 29th July, 1835.

I start to-morrow morning at half-past six, and shall reach Nottingham in thirteen hours. For this journey of one hundred and twenty-four miles I am to pay eighteen shillings, and including fees, I suppose, about twenty-one shillings. The outside fare, therefore, is cheaper, and the inside dearer, than in Germany; but at all events, travelling is here much more rapid.

LETTER LIX.

Eulogium on Englishmen—Stage-Coach—Journey to Nottingham—Character of the Scenery—The Mob in Nottingham—Attempt on Louis-Philip—Character of the French—Their Legislation—Wakefield—Cotton Factory—Sheffield—Leeds—Selby—York—Ripon.

Ripon, Sunday, 2d August.

I CANNOT take it for granted, that in Häringsdorf, a remote watering-place, you can already be provided, by Häring's exertions, with maps; though the author of 'Walladmor' and of the 'Castle of Avalon' ought, above all things, to hang up a map of England in his new residence. I will therefore conduct you, as well as I can, though by a very roundabout way, to Ripon, in the western part of the county of York.

The last few days in London were, of course, so fully taken up with other matters, that study was out of the question, and I had not even time to pay the most necessary visits. As I have neither leisure nor composure to enter into general observations on London, I will mention only *one* point, in which I am personally concerned. While many complain of the unsociableness of the English, I have the greatest reason to extol their obligingness and readiness to do service. Much, as I have already observed, depends on recommendation, but certainly not all; for some persons, to whom I had no recommendation whatever, showed me almost more attention than any others.

Mr. T., for example, brought me several letters late in the evening prior to my departure; Mr. P——r made the necessary arrangements for me at the coach-office, gave me several most useful little maps, and drew up for me a whole sheet full of minute directions for my journey, and came to the coach-office at six o'clock in the morning, to see that no wrong was done me as a stranger. I could adduce many such examples, and ask—Where shall we find people so ready to oblige?

But as a painting without shadow is defective, and as I see a kind of injustice to the Germans in this unrestricted praise, I will confess that I have met with exceptions.

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With B. R. the case is rather different. When a man, who has transacted business with him to the amount of millions, recommends anybody, it is not the person himself who is recommended that claims attention, but mercantile prudence prescribes that he should not be wholly overlooked, and that letters and cards repeatedly left should not be thrown into a corner. I the less expected this, as I have found another branch of the same family in P—— equally obliging and amiable. However, the vast number of persons daily recommended to such a man, the total difference of our pursuits, and many other circumstances, excuse an accidental neglect, or give a right to reject the multitude of such claims.

But if I myself neutralize, on equitable considerations, the exceptions which I promised to allege, the rule of the universal kindness and obligingness of the English remains untouched. I will therefore, in the third example, state a complaint, without attempting any justification. I was desirous, above all things, of becoming acquainted with L. Br———, and with this view obtained letters of introduction from a celebrated diplomatist, and from a man known and respected in all parts of the world, and I know that the latter had spoken of me in too favourable a manner; but letters and whole batteries of calls and cards had no effect whatever.

You exclaim—Where is the account of your journey? Have I promised to give you one? Besides, if I mention to you the towns through which I passed, cannot you read in Spicker's Travels a more complete account of everything remarkable than I can possibly give you? I will therefore commence with some general observations, which, however, are derived from repeated experience. I now proceed to the manner and the inconveniences of the mode of travelling.

Outside and inside, subject and object—these great opposites are rendered more striking, and are more felt by the English mode of travelling with the stage, than by any other in Europe. It seems that the outside is preferred, as is fitting in a commercial country; nay, even females do not hesitate to ascend the ladder, and take their seats on the outside, at the risk of very awkward exposure. A

connoisseur may perhaps think this to be the most agreeable part of the mode of travelling. Many Englishmen know how to allege abundance of arguments in favour, not only of the light side, but also of the dark side, just as they do for sinecures, rotten boroughs, corn-laws, prohibitory laws, protecting duties, slavery, exclusion of the Dissenters from the universities, &c. *Because* they have excellent roads and the best horses, and travel with the greatest rapidity, therefore, their stage-coaches are also the best built, and the most convenient; the two things are necessarily connected, and the one is the natural consequence of the other. *Because* there were corn-laws, and sinecures, and rotten boroughs, therefore England has become great, &c. If we consider this method of combining cause and effect, we might (without being disposed to scepticism) at length deny with Hume the whole law of casuality. To all theories, *à priori*, on the outside of the stage-coach, I oppose the bitter experience, *à posteriori*, on which account a travelling cushion is, in England, a most indispensable article. The *tabula rasa* of the wooden seat is not alone incapable of any impression, but is so far disposed to the fashionable geological theory of elevation, as the iron bands and nails project from it, and produce a philosophical connexion between outside and back-side, which may be explained on Locke's system, but rather requires stoic resignation than affords epicurean pleasure. In the corner seats you are actually in danger, and have, therefore, a natural inclination, nay, almost a right, to lean upon the person who has prudently chosen the centre place. You may also think yourself lucky when you can lean or rest on the sharp edge of a trunk; but as soon as my back began to ache in consequence, I fancied myself again in the days of my youth, and of the barbarous Prussian post-wagons, when I was also glad to find some trunk to lean upon. At a very small expense, and with a very trifling increase of weight, all this might be remedied, and will be remedied in England one day. The new Prussian stage-coaches are certainly preferable to those in England, while, on the other hand, the rapidity boasted of in Prussia is far inferior to that of the English coaches. Horses and roads cannot be all at once improved by an ordinance, but the delay at every stage is an abominable abuse among us, and ought to be remedied. Why do the English take hardly two minutes to change horses, and the Prussians at least five times as much? It is only the ennui, hence arising, that drives the travellers to have recourse to coffee, beer, brandy, sausages, and such other palliatives. If in England the greatest praise is due to the beautiful horses, the elegant harness, the smooth roads, the rapid progress; in Prussia, to the security of the seat, which is taken and numbered, and to the coaches; what, it may be asked, is the best in France? Without all doubt the bill of fare. A Frenchman, educated in the art of eating, would surely have been horrified, if nothing were set before him for his dinner but roast mutton at the top of the table, and boiled lamb at the bottom. In France eating and drinking has become a refined

enjoyment, ennobled by art. Nay, they sometimes appear to travel solely for the pleasure of eating, and sharpening their appetite.

On the 30th of July I travelled, in one day, 124 English miles to Nottingham, on the 31st to Wakefield, on the 1st of August, to this town. The character of the whole country is by no means so picturesque, fantastic, or sublime, as many parts of Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, but in the highest degree agreeable, and, in some parts, diversified. Everywhere are proofs of the highest cultivation, and of flourishing agriculture: wheat and barley predominant, scarcely any rye; potatoes and turnips of all kinds, in almost equal proportions; and not a little clover and pasture fields. The diversity, already mentioned, the charm of the scenery, principally arises from the circumstance, that the several divisions of the country (*i. e.* the fields) are by no means of the same size and shape, and extremely seldom long and narrow. Every field is inclosed with green hedges, and the trees are so numerous, scattered in such various groups over the fields and meadows, that England is not, indeed, the country in the world richest in forests, but, perhaps, the most abounding in trees. How dreary and monotonous are the treeless, hedgeless roads of the celebrated Magdeburg, compared with this variegated landscape of inclosures, hedges, trees, corn-fields, and pastures! I do not exaggerate, but, on the contrary, am below the mark, when I assert that we can overlook, on each side of the road, a five-fold length of verdant hedging: if, in a distance of fifty miles, five hundred, on both sides, are planted with hedges, this is surely a proof of industry, capital, and an attention to elegance and beauty, which we do not always find united with them. We often boast of our avenues, but, instead of these long, tedious, uniform, prosaic, parallel lines, I here find the most manifold and charming diversity. I never could have supposed it possible that such simple elements as tree and bush could produce as much variety as a kaleidoscope. What I see reminds me of some portions of the Goldenau of Anhalt, of Lower Silesia, only that these highly-cultivated plains are infinitely more extensive in England. The whole country has the appearance of an agricultural garden; and, though individual farmers and land-owners may, from a variety of causes, be in bad circumstances, yet the soil proves a careful cultivation, and must bring them large returns.

The Englishman of rank has a greater regard to his comfort at his country-house than in London; a rout in town can scarcely be so congenial to the mind, so *comfortable*, as the pleasures which nature here offers. This two-fold kind of life in town and country, united with the varied and peculiar activity, must have a beneficial influence on mind and body, and is altogether different from the hankering after summer villas, with which dull sort of poetry many among us endeavour to banish their mental tedium.

Early the next morning I saw, at Nottingham, the remains of the castle, finely situated on a rock, which had been burnt down by the

populace. It may lead the English to humility, that if they are very little threatened with danger from without, it may manifest itself with double force and destructive power at home. No people is destitute of some internal seeds of depravity, but if their growth is not checked in this fortunate island, the guilt and the punishment would be doubly great. Momentary want of employment, too striking contrast between rich and poor, mistaken notions of the effects of machinery, excited the populace some years ago. But it was only the populace who were inflamed to madness, and the disorder passed over with the occasion, and by proper management. But what shall we say of the unhappy nation which, for five and forty years has been seeking for liberty in all directions, and by every means, only not by moderation, contentedness, and humility!

Even the boldest adherent of the superficial Utilitarian doctrine here would shrink with horror at such a wholesale, indiscriminate attempt at murder as that upon Louis Philip; compared with these cold-blooded, calculating wretches, Clement and Ravaillac appear to me almost like innocent, misguided children. Is this the fruit of the pretended highest civilization, to trample at once under foot the commands of nature, of the mind, and of revelation, and to trust only to a redemption through Satan. I would most willingly admit the excuse, and persuade myself of its validity, that this is but an isolated attempt, wholly unconnected with the nation, civilization, inclination, &c. But the contrary conviction forces itself upon me against my will. Where poets, who ought to purify and ennoble our earthly existence, find their highest pleasure in wallowing in the mire of everything that is base and vile; where the stage becomes the school for sin, must not such practice result, in the end, from such a theory. And can religion have a salutary effect, when the one party considers the Jesuitical Monte Rouge as the only true Zion, and the other makes Lalande a saint, because he denied everything holy. Many (how could a man doubt it) follow better paths, but their intellectual electricity seems to be exhausted, and a *procès monstre* will not suffice to subdue and kill such adversaries.

The ordinances of the year 1830 were certainly injudicious, nay unjust. But what has proceeded from the boundless joy, the arrogant self-confidence, the extravagant hopes? Peace was preserved, but more from fear than from love of peace, and more through the king of Prussia than because a conviction of the necessary independence of nations had taken root among the French. May God make things better both in the *east* and the *west!* But in these precious five years has one single, great, and salutary law been passed? a measure truly relieving the sufferings of the world, adopted or carried into effect in France?—No. The public debt and standing army have been increased; the taxes in no essential point diminished; the monopoly of the rich maintained, from military service down to the manufacture of sugar; vain declamations about cosmopolitism– with the prohibitory system, slaves instead of independent,

and yet obedient civil officers, an inflammatory fever in Paris, and a shivering fit in the provinces and towns, which are deprived of all rights and independence.

God knows the future destinies of France and England,—and not I, or any other man, because he reads the newspapers. Some persons point out resemblances between the two countries, but I will oppose them with differences, and hope to have the better of the argument. Richelieu said, "The French wanted *à plomb*," the English had, perhaps, too much; and this gigantic ship, which boldly traverses the ocean of history, still possesses so much genuine living ballast of mind and heart, that it will certainly not so easily upset and sink, because some political adventurers clamber up the mast, and waving their colours, dream of an El Dorado, suspended between heaven and earth, where they would cast anchor.

But this saying of Richelieu may be explained or interpreted in another manner, if we are to understand by it the faculty or tendency to remain unalterably in one and the same position or course; the French are certainly more destitute of this *à plomb* than any other people of Europe. On the other hand, they have, more than any nation, the *à plomb* of the cork tumblers with which children amuse themselves. You may throw them down, push, roll, or set them on their head, they immediately rise and stand on their feet, and defeat all attacks in the same manner. A German stands firm and sure, but having the centre of gravity in his heart; if he is once thrown down, he is a long time insensible, and scarcely moves, while the French merrily dance around and spring over him. But if the seven sleepers awake, as in the year 1813, they know how to shake off these foreign tumblers. Daru replied to the Prussian deputies who complained of intolerable oppression, "You do not know what a people and a country can bear and endure." The French themselves are certainly the best proof of this; but how long did the impotency of the Germans continue after the barbarous period of their Thirty years' war? May the French not argue themselves into a similar state of impotency!

England has carried on war for many years, but it has had no war in its own country; this is a main cause of its civilization and improvement. What are all taxes to the oppressive and tormenting burden of lodging foreign, insolent soldiers? It is happy when a nation understands how to profit by this purgatory, to effect its regeneration, and does not, by cowardly submission, fall a prey to death.

In the course of my journey, I looked around with the greatest attention for symptoms of decline; and saw here and there, perhaps, some broken window, or a gate off the hinges—but scarcely so often as the artist desires for picturesque. On the whole, I beheld everywhere careful husbandry, order, improvements, new houses, neat gardens, &c. The smaller towns, doubtless, contain much suffering, but they, too, are evidently improving: when I see

new gas works, new roads, and the streets watered to lay the dust, I have surely as much reason to infer general prosperity and comfort, as Cobbett had to prophesy the ruin of England, because he happened to meet with a dilapidated dog-kennel.

Sheffield and Leeds showed the greatest and most rapid rise. Yet the impression, on the whole, was not pleasing and agreeable, as these enlargements and improvements were the result of the immediate wants and objects of individuals. We therefore rarely trace any comprehensive plan, any attention to general convenience, or to beauty and architectonic art. Capital is employed solely in the creation of new capital. What is not calculated to promote this end is regarded as useless and superfluous. It is with a far different view that the west side of London has been enlarged.

I stayed in Wakefield the 31st of July and the 1st of August. I had become acquainted in London with Mr. S———, the vicar of Wakefield, and had besides resolved occasionally to pass a night in some of the smaller towns, in order to make myself, in some measure, acquainted with the difference which exists between them and larger cities. The gooseberry wine maintained its old character at Mr. S———'s, and in a future edition of the novel, honourable mention should be made of the excellent beer and beef-steaks of the hospitable family. Mr. S——— took me to a manufactory, but the proprietor must soon have perceived that I was not a person to spy out the mysteries of the art, for my attention was excited by the great number of the girls at work. None of their labours were hard, none were forced to constrained positions; the room was lofty, and the air was pure, and, with scarcely any exception, they had plump rosy cheeks, and fat arms, and looked in much better health than I expected, after the accounts I had heard. I found but one inconvenience, which I had never heard mentioned, the noise of the looms and machinery.

From the factory we proceeded to the prison, built on the plan of Messrs. Bentham and Pythagoras. The former contrives the arrangements like a great cobweb, in the centre of which sits the vigilant superintendant, a mere abstract idea, for he neither can, nor will, constantly look out from his central position, because it is by no means necessary that he should do so. This first error gives rise to the erection of an immense number of useless walls and divisions; a prison neatly plaited like an antique ruff. With an eighth part of the cost and materials, all the essential objects of such a building might be attained. Bentham was certainly no philosopher, in the higher scientific sense of the word; but here I cannot even discover a correct or judicious practice.

The Pythagorean system of silence has also been introduced into this prison. I have already directed your attention to the good effects produced by it. But if the punishments already annexed to certain crimes were severe enough, they appear to me too rigorous with this great additional severity. But if the new standard is the

correct one, the former was too mild and too short. There is nothing unreasonable in the innovation, said a lawyer to me, for the culprit knows the condition, and accepts it. So, also, he formerly accepted torture, and yet no one can deny its barbarism and injustice. The scandal of improper conversation can be checked, without prohibiting every sound to those who are shut up in solitary cells. A bird which was singing in its cage seemed to me the only free being within this labyrinth of walls. My feelings are wounded by this perfect muteness—this measuring of morality according to the standard of unbroken silence—and I find it quite impossible to regain a proper frame of mind to-day.

From Wakefield I proceeded to Leeds, but did not make a long stay, as I wished to go by the rail-road to Selby; but here, even the steam-engine rests on Sundays: I had, therefore, no alternative between setting out on Saturday or waiting till Monday.

In front stands the fiery dragon, groaning, snorting, and foaming, till the twenty carriages are lashed to his tail; when he sets forward with the utmost rapidity over the horizontal plane. Mountains have been levelled, valleys raised, and in the gloom of the vaulted tunnel the dragon throws out fire and flames. Yet, in spite of all the force, and all the noise, one man guides the monster at his will.

From Selby I went to York. The cathedral is magnificent, but less beautiful than those which have pointed spires. Within were great preparations for the approaching musical festival. The painted windows, inferior to those in Germany, and the monuments for the most part without merit as works of art.

In the evening I went to Ripon. I was obliged to rest for one day, for the wind, heat, and dust on the road had so heated my blood, and blistered my face, that without any additional paint, I might have acted the part of Zamiel with great effect. In the inn, however, I found a man whose face glowed still more than mine, which not a little consoled me.

LETTER LX.

Divine Service—Mental Improvement—Birthday of the King of Prussia—Studley Park—Fountains Abbey—The Middle Ages and Modern Times—Newcastle on Tyne—Factories—Durham—Coal-Mines at South Hetton—Progress of English Manufactures.

Edinburgh, August 7th, 1835.

While taking an evening walk in the neighbourhood of Ripon, a man called after me—"Go a hundred steps farther, and you will have a fine prospect:" he was right; and I learned in conversation that he was a native of Belgium, but had been long settled and mar-

ried in England. On this and the following day, when I drank tea in the cheerful family of Mr. H———, he very kindly took me to see all the curiosities of the place: he told me that the greater part of the neighbouring commons had been converted into gardens (chiefly by his exertions), and that Ripon had advanced in proportion with the larger towns: this is another confirmation of my opinion, and of my hopes for the future.

On Sunday, the 2d of August, I walked into the church. Divine service, as performed in the smaller towns, is more marked and peculiar. I found the liturgy, as in other places, too long, and too full of repetitions and similarities; yet how sublime and animating are those simple musical responses, the Gloria patria, and Amen,—compared with all the shakes and turns that are now called music, but are in reality only calculated to tickle the ear. The sermon was plain and sensible, but directed against Rome and Catholicism, in a manner we are no longer accustomed to in Prussia, and which will gradually disappear, in proportion to the progress of Christian charity in both parties. Not but that there is a very important difference, only the mode of expounding it, and of exploring and spreading the truth, may be united either with un-Christian acrimony or with Christain charity.

I find occasion to observe that practical intellectual education is, perhaps, greater than among us, but positive knowledge less; and yet the object is not attained till both are combined in due porportion. Thus a person of the inferior class talked very sensibly about religion and religious toleration, but was so unacquainted with the difference between Prussia and Russia, that, under other circumstances, I might have taken it for a satire on the too close connexion between those two States. A young lady, who spoke very well, asked me if Napoleon was still alive? I found this innocence, or indifference to the tree of knowledge almost laudable, but was not a little surprised when she went on to inquire whether I had come overland from Berlin to England.

On the 3d of August I fulfilled, far from our country, my most imperative duty, and gratefully remembered our king. There are in the history of the world so many celebrated names, from whose glory, however, every century takes something away, because the business of their life was only destruction. This idolatry, paid to the destroying divinities of the earth, ought to be combated by every means, and to be rooted out. The true gardener is not he who cuts down the sound tree, and burns it for fuel, but he who sows, plants, waters, grafts, destroys vermin, lops off dead branches, &c. The tree falls with a crash to the ground, beats down everything in its way; and this kind of history, calculated for effect, has been extolled, not only by the stupified and amazed spectators, but by authors who are called philosophical and liberal. In the histories of of the French Revolution which are the most read and recommended, the mild and benevolent Louis XVI. is censured, and his

morality at the most passed over with a shrug of the shoulders as of no importance; but as soon as Marat, Robespierre, or other dragons of the New Babel appear in the field, the knee is bowed, and the torrent of hellfire is recommended as an admirable means for purifying the air.

For the last thiry years Prussia has proceeded in a course of uninterrupted active developement. The advocates of false stability have never been able to persuade the king to stand still, nor the panegyrists of foreign institutions to proceed with revolutionary rapidity. To have found this mean direction, this diagonal between the opposed powers which move the world, is the merit of the king and of his faithful servants. From the moment that one of those powers prevails alone Prussia goes to ruin. From this God will preserve us, under Frederic William III., and his successor.

There are many external indices in the physiognomy of public law, from which various inferences may be drawn respecting its nature: in England, for instance, the landed and the monied interest, an established and dissenting church, &c.; in France there are not merely two sides, but even two centres, with rotations round each centre which renders political calculations more complex, and leads to greater confusion and anomalies, than if we would calculate the orbits of the suns and planets according to the Ptolemaic or Tychonic systems.

We have nothing of the kind—we have nothing to oppose to such superabundant political wealth, except, perhaps, a mere word, or a mere play on words. But this we have alone, and he who is able properly to explain and to animate it, who has thoroughly thought and felt it, has, like Achilles and Siegfried, scarcely *one* spot to cover against the attacks of open or secret enemies. *Vaterland—Landesvater.* In these two words, in the manner in which they belong together, mutually blend and cherish each other, share each other's joys and sufferings,—in those two mysterious, yet plain words lies the eternal code of the whole public law of Germany. There may be countries in which they separate one ingredient with *vinaigre aux quatre voleurs,* and think it sufficient. There may be others where it is considered as an improvement to give a supposed greater unity to both by rude forge-work. May heaven preserve to the Germans this twofold life, which, in the highest sense, is in fact but one!

Amid such reflections I strayed at five in the morning from Ripon to Studley Park, along fields and hedges. The park itself is but an extensive and highly-improved section of the entire landscape. The noblest trees, a crystal lake, a murmuring stream—nature everywhere tastefully combined with art; nothing rude, nothing over-refined. On a sudden turn in the road, the magnificent ruins of Fountains Abbey stood before me, towards which I hastened with my intelligent guide. I thought that I was entering the aisle of the church, but it was only the transept; and the extent and sublimity of the

building again surprised me when I reached the intersection of the cross. An extremely lofty and slender column still supports two bold arches; the vaulted roof, which covered the centre, has fallen in. The ancient library, the vast refectory, the vaulted cloisters—they are not the ruins of a single edifice, but an astonishing assemblage of ruins of many splendid buildings. The solemn stillness, the beauty of the scenery, the ivy which mantled the walls and towers, and in part completely covered them, presented an image of the bygone world of mind, and the fresh and youthful energy of nature. I have never seen ruins so grand and striking,—I might almost say, so full of thought and feeling.

I could never yet feel any real enthusiasm for the remains of the corrupt ages of the Roman emperors. In the Colosseum I have always been reminded of the ill-fated Jews, who were forced to raise a pile for the Heathens, to prepare a triumph for the ignobler passions by the combats of gladiators and wild beasts. How far otherwise is the case here! Solitary pilgrims arrive in the savage spot; they repose under the ancient trees, endure wants of every kind, in order to spread the glad tidings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Touched by their call, the soul bursts its fetters; gratitude hastens to rear a temple to the Lord; and the small band, united in the strong bonds of love, can effect more than an empire composed of conquered provinces. The grove of primeval trees finds its artificial and ennobled image, in the columns, branches, foliages, and wreaths of the churches and chaples; a destination, a style of architecture altogether different from the amphitheatres of Rome, Verona, or Nismes. They only prove that man can settle were he finds a convenient spot—but these structures testify, even in their ruins, that man must raise himself to God. The impious shedding of human blood in the combats of the arena is changed into the remembrance of the sin-atoning blood of Christ: then the innocent was the victim, and the conquorer triumphed in his savage joy: the new faith offers consolation to all—leads all to holiness and humility.

Some remains of Mosaic indicate the place where the high altar stood. Here, then, will some perhaps say, was the centre of superstition, of monkish indolence and ignorance: well, thank heaven! it is all destroyed, or, at the most, remains as a favourable object in the scene for the landscape painter. But what will be left, in the lapse of ages, of the manufactories, rail-roads, and steam-engines? You accuse yourselves, when you speak thus of your ancestors. You cannot raise, with cotton and muslin, vaulted roofs and pillars like those which exist here in monumental stone. How miserable, stunning, and stupifying is all the noise of your machinery, compared with the *sanctus*, the *gloria*, and the *requiem eternam* which still echo from every stone of those silent ruins. The high altar the centre of superstition! For myself I need not the miracle of transubstantiation, this recurrence of subordinate, material miracles,

because my whole soul is absorded in the one stupendous miracle, that the Divine nature can and has entered into the circle of individual human existence. If God were wholly and for ever separated from man, where would be the comfort, where the possibility of the exaltation for which we long? On the contrary, if I would raise myself into the Divinity, it is a *salto mortale* and the pride which of old caused the downfall of Satan. The doctrine of the two natures in Christ, of the union of the divine with the human, is so important, because, if rightly conceived, it becomes, or may become, for every one, the guide of his efforts and his hopes.

Edinburgh, August 9th, 1835.

On the 8th of August, at noon, I set out for Newcastle-on-Tyne, where I arrived in the evening. Richmond and Darlington, as well as Durham and the vale of the Wear, reminded me of the countries on the Elbe, and the valley of the Elbe, between Pillnitz and Dresden.

At Newcastle, I again had occasion gratefully to acknowledge the kindness and hospitality of the English. A brother of Mr. P—r, a physician, received me in the most friendly manner into his house: and two other brothers took so much pains for me, that I saw, heard, and learned more in a very short time than a hundred other travellers. I felt what a saving of time kings have at their command if they would but profit by it.

On the 4th of August, therefore, I saw (what is impracticable without the recommendation of a friend), the coal-mine in Watbottle, the glass and iron works at Leamington, the paper manufactory at Scotswood, the glass manufactory in Newcastle, and the steam-engine manufactory of Mr. Stevenson.

On the 5th of August I went with Mr. P—, on board the steamer, to the harbour of Shields, and to Tynemouth, and viewed whatever was remarkable in Newcastle. One part of the town is old, and, as it were, still in the state of a chrysalis, while in the other new buildings are springing up, and great improvements making. Everywhere is life, work, and activity. Many of the buildings,—for instance, the Museum, the Post Office, &c., are conformable to the rules of classical architecture. Some parts are like Prague.

In Shields, the ruins of an ancient monastery are situated on a high promontory, which runs into the sea: another proof how skilfully the monks chose the site for their abodes, and how sensible they were to the beauties of nature.

On the 5th, at noon, I returned to Durham, and found there a fourth Mr. P——r, who, at the desire of his brother, was already waiting for me with his carriage. We went first to the pleasant promenades round one part of the city, then to the ruins of the castle, and to the old cathedral. These buildings, and the deep valley of

the Wear, into which you look down from a considerable elevation, may be compared to the country and the Schlossberge near Meissen. In Durham Cathedral, I found a remarkable union of circular and pointed arches, and the thickest round pillars fluted in various patterns, with lofty columns, ribs, and branches.

From Durham we drove to South Hetton, and I passed the forenoon of the 6th of August underground in the far extended coal-mines. Standing in a barrel, I descended perpendicularly to a very great depth; and the first thing I saw was a number of horses, which are let down in nets, and generally remain here till they die.

You must look for no precise, no technical descriptions; it is sufficient to mention some particulars by way of example, in order to put together, and to justify, some general reflections. Steam-engines and iron railroads have altered and immeasurably extended all the trades carried on in this neighbourhood. The folly of opposition to all machinery is here as clear as day, and it may be proved, with mathematical precision, that without these new powers and resources thousands of men could not gain a livelihood; that the population has increased, and more than one entirely new branch of industry has arisen.

In this one large coal-mine are three steam-engines, each of 100 horse power, one of 300 horse power, making altogether 600 horse power. The beam of this largest engine contains 81,840 pounds of massive iron. It makes 15 strokes in a minute, each of which raises 800 lbs. weight of water. The price of this one engine was 10,000*l.* sterling. The iron rail-roads run for miles in different directions, and the cost is, on an average, 4*s.* a foot. Every day about 3,240,000 lbs. of coals are taken from this one mine, or 672 million pounds in 300 days' work. If all this labour were to be effected by men and horses, many square miles of country would be required for their support, and coals would rise to an exorbitant price. All manufactories, which cannot be carried on without cheap fuel, would go to ruin. At present, the expense of raising a chaldron of coals amounts to 18*s.*, and, on the spot, the chaldron is sold, on an average, at 28*s.* 6*d.* Out of this profit of 10*s.* or 10*s.* 6*d.* on a chaldron, the interest of the existing capital, and that of the first outlay, is to be deducted, as part of this last must be reckoned the money which the shafts cost: of the former, the wagons, horses, and other things, which may be sold. 30 horses and 400 wagons are here in constant motion, the value of the latter being estimated at 20*l.* each. A capital of 400,000*l.* sterling is invested in these mines, which brings in about 15 per cent. interest; 700 persons are employed in the capacity of colliers, smiths, carpenters, &c.: it is a colony of the most diversified kind.

After these great and astonishing results, the question naturally arises,—what is the condition of the people? is it not most wretched and pitiable? This second question interested me still more than

the first; the examination led to equally pleasing results. Every coal-miner receives, 1st, gratis, a plot of ground, chiefly for planting potatoes; 2d, a dwelling; 3d, daily wages. I found the dwellings beyond my expectation, very neat and cleanly, bright windows, and behind each some indication of prosperity and ornament. The daily wages of boys, whose work is very easy—driving the horses, for instance—is about one shilling, and rises, in proportion to the labour, to six shillings; on an average they may be stated at four shillings a day. When we consider that provisions and manufactured goods are now as cheap in England as in Germany, that the miners have nothing to pay for house rent, fuel, and potatoes, and that their wages are without comparison higher than in any country on the Continent, it is evident that this part of the population of England is better off, and enjoys a higher degree of prosperity than anywhere else. It is not unusual for them to have meat on their table twice in a day; and that old and young eat only the finest wheaten bread is a matter of course. Among more than 200 children, I did not see one sickly, beggarly, or deformed; all strong and hearty, with rosy cheeks, and, except where a streak of coal crossed the face, remarkably fair and handsome.

I connect with these evident facts some inferences. On the continent, two opposite views are advocated with equal warmth. First, the improvement of our manufactures has brought down England from its pre-eminence; secondly, that English manufactures entirely ruin every German enterprise. In the same manner, the English adopt the one or the other of these assertions. How much is true, and how much false?

All nations, chiefly in consequence of the blessings of peace, are daily advancing, and England will never again be able to obtain a monopoly of the German market. But it is taking a partial and superficial view of the case to infer from it the necessary and inevitable ruin of England. I have, in another place, shown what an immense market is open to it in all quarters of the globe, and never were the demand and the production so great as at this moment. Even the demand for Germany will again increase, as soon as Great Britain adopts the liberal commercial system of our country, and does not, with short-sighted selfishness, entirely exclude our produce and manufactures, or subject them to exorbitant duties.

The second assertion, that no manufacture can arise and flourish in Germany, in competition with the English, is refuted by a thousand instances: nay, many Englishmen ask for higher protecting duties against foreign productions, and found these claims on two arguments, which they pretend are incontrovertible: first, their heavy taxes; and, secondly, the high wages which they have to pay. With respect to the first point, I shall endeavour to prove, in another place, how erroneous it is to estimate the burthens in different states solely by the sum which each individual has to pay. I affirm,

with a view to the several circumstances that have any influence here, that the taxes paid by the English are, on the contrary, the lowest in the world; because, after deducting them, they have far more capital and income remaining, and live better, than the Germans, French, Spaniards, Italians, Russians, Poles, &c.

In the second place, with respect to their higher wages, I see in them an apparently greater burthen for those who pay, and a really greater advantage for those who receive. The latter is evident, from the fact, that the English workmen and mechanics eat, drink, and are clothed better than any others; but the former may also be proved to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced person. In the first place, the most active, numerous—the most productive labourers in England, that is, the machines, are paid much less than elsewhere. Where a German manufactory requires a hundred workmen, an English one wants perhaps ten; and if the latter receive high, and the others low wages, the expense is still much greater in the former case, even if I take into account the cost of the machinery, iron rail-roads, &c.

Further, the English manufacturer, who has much larger capital at his command, has more left, as he pays lower interest than the German. Lastly,—and this is a most important point (which is very striking in the environs of Newcastle)—local circumstances, and the union of different kinds of trade, are productive of such extraordinary advantages, that wages seem wholly unimportant. By way of example, I will mention only a few particulars. The stream bears down the ships without exertion; the tide carries them up without greater expense. The colliers often bring back manure for the farmers from London, or old iron to be remelted, and this instead of the necessary ballast. The strata of earth between which the coals lie are elsewhere thrown aside as useless: here immense brick kilns are employed in using them up. The purification of the air in the mines, which in other places is so expensive, is here effected by burning coal, the cost of which is hardly worth taking into account. Whole rows of loaded wagons roll down the inclined planes, and at the same time draw up the empty ones on an adjoining plane; where a countless multitude of men and horses and a great length of time would be required, a few workmen are here sufficient. Therefore, though the payment is the very highest, there is in England an extraordinary saving of labour, time, and money; and the English manufacturer does not require protecting duties, on account either of heavy taxes or higher wages—not to mention that, for other reasons, such duties are never of any use. If any person denies all this, nothing more would be necessary to refute him than to bring him only once to the Tyne, and show him how the wagons, without the aid of men or animals, hasten along the iron rail-roads, from the greatest distance to the coast; how, by a simple mechanism, by the aid of two workmen, they are let down in a few seconds to the ships, and discharge

themselves in an equally short time,—rise again, and run back to the mine while the second row of loaded wagons rolls down: I say, we need but to see this one, or the whole mechanism, how the rags in the manufactory at Scotswood convert themselves into paper,—to be convinced, for our whole life, of the worthlessness of all partial assertions.

Another time, perhaps, I may send you the proof that the German manufactures, notwithstanding all this, may exist together with the English, and, after the abolition of the prohibitory system, will be in a natural and healthy state. But my letter is very long—I hope you will not find it too long. I have found a new patron of these letters: the first is Mr. Murray, inasmuch as he will publish a translation of them; the second is Mrs. Austin, who kindly undertakes the translation; and, lastly, I have just received the following news from London:—"I was with Mrs. A. on Sunday: and she desired me to tell you that she had seen Mr. Spring Rice on that day; and, in speaking of your intended work on England, and her translation, he has requested her to transmit the manuscript to him; and if there are any financial statements, or statements of any kind relating to to Government, he will take care to have them officially verified, as well as assisting with any informatton within his reach."

You may suppose how much pleasure it gives me, that the first English minister will stand godfather to my child; and that I shall return to London as soon as possible, in order to derive advantage from his kindness for the German edition. I have hitherto kept back the difficult chapter on the finances, because I was not satisfied with it. All doubt and difficulties will now be happily removed.

LETTER LXI.

Seaham—Sunderland—Edinburgh—Situation—Beauty—Laws—Regulations—Prisons—Divine Service—Presbyterianism—Street Preachers—Glasgow—Manufactories—Cathedral—Prison—University—Population—Improvements—The Scotch Lakes—Passage to Ireland.

Edinburgh, Monday, 10th August, 1835.

I HAVE brought down my accounts only as far as the 6th of August at South Hetton. How many geological enigma are comprehended within this one coal-mine! Whence these alternations and strata of earth, sand, limestone, coal, &c.? How comes this combustible mineral between such different layers of earth and stones? Why is it sometimes only an inch, sometimes a foot broad, but to a very

great extent neither thicker nor thinner, while the thickness of other strata sometimes increases, sometimes decreases? Why, after greater or less intervals, a second, third, or fourth stratum? Whence, in more acute or more obtuse angles, a hard rock, even basalt, breaking through the mostly horizontal strata? What power has caused a sudden breaking off of these strata, and, many feet higher or lower, and equally suddenly, the regular continuation? To all this the geologists have not merely one, but, according to the different systems, several answers at hand; but this very multiplicity of answers is a proof that they are hitherto only in the region of hypothesis, and not that of truth. This is no reproach, for if we are so often unable to understand what is above ground, even what is present to us, how can we obtain a complete and satisfactory conception of what is concealed in the depths, and the remotest antiquity? Haller, therefore, says—"Into the inner recesses of nature no created spirit can penetrate." But can we penetrate even the interior of our own heart, our thoughts and feelings? None but one destitute of thought and feeling will deny that here too there are mysteries and wonders.

From South Hetton I drove with Mr. P. ——— to Seaham, where an entirely new harbour has been made, at a great expense, for the colliers; and then to Sunderland, where a second harbour has been formed in a similar manner. Everywhere there are proofs of prosperity and activity: the last town, in particular, of which we do not hear so frequently, exceeded my expectations. The mouth of the Wear presented the same appearance as that of the Tyne, and the great iron-bridge of one arch is a peculiar ornament to Sunderland. The arch is too hundred and sixty feet in diameter, and one hundred feet above the surface of the water, so that ships of two hundred to three hundred tons burthen can sail under it. At Sunderland I parted, with the most heartfelt gratitude, from Mr. P———, and returned to Newcastle to the other brother, who accompanied me, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 9th of August, to the stage. At eight o'clock I left Newcastle, and reached Edinburgh at nine in the evening. Except at some points, for instance at Jedburgh and Melrose, the road is uniform and uninteresting. Even the Cheviot hills are neither beautiful nor sublime in their forms, but wild, cold, and sterile. A very violent north wind discomposed the whole company, and the pain in my eyes and face increased. Among the short grass there are some higher tufts, which are proofs rather of sterility and unfitness for food, than of fertility, and of the good quality of the pasture. Scattered sheep wandered on the wide waste, and I involuntarily thought of the heath of Lunenburg, and of the *peuple des Heidschnucks* (so a French writer calls the ragged sheep on that heath.) At this instant my neighbour said, "A very fine country." Not at all disconcerted by my secret doubts, he pointed to a thread of muddy water which appeared among the

yellow grass, and exclaimed—"Indeed a very splendid river!" It was the young man's first excursion, and I took care not to damp his pleasure, but, compared with him, I might look upon myself as a great traveller. To a question, however, from my second companion, whether I had travelled much, I very modestly replied, "A little;" but even this *little* was too much; for his next query, "Have you been in Greece?" sent me back to my snail's house, No. 67 Kockstrasse, and I did not again venture to put out my horns. A person who has not seen, at least, the East and the West Indies, cannot venture in England to talk of his travels. After all, it is of less importance how far a man has travelled, than what information and improvement he has derived from it.

As you advance further into Scotland, the scenery improves, and many parts had a German air; for example, larger districts of arable and meadow land, plantations of pines, more trees by the roadside, and fewer in the fields, soup at dinner, and, for the first time, women and children without stockings.

The ruins of Melrose Abbey are very striking, but cannot be compared with those of Fountains Abbey. I had only a distant view of Walter Scott's house at Abbotsford. The scenery is in unison with his writings: softly-swelling hills, fields and copses variously divided, a gently-flowing stream, a harmonious combination of many diverse parts. Lord Byron never could have lived here a day.

Glasgow, August 13th.

The number of my letters of introduction in Edinburgh was far too great for me to distribute during my short stay there; but they were rendered superfluous by the kind attentions of Professor N——r, Sir W. H——n, and Sir T. T——n, who invited me to their houses, and carried me to see everything curious and interesting.

Edinburgh, like many other cities, has an old and a new town, but many of the streets in the former, as High Street, for example, are broader and finer than usual, and the modern part surpasses, in my opinion, almost everything of the kind I have seen elsewhere. The west part of London may be more extensive, but, on the other hand, the three-window system does not predominate in Edinburgh; the houses display a greater variety, and are built, not of brick, but of a very beautiful real stone. The public buildings, churches, libraries, &c., manifest great taste and architectural judgment; we nowhere see such unharmonious buildings as those at Charing Cross, Buckingham Palace, or the great chest on the top of the Mansion-house. The Edinburgh architects excel those of London, and the enthusiasm of the public authorities for the embellishment of their native city is deserving of great praise, though they have been blamed for it in many quarters. It is to be hoped that Calton Hill will be transformed more and more into an Athenian Acropolis; and as the glory of Pericles and Phidias has survived all censures,

may Heaven grant their Scotch imitators resources and perseverance; they may then be certain that glory will follow.

Some of the lately-built portions of Berlin may be compared with Edinburgh; but we have not the beautiful prospects and striking points within the city and out of it. The ancient castle, situated on a lofty rock, commands the whole city, and makes a fine and striking appearance, especially from Princes Street, which has houses only on one side. Higher rocks approach the city on the land side as in Palermo; and Calton Hill, like Capo di Monte in Naples, affords an extensive view over the city, the land gently sloping towards the sea, the Firth of Forth, the opposite coast, and the entrance into the sea. There are few panoramas in the world to be compared to this, and we are involuntarily reminded of Naples, which is the highest praise that can be given. I have contemplated with the greatest pleasure all the prospects of Edinburgh, and certainly have not detracted from that pleasure by chilling and useless comparisons; but as I was called upon, I made the following observations.

In favour of Edinburgh it may be alleged, that the neighbouring hills are higher and more defined, and the modern parts of the city more elegantly built than in Naples. But in that city some streets, St. Lucia, for instance, run to the beautiful bay of Naples, while the less transparent Firth is half a mile from Edinburgh. The lines of Sorento, Capri, Ischia, and Procida, are more varied than the opposite coast of Fife, and Vesuvius affords an accessory in the grandest style: the tints and lights of the South surpass those of the North; and if there the transparent ether enlivens and brightens every object, the Scotch mist obscures and darkens the country over which it hangs.

Nature appears to me here once more in her full energy and splendour; yet I visited with no less pleasure the building for the archives, the fine libraries, the old parliament-house, and many edifices erected by voluntary subscriptions—more particular descriptions of which you may find in printed books.

Holyrood, with the apartments of Queen Mary, was peculiarly interesting to me. The chamber in which Earl Darnley and the conspirators fell upon Rizzio is extremely small. On comparing the locality with all the accounts which I have before me, I feel convinced that Rizzio was surprised on the same spot where the earl had before found him undressed. Vengeance overtook him there where he should never have ventured a second time. The miniature of Queen Mary, which the attendant showed me, is quite a modern forgery. Another large picture which she pointed out as Rizzio, represents him as a *young*, not as an *old* man: it, however, resembles other pictures which go by the name of Darnley, and is by no means authenticated, for which reason I dare not draw any conclusions from it. The early letters of Mary in the archives contain nothing of historical interest.

Scotland differs from England in so many laws, customs, arrangements, &c., that a comparative view, which is still a desideratum, would be highly interesting. Especially it would be proper to show the reasons of this difference, and to develop the causes why the northern kingdom has, in many respects, taken the lead of the southern. I account for this phenomenon, in part, as follows: England possessed a higher degree of civilization and fixed native institutions, at a time when Scotland was still attached to much that was barbarous and arbitrary. But the Scotch, because many of them visited foreign countries, became acquainted with various institutions, and then, perhaps, returned home with a predilection for them. In England, where the people could refer to more ancient institutions, and where precedent is held sacred, every change met with the greatest difficulty: whereas the Scotch saw nothing but gain in changing the form and treatment of their rude soil, and consequently advanced more rapidly than their more cautious neighbours.

A municipal organization has been very lately introduced in Scotland, without much noise and opposition, which in the main and essential points coincides with that which is now stigmatized by a party in England as revolutionary and condemnable. The system of self-election—the close corporations, were abolished here; and of all the frightful consequences which, according to the assertion of the Tories, were to ensue, little or nothing is to be seen.

The Scotch prisons are administered in a much more simple and less expensive manner than the English, and the management of the poor in Scotland has never fallen into the abuses complained of in England. Even the most ancient law of 1579 (the basis of later regulations) excludes able-bodied men from all relief, nor does it any where mention the duty of giving them employment, though without doubt the authors of it knew, and had before them, the English law, which gives directions on this subject. Almost all relief is provided for by voluntary contributions, and never exceeds what is really necessary to relieve distress. Where a poor tax was necessary, one-half was generally laid upon the landowner, and the other half on the farmer. But the amount was always very inconsiderable in comparison with that in England. In general the entire management of the poor was not in the hands of overseers, (often incompetent,) but of the magistrates, and the most respectable, best-informed persons. Least of all were those persons to decide who could derive advantage from the misinterpretation of the poor-laws. In Scotland there was no appeal from the municipality to a higher court. Three years' residence gained a settlement.

It would be an interesting question for learned inquiry,—what has England gained or lost by the almost total exclusion of the Roman law, and Scotland by a partial adoption of it? A comparison between the mode of proceeding in the courts would also

be interesting: for instance, that in Scotland the unanimity of the jury is required only in civil causes, whereas in criminal causes the majority decides.

The greatest difference between England and Scotland is in respect to the Church. According to the usual mode of considering the subject, which seeks and recognises only an abstract perfection, the one form must be unconditionally preferred to the other. But to me it appears that a deeper penetration into the science, and experience prove that as the state, or the kingdom of God allows, nay, demands different forms, the same is the case with the church of God. Christianity has rendered the intractable ductile, and permits growth and motion without destroying the essential nucleus, or extinguishing the source of life. As the forms of the state have their history, so also those of the church: only that which is temporal and perishable has but one form; and for that very reason it is temporal and perishable. The character of the eternal and imperishable lies in constant transformation, without injury to the identity. Philosophy, for instance, would be worthless and dead if, as many require, it appeared through all ages in one and the same form. That it bears within itself something great, profound, and indestructible is manifest, because it always rises with renev vigour from the night of long barbarism, or throws off the frippery and paint of false refinement.

But Revelation, I hear it objected, is an exception: it is unchangeable; it has always the same value, appearance, contents; one and the same eternal truth. But has not this one and the same Revelation been differently reflected in the minds and hearts of men; have not thousands, after the most serious efforts, drawn different pictures, given rules, nay, pronounced penalties and anathemas; and should I, as soon as I had crossed the Cheviot Hills, in a southern or northern direction, at once condemn or approve the system of England or Scotland? Far be that from me! Yet the Scotch system seems to me to harmonize with the Scotch, better than the English does with the English people. Perhaps this remark, too, rests only upon insufficient abstractions; I therefore do not speak of others, but only of myself, and give, as you justly ask, only a personal report.

I had not yet attended the Presbyterian worship in Scotland, and therefore went on Sunday, the 9th of August, to the church. The singing, without an organ, was, with the aid of a small, well-trained chorus, purer than I expected. Yet I cannot approve the entire exclusion of instrumental music from a church: even here the greater part of the congregation were silent, because they could not sing; and where the whole congregation joins, the singing generally becomes a most horrible discord. At the most, the more skilful sing only two parts, and the middle parts are entirely wanting, whereas an organ fills up the blank, conceals faults, and promotes purity. It is quite an arbitrary notion to regard the employment of musical instruments as displeasing to God, or to

believe that He will be more pleased with false singing than with no singing. Nobody need tell me what human voices alone can effect; as a member of the Berlin Singing Academy I know it very well. But there is only one, or at least but few institutions of this kind, and innumerable congregations without an organ, who sing incorrectly. Nor will the Academy resolve, from false devotion, to omit the instruments, when it performs in the church the great sacred compositions of Handel and Sebastian Bach.

The singing was succeeded by prayers. The clergyman made such a lamentable hippocratic face, as if he were near to death, or to martyrdom; and, quite in conformity with this countenance, he began such a drawling, monotonous, lamenting, sighing, and groaning, that I felt quite wretchedly uncomfortable, and my nerves, otherwise calm, were so excited, that I could scarcely remain. Compared with this endless tapeworm of an extempore prayer, the whole English Liturgy seemed to me but the half of a sentence of a concise Spartan, broken off in the middle. The sermon was at least twice as long as a German sermon, but with a double portion of repetitions and tautologies.

* * * *

In the evening I went to Leith, the port of Edinburgh. At the extreme end of the long dyke which runs into the broad bay, the Firth of Forth, I looked for a long time upon the green waves, driven up with the rising tide, across to the gray mountains—upwards to the blue sky and the richly-tinted clouds, which moved along in manifold forms. I fell into that frame of mind in which a yearning after the eternal—confidence in the divine—is combined with love to every thing noble and beautiful upon earth. We feel at the same time, with the sense of our own circumscribed powers, the source of a more exalted existence. We recognise God in nature, and in the spirit created after his image: we comprehend what is most exalted, in the moment of the most profound humility, and turn our hearts, full of affection, to the distant objects of our love, and at their side pass through time, which is itself a portion of eternity!

These meditations and feelings were interrupted by a loud noise, and I turned towards a place where many persons were assembled. In the midst stood a man dressed as a civilian, with a round hat, immense whiskers, a Bible in one hand, and his gloves in the other. "What," said he, "is the object of religion? It is to teach you, not to live, but to die; not to enjoy, but to endure privation. What does it command? To die to the world—to despise it; to attach yourselves to the other world, because this world is in the clutches of Satan. You are to shut your eyes that they may not see, your ears that they may not hear; to collect your thoughts, to turn them constantly on the wrath of God, and the dreadful judgment of the last day!"

I turned away confounded from this Prophet of evil, who so entirely condemned my thoughts and feelings, which I fancied

were devout, and looked again to the clouds in the sky, and the waves in the sea; but, as before, I thought the Spirit of God moved over the face of the waters, and revealed itself, and not Satan.

It grew dark, and I returned to the city. At the corner of Prince's Street there was another crowd of people, and another preacher; and sin, vengeance, punishment, death, damnation, and nothing else. Three such attacks in one day were surely enough to crush a stone! But the human mind is no stone; and Christ came into the world that it might no more be crushed, but trained in love, that in humility the greatest enjoyment might at the same time be prepared for it, and that it might be acknowledged that this world also is animated by the breath of the Omnipotent.

I hear that street eloquence of this kind is but rare, and that in general such exaggerations are not approved of; but with all that is moral, noble, and simple in it, Puritanism yet leads to such excrescences. In my 'History of Europe' I have done it justice, as my own will, and my historical knowledge, dictated; but I feel, when I come in contact with such tendencies, no near affinity with these stoics of Judaizing Christianity. You speak, may some friends of Puritanism exclaim, of the caricatures. Certainly; yet * * *

Glasgow, August 14th.

I was interrupted; and so what should have followed that *yet* may remain unwritten for this time, as I have so many other things still to relate. On the 9th of August, at three o'clock, I went from Edinburgh, by way of Linlithgow and Falkirk, to Stirling. On the left hand were pleasant hills; the land well cultivated near Falkirk; a rich prospect over very fruitful fields and meadows down to the Firth, on the left shore of which other hills rise. At Stirling I had a plain, good supper, and excellent ale. This beverage in Scotland far exceeds any thing of the same name that I tasted in England; but I dislike the whiskey, which I could not bring over my lips. Many Scotch people endeavoured to prove to me that theirs was the only proper mode of observing Sunday; but they owned at the same time that a great number of persons indulged too freely in whiskey on that sacred day. I was obliged to give up the plan of going from Stirling by way of Calander to the Scotch lakes, because thick fogs, which soon changed into rain, prevented any distant prospect. On the morning of the 11th of August, therefore, I proceeded from Stirling to Glasgow. The country was not remarkable; interspersed between the fields were firs, birches and heath.

Notwithstanding the northern latitude, agriculture is in a very advanced state in many parts of Scotland, partly in consequence of the long leases, and the judicious conduct of the land-owners, who are sensible that excessively high rents not only ruin the tenant, but in the end do essential injury to the owner.

The great kindness and courtesy which I have hitherto every where enjoyed I met with also in Glasgow. Dr. James Cleland, who, by several very learned works, has thrown great light on the history and present state of the city, (of which more hereafter,) being himself too much engaged, induced Mr. T——, a very well informed man, to introduce me to several manufactories and magazines. What would old Vulcan say if he were to see these immense machines pierce thick iron as if it were soft earth, and cut through iron plates, an inch thick, as if they were paper! What would please him most would probably be, that some machines wind themselves up, without, perhaps, requiring to be looked at for two days together. He would then have time to pay his court to the ladies, who seem distinguished in Glasgow for their great beauty. The machines which cut the veneer for furniture, or boards for floors, contribute much to the pleasure and convenience of life. Without such a machine, it is impossible to give the edges of the boards, in a few seconds, such a form that they exactly fit together, never split, and always remain as smooth as glass on the broad side.

Of the cotton manufactories, which engaged most of my attention, I will give you an account when I have seen Manchester.

That part of the city of Glasgow where the trading population chiefly live is uncommonly lively; and Trongate, where I lodge, may be compared, in this respect, with Oxford Street in London. The new streets are straight; the houses of freestone; most of the public edifices, especially the Exchange, in a grand and elegant style; and many churches very happy imitations of the forms of the middle ages.

I dined with Mr. C——d, and on the following day (the 12th) this extremely obliging man was ready to accompany me to Loch Lomond; but this second attempt to visit the Scotch lakes was also defeated by fog and rain. We went in a steamboat to Kilpatrick, Dumbarton Castle, Port Glasgow, Greenock, as far as Rossneath, but were obliged to return from that place to Glasgow. On my way to Ireland I may perhaps have an opportunity of seeing this part of the country, for a second time, in a more favourable light. Impartial persons agree that the Scotch lakes are not distinguished by the sublimity of the surrounding scenery, or varied cultivation, or beautiful country seats (like the Swiss and Italian lakes,) but rather by peaceful repose, simple, rural cultivation, hills and valleys, small islands, and copses of all kinds.

Messrs. K——— and St———g took me yesterday through the city to the cathedral, the churchyard, the university, the prisons, &c., and a splendid dinner at the house of the latter gentleman cheerfully concluded the day, after many exertions.

Of the ancient cathedrals of Scotland, only that of Glasgow was saved in the barbarous spoliation of the churches in the time of the Reformation. It is not among those of the first rank, but proves, in its loneliness, that the Puritans possessed greater pow-

ers in destroying than in building up, and that the enthusiasm of those times often degenerated into fanaticism. John Knox, whose statue is near this spot in the churchyard, turns his back upon the cathedral, as if he was vexed that it does not also lie in ruins and ashes.

Of all the professors of the universities whom I wished to see not one was in town; and what I heard from others respecting the institution, confirmed the idea that the Scotch universities partly supply the place of our gymnasia. If among us the number of teachers in a university is not unfrequently injudiciously increased, by too small demands upon their knowledge, and previous experience, in Scotland, on the other hand, a system of monopoly is too observable, where for every science (and not even for every one) there is only one professor, without any competition.

The Bridewell in this city, under the management of Mr. William Brebner, is distinguished in many particulars, especially by its cheapness. The accounts of the whole institution for the year, from the 2d of August, 1834 to 1835, are printed with laudable brevity on a small card. There were, on an average, 175 men, 163 women daily in the prison, and each, on an average, remained there sixty days. After deducting the profit arising from the labour, the whole institution cost, in that year, only 400*l.* Nay, the value of the labour exceeded the expenditure for the support of all the prisoners, by 592*l.* If I divide the sum wanting for the whole of the establishment for the prisoners, each of them costs, for the average time of his imprisonment, about 4*s.*, or for each prisoner, 3½*d.* per week in addition: if, in consideration of extraordinary expenses, which, occur only from time to time, we increase this sum even to 8*d.* or 10*d.*, the disbursement is excessively small, especially if we compare it with the enormous expenses of the English prisons. But, on the other hand, the prisoners must labour twelve hours a day, and receive, indeed, wholesome and sufficient food, but by no means of an expensive kind. For breakfast, oatmeal porridge, buttermilk, or table-beer; for dinner, barley-broth, bread, and vegetables, but no meat; in the evening, only those who are imprisoned for a longer time, and conduct themselves well, have bread and milk, or bread and cheese. The silent system is not in use, but solitary confinement is found to have a good effect, and is considered as a severe punishment. The women's cells contain each 462 cubic feet; the men's cells, 630 cubic feet. Of 326 prisoners, 143 could indeed read, but scarcely half of them could understand any thing read aloud; 52 could neither read nor write. Of 813 persons of the male sex, 222 were under 17 years of age; of 864 females, 68 were below 17. By far the greater part of the sentences were for two months' imprisonment. Provision is made for religious edification and instruction; in every cell there is a bible, and some moral book from the library of the establishment. Among 2176 arrests, 744 were for theft, 430 dis-

orderly women (guilty besides of assaults and breaches of the peace,) 372 breaches of the peace, beggars, vagabonds, &c.; 142 soldiers for military offences, instead of corporal punishment; 118 persons for keeping disorderly houses; 5 for cruelty to children and desertion, &c., &c.

The austerity and rigour with which the criminals are treated, but which in no manner approaches to cruelty, must tend to diminish crime, while the English system is attended with the defects which I have often pointed out.

Every advance in human affairs has likewise its dark side; but a continued increase of the population must certainly be considered as an advantage, for it is, in fact, nothing else than the increase of intellect and its dominion over matter.

The following particulars respecting the increase of the population of Glasgow are taken from Dr. Cleland's admirable statistical tables. It amounted, in round numbers, in

1560	4,500	souls
1708	12,700	"
1740	17,000	"
1763	28,000	"
1785	45,000	"
1791	60,000	"
1801	83,000	"
1822	147,000	"
1830	202,000	"
In 1822 there were	5624	births
1830 " "	6868	"
1822 " "	1470	marriages
1830 " "	1919	"
1822 " "	3690	deaths
1830 " "	5185	"

In 1830 there were, in round numbers,

1 death to 39 souls
1 birth to 29 "
1 marriage to 105 "

To one family $3\frac{1}{2}$ births, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ souls.

In the manufactories, coal-mines, stone-quarries, and ships belonging to Glasgow, there are 363 steam-engines, with 7366 horse power. Cotton-spinning was introduced in 1725, and gradually increased to an astonishing degree. For example,—

In 1818 were used 46,000 bales,
1828 " " 74,000 "
1834 " " 95,000 "

in which were employed 2394 horse power by steam-engines, and 520 horse power by water. Here, as everywhere else, steam takes the lead of water. 17,949 persons were employed in these cotton factories, of whom 756 boys, and 895 girls, were below the age of thirteen; 1045 of the male sex, and 3702 of the female sex, between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. The ma-

chinery for this branch of industry has been gradually and most astonishingly improved, so that the most rapid looms can now make 140 throws in one minute. The number of all the looms in and about Glasgow is 47,000, of which 15,000 in the city alone are worked by steam.

To these remarks I will add some miscellaneous information from Dr. Cleland's account of Glasgow. The University was founded in the year 1451; the chancellor, who holds the situation for life, is chosen by the senate; and the rector, who is appointed every year, by the dean, the professors, and the matriculated students. These are divided into four nations, having four votes. How greatly this university, as *universitas* of all the sciences, is inferior to even the smallest in Germany, is sufficiently evident from the circumstance that there is but one single professor for the whole faculty of jurisprudence, and extraordinary professors are altogether unknown. History, geography, political economy and finance are not professed at all. On these subjects, observed a person lately, there are printed books, which would be an argument for doing away with all oral instruction. It is certain that oral instruction is no longer so important and necessary as in earlier ages; but it by no means follows that universities and professorships ought to be abolished. As these latter are not so profitable as cotton manufactories and coal mines, they must, with or without oral instruction, be continued and paid, that science, the heaven-descended Goddess, may not, as the poet says, 'be devoured by the more profitable milch-cows.' Without foundations of this kind, the most zealous friend of a science is often compelled to renounce it, and follow more substantial modes of gain, not to die of famine. If the King of Prussia really cherished the enmity towards history which Lord Brougham is so good as to ascribe to him and to other princes, I should not have seen Rome, Naples, Paris, London, and Glasgow, but have been obliged to read and compile legal documents to my life's end. 'Honour, therefore, to whom honour is due.'

The first newspaper was printed in Glasgow in 1715. The first library opened in 1753. Very large sums have been accumulated by voluntary contributions, and legacies, for the poor and charitable foundations. The number of poor, out of 202,000 inhabitants, amounted in round numbers to 5,000, who were maintained for 17,280*l.* A part of this poverty has certainly arisen from drinking, for the number of gin-shops in Glasgow has so increased by thoughtless applying for and giving licenses, that there is one such shop to every twelve families. I am more and more convinced that the mode of observing Sunday, which prohibits all cheerful and intellectual amusements in the British empire, impels the people to this most disgusting, merely sensual, excitement. The people, it is said, after hearing two sermons, shall read edifying books at home. What does that mean, they *shall?* Are 1393 crowded gin-shops, in one town, the places

where this *shall*—this categorical imperative—is carried into effect?

However this be, the English, as it seems to me, corrupt their taste in three ways, or cannot acquire it. First, with respect to delicate food, by the pepper and excessively strong mustard, both of which every way predominate, and blunt the palate. Secondly, with respect to fine wines; for, after drinking port and sherry, which is mixed with brandy, it is impossible to distinguish what comes after. Thirdly, the wholly unmusical Sunday is sufficient to make all musical feeling and education impossible, and to convert the English into an unmusical people. The pains that some individuals take in learning to sing and play on the piano has no influence on the mass; and a loom drowns by its noise more musical feeling than can be awakened by solfeggi. I cannot say how much I feel the want of music here in England. Not only the rogues are compelled to be silent in their prison, but the whole nation is silent, in a musical sense; and what the English Church warmly opposed in the seventeenth century, is now considered by it as a palladium of good morals and good taste.

I return to Glasgow. The river and harbour-dues, which in 1771 amounted to 1021*l.*, had risen in 1835 to 31,000*l.*; and the most useful works, and deepening of the harbour, had been effected, to the great advantage of navigation. It was on the 18th January, 1812, that the first European steamboat went from Glasgow to Greenock. On an average above 900 persons are daily conveyed by steamboats in all directions. In the last year the number of passengers in ships, boats, and carriages, amounted to more than one million and a half.

Dublin, 17th August.

As the weather continued gloomy and rainy without any interruption, I was obliged to give up all thoughts of visiting the Scotch lakes and islands. Three attempts evinced my good will, but I should merely have lost time and seen nothing. After Messrs. C——d, St——g, and K——r had again given every possible proof of their readiness to serve me, I embarked at Glasgow on the 14th of August, at two in the afternoon, and reached Belfast on the noon of the following day. The sea was very rough, and the waves lifted up their long, white crests, but most fortunately I got to land without any feeling of sickness. Belfast is a large and bustling city, which carries on a commerce with many parts of the globe. The Rev. Mr. M——, with whom I had a good deal of conversation on board the steamboat, referred me to his friend the Rev. Mr. H——; but our time was too short for further intercourse. On Sunday morning, the 16th, I got on the outside of the stage, secured a back seat to avoid the effects of the sun and wind, and arrived at Gresham's Hotel, in Dublin, at five in the evening. I immediately hastened to the Prussian Consul, Mr. W——, where I found two letters from you which assured me of your welfare.

LETTER LXII.

Ireland — Distress —Orangemen— Intolerance—Reform—Dublin—Clonmel—Kilkenny—Calne—Early History—Cork— Misery— Beauty of the Irish Women.

Cork, 19th August.

To-day, on the anniversary of your birth day, dear Herman, I have reached nearly the remotest point of my journey; our thoughts, however, doubtless meet in affection and regard. May you continue to proceed blameless in the career of life, improve your mind and heart more and more, and lead a life as rich as possible in every enjoyment that active virtue can bestow. You have only twice caused me the greatest apprehensions, once when you were ill, and at the point of death, in Dobrau; and when I was not able to find you in the night on a road in France. Otherwise, I have never had reason to complain of you, and you certainly not of me. So may it continue till death parts us in this world!

I am much in arrear with my accounts, for I had no time, especially quiet hours in the morning, to write any thing; add to this, that I have in my head so much, both general and special, so much that is personal, that I do not know where to begin, or how to make any orderly arrangement. Well, if it cannot be reduced to order, let all be mingled together as it flows from the pen. Go on.

All my plans to visit the lakes in Scotland were defeated, as I have already told you, by the unfavourable weather; however, I was able to see the two banks of the Clyde. The river and bay, before you sail from Greenock southwards to Ireland, close in such a manner, that you fancy you are sailing on an extensive lake surrounded with cultivated hills.

The time that I saved in Scotland I determined to employ in Ireland, because this much-talked-of country has become doubly remarkable in our days, and it is scarcely possible to decide, without ocular demonstration, which of the opposed opinions and assertions are correct. The following is my route:—Belfast, Lisburn, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Naas, Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Clogheen, Fermoy, Cork, Killarney (the Lakes,) Limerick, and back to Dublin.

The Bay of Belfast, with its green hills and environs, the city with its shipping and activity, excite a favourable opinion of Ireland, and (to begin with a consolatory declaration) there is no doubt that Ireland has, in general, made great progress in improvements, if we compare it with its condition in former centuries, with respect to legislation, manufactures, agriculture, &c. But that, for this reason, there is nothing more to be done, and that every complaint is unfounded or merely produced by excitement, can be affirmed only by persons who know nothing, or will know nothing, of Ireland. A country of such extent has,

of course, barren, stony, or marshy tracts; nor is Ireland distinguished as one of the most picturesque parts of Europe; but, on the whole, it is fertile, perhaps more fertile than England, and as beautiful as La Belle France. The first thing that strikes you is, that close to the finest and richest fields of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and clover, there are other adjoining tracts wholly uncultivated, overgrown with high weeds; that an equally fruitful soil here manifests the highest cultivation and activity, and there the greatest neglect and abandonment. There is no want of good soil or of agricultural knowledge, nor of industry; there are so many hands, that the Irish emigrate by hundreds to work for very low wages. Whence, then, does this happen? The whole clearly points to the centre of all the evil,—to a defective, nay, a ruinous and condemnable legislation. Let us, however, proceed step by step, otherwise you might believe that I sought only to introduce pathetic declamations as a cover for falsehood or partiality.

Why does not the Irishman cultivate his land? Because he has none. Why does not the landlord employ those under him? Because there is no landlord there.

If we take two steps, but with seven-leagued boots, we are at once on the summit of the naked rock from which we can overlook the whole misery of Ireland. Let us begin our considerations, as is fitting, with the Lords. Where are they? They are absentees,—they are absent. No, not absent, for he who is absent intends to return to a home which he loves, where he grew up, and which he doubly values after having seen many countries and nations. An Irish absentee, on the contrary, is one who neglects his country,—who never visits it, nor intends to do so. He has no home, and desires none. This is the hereditary curse of the ancient dreadful confiscation. Violence gave them land, but with the mode of acquisition the avenging Nemesis joins the condition that it should never become their fatherland. But he who possesses land without loving it as a fatherland loses the noblest foundation for property, and there remains only the dead letter of the law,—and here in Ireland what is the law?

Public law and private law both equally require prescription; and no man can be farther than I am from desiring to stifle life, as it at present exists, in order to find, somewhere or other, an original germ of all life, and of a pretended eternal law. But as great sovereigns have been obliged to sanctify the defective origin of their new position by a praiseworthy system of government, or go to ruin, the landlords of Ireland who first intruded, and then absented themselves, are doubly bound to remain there, and to promote the interest of the country. Where only one performs this condition, I saw walls, fences, and hedges in good condition; plantations formed; the land free from weeds; the houses, at all events, kept in better repair, and the people rather better clothed, &c. And then, close by, what a contrast! Let him who would see the blessings of a well-disposed resident

aristocracy in a few single instances, and the curse of an absent oligarchy in innumerable places, go to Ireland.

This is so fortunate a circumstance in our country, that the great landowners devote themselves more and more to agriculture, love their occupation, promote every improvement, and, directly or indirectly, exercise a salutary influence over the free peasantry. Here, on the contrary, the great landowners too often despise the country, agriculture, and people. The whole wisdom of their improvements is to squeeze more and more from the tenants-at-will. Instead of living in noble activity in the Emerald Isle, they idle away their existence in the arid, gray Provence, or sentimentalize about the beggars in Itri and Fondi, while hundreds of beggars are produced in Ireland by the harshness of their principles.

No other country can, in this respect, be compared with Ireland. Every where some wealthy persons travel, every where there are some individuals who seek a home abroad. But here the exception has become the rule, and measures which, in other places, appear not only superfluous, but absurd, here urge themselves as almost necessary through the power of circumstances.

The landowner *will* do nothing for the cultivation of the soil. The tenant *can* do nothing. Capital and credit are every where wanting. Only the industry of the tenants raises the rich harvest; but in the midst of an abundance which does not belong to them, they perish from misery and famine.

How shall I translate tenants-at-will? *Wegjagbare? Expellable?* Serfs? But, in the ancient days of vassalage, it consisted rather in keeping the vassals attached to the soil, and by no means in driving them away. An ancient vassal is a lord compared with the present tenant-at-will, to whom the law affords no defence. Why not call them *Jagdbare* (*chaseable?*) But this difference lessens the analogy—that for hares, stags, and deer, there is a season, during which no one is allowed to hunt them; whereas tenants-at-will are hunted, and may be hunted, all the year round. And if any one would defend his farm (as badgers and foxes are allowed to do) it is here denominated rebellion.

But I hear it objected,—have we not a right? Do we violate any law if we live where we like; if we take from the tenants what they freely offer; and treat them according to the law, if they do not keep their engagement? Undoubtedly, you have a right, a perfect right; as much right as Shylock had to exact from Antonio the pound of flesh, and drain the life-blood from his heart. *Fiat justicia et pereat mundus* is the whole code of your laws. True justice, however, is not destructive, but conservative, and includes (as Plato shows) wisdom and moderation. True justice distributes, but does not plunder; and if any doubt could be entertained upon the subject, the Christian virtues step forward, and show how your heathenish Roman justice is to be purified. *Summum jus, summa injuria!*

Killarney, Friday, August 21st, 1835.

I have commenced with general observations. This is not unnatural, for in Ireland every thing individual immediately leads to generalities, and both are evidently connected. In England the case is similar, but yet different. There I see (at least *hitherto*) in the great and prominent contrasts, only the living forms of constant development; and the stupid or fanatic cries of some individuals have but slightly impeded the regular progress of the whole. But in Ireland, those great and animating contrasts are changed into inextricable, destructive conflicts. In the same manner as the bases of the life of a people, namely, agriculture, and the means of subsistence in general, so it is with the summit of all thought and existence,—namely, religion.

Could Philip II. have conceived a more mortifying disgrace for his great opponent, than that which he now experiences in Ireland —that the Protestant union, which has adopted the intolerant principles of that tyrant, is called the *Orange Association?* As far back as the sixteenth century, William I. opposed, with equal energy and superiority, the fanaticism of the Catholics, and of the Puritan image-breakers: shall we of the nineteenth century consent to remain behind him? Somebody objects,—it is not William I., but William III., that we are talking of. I am well aware of this, and believe that I more duly honour that great man, than those who abuse his great name in Ireland. He began to reign in England three years after the cruel expulsion of the Protestants from France, and in the same year when *tolerance* was used by James II. as an excuse for intolerant measures. To prevent this in England was the first business for 1688; the greater business of his whole life, in which all Europe was concerned, was the contest with France, or the ambition and tyranny of Louis XIV. And you would measure such a man by your own petty standard, and explain and justify the present state of things by the very different circumstances of those times? The intolerant laws of those days did not originate with William, but with the Whigs; and the Whigs of our times must do much more for Ireland than they yet have done, before they can atone for the sins of their ancestors.

On the other hand, no Orangeman must complain that his name is misused by the Orange Lodges, as the Catholics, in their associations, misuse even the name of *Christ.* Thus religion, which should produce and strengthen charity and unanimity, is here the source of hatred and dissension; and both parties, in their infatuation, equally persuade themselves that they are proceeding in the true Christian course. Those noble-minded men, therefore, deserve a double portion of praise, who boldly speak and act, against party prejudices and party hatred, in favour of toleration and reconciliation. The absurd notion, which has been refuted for centuries, by theory and practice, that Ireland can be governed only by a party and by the sword, still haunts the imagination of many

persons who fancy themselves statesmen. A Protestant lately argued with me on the necessity and advantage of a civil war, with as much composure as if he were speaking of having his coat brushed; and the extirpation of the heretics is the natural counter-cry of the Catholics. Who is to blame? Both parties! But, above all, the lawgivers—the Parliament! A whole century passed before even private rights were granted to the Catholics, and with what reluctance was each concession made; in what an offensive, ungracious manner were even the most equitable demands contested, till defiance and power extorted them!

At length the emancipation was brought about in this manner, and the opponents of it sought and found consolation in the declaration, that it was a final measure for Ireland. I repeat it,—those must know nothing, or resolve to know nothing, of Ireland, who can entertain so erroneous an opinion. The emancipation was only the first of a whole series of measures which will and must follow. It was an act of justice which, however, is immediately advantageous only to a few; but it is the right and the business of these few to employ their newly-gained position for the benefit of their country. What avails the stale joke of O'Connell and his tail?—if you do not like it, cut it off, and dissolve the Union, as he requires.

You will ask if I entertain this opinion? By no means! The three kingdoms may and ought to live in union, like sisters. But if Ireland is treated like a step-sister, do not be surprised at the cry of distress which your injustice extorts from her. A person who has never seen Ireland, and considers the case merely in a general and theoretical point of view, must decide without hesitation against the dissolution of the Union. But he who is better acquainted with it conceives how well-disposed persons may rely on this sheet-anchor, and consider it as the only, the best remedy. I now excuse the demand, without approving it. This erroneous hope, this false confidence, will, however, not be dispelled till more wholesome laws are passed for Ireland than O'Connel himself required. I carry my demands beyond his, according to the example of him whom he himself calls the greatest reformer in Europe.

Firstly: Provision must be equally made for the schools and churches of the Protestants and Catholics, out of the church property already existing or to be created. If there is no surplus of the Protestant church property, other measures are necessary: if it is insufficient, it will soon appear that this grant cannot be the last. Neither the sword, nor civil war, but education and Christian charity alone, can exterminate hatred and barbarism.

Secondly: The tithes must be by some means abolished, for they are a bad mode of taxation. A change in the manner of raising the tax does not, however, abolish the tax itself. To deprive the church of its due, and to make a present of it, without any reason, to the landlord, would not only be an act of injustice, but might, perhaps, in the end, render the situation of the poor

tenants worse, rather than better: for the clergyman had not so many means to distrain and drive off the cattle, as the temporal landlord; and he was, perhaps, more often averse to employ them than the latter.

Thirdly: Poor laws are indispensably necessary for Ireland. I scarcely conceive how O'Connell could so long oppose their introduction, merely because he saw the abuses that occurred in England from their misapplication. These abuses must be done away with, and only what is truly useful must be ordered. But if such a law is more necessary in Ireland than in any other country in Europe, it is likewise more difficult. More *necessary*, because nobody takes any care of the poor, the number of whom exceeds all belief; more *difficult*, because a wealthy middling class is wanting, which is the broad, indispensable foundation of all financial arrangements. In the towns, which are improving, it may be possible to overcome the difficulties; but how can it be done in the country, where *all* appear to be beggars? We are, therefore,—

Fourthly, compelled to make a law respecting the absentees. This, exclaim many, is as impossible as unjust. What then is impossible or unjust? Is it impossible for a man to live in his own country?—unjust for him to perform his duty there? As the king, the clergyman, the professor, the merchant, must be upon the spot where they are called to exercise their functions, so should the landowner. All may absent themselves, gain information, and return. It is one of the many false notions of private property, that it imposes on the landowner no duties, but grants him unconditional rights. Where is the title-deed by which a few oligarchs are allowed to convert a whole people into beggars?—to deprive them of all possibility of existing as becomes human beings? I would not, however, compel them to return home, but leave them all personal liberty. I would not alter the laws of inheritance, by which a very great change would be made in the several relations. I will only tax them, as those who are present (I see this clearly) tax themselves here, for the good of those who surround them, and are active in promoting their advantage. Let the absentee, therefore, pay more to the poor-tax than he who is present. Is this also impossible? Have not the Catholics borne for centuries higher taxes than the Protestants? This was possible, *without reason;* and, therefore, the other would be very possible, *with good reason.* After so much that has been considered as revolutionary, as impossible, have we come to the end of the course? By no means. All these measures are only preliminary preparations for greater things.

Let us suppose all the complaints respecting churches, schools, tithes, absentees, the poor are removed, the mass of the people still remain in the most wretched situation; for the poor-law can comprehend only the aged, the sick, lame, blind, &c., not the able-bodied men, and the former are not a thousandth part of

those who are actually in distress. What then shall we do with the nine hundred and ninety-nine?

Thus we at last come to the point where, perhaps, a final measure is to be taken for the happiness and prosperity of Ireland; at least, without this, all others would be palliative remedies, and the complaints, sufferings, and wrongs will continue unremovable. This measure is—

Fifthly, The complete abolition of the system of tenants-at-will, and the conversion of all these tenants-at-will into proprietors. On reading this, the Tories will throw my book into the fire; and even the Whigs will be mute with astonishment. The whole battery of pillage, jacobinism, dissolution of civil society, is discharged at me; but it will not touch me—not even the assertion that I would, like St. Crispin, "steal leather, in order to make shoes for the poor." Even the Radicals ask, with astonishment, how I would work this miracle. There is a Sibylline book, a patent and yet hidden mystery, how this is to be effected; and there is a magician who has accomplished it—the Prussian municipal law, and King Frederick William III. of Prussia.

To repel those violent reproaches, I could find in my armoury other arguments and proofs how, precisely through the system attacked by me, revolutions are promoted and civil societies dissolved. To-day, however, I have neither time nor inclination to enter upon these partly theoretical discussions; I will rather, in order to allay people's apprehensions, grant in practice that my proposal ought to be rejected, unless both parties are gainers.

The ancient doctrine that, in trade and commerce, in custom-house laws, treaties of peace, &c., only one party can and ought to gain, and that the greatest wisdom consists in deceiving and cheating the other party,—this doctrine of shortsighted selfishness is repudiated by every judicious philanthropist, and has been satisfactorily refuted in theory and practice. Unless both parties gain, there must be want of prudence or of justice, or both together, and the merited punishment never fails to follow.

As all maintain that those who were raised to the class of land-owners would gain very much, I may save myself the trouble of proving it, and put aside a subsequent question,—what new dangers may one day threaten them as proprietors? But that the present proprietors must likewise gain, results from the indisputable truth, that in the long run, the tenant-at-will is able to produce and to pay less than he who has a long lease, the latter less than the hereditary farmer, and the hereditary farmer less than the proprietor. I will not here repeat what I have already said on this subject in my letter on English agriculture; till pains are taken in England to become acquainted with our laws on this subject, it is impossible to make oneself understood, and to form a correct judgment, either in praise or blame.

But to those who, in our country, are displeased with the whole, on account of some defects, or who, from ignorance,

overlook the value of our reforms, or, out of ancient prejudices, wish for the return of greater evils,—to them I exclaim, "Go to Ireland! in order to perceive with horror the consequences of an intolerant, barbarous legislation, and to bless the progress of improvement in Prussia."

Ireland is the most deplorable instance in modern history that a great and noble people may, for centuries together, be involved in the same injustice and infatuation; and all the highly-praised forms of the constitution be often paralyzed by the force of passion and prejudice. Kings, lords, and commons have alternately or simultaneously wronged Ireland; how should humanity, mildness, and obedience to the laws proceed from such education? What all the forms of the constitution denied, what even now the boldest minds in England conceive to be impossible, our kings have accomplished, for schools, churches, cities, towns, peasants, landed property, trade, tolls, military institutions, &c., and laid the basis of a freedom of which Ireland, if no quicker progress is made, will be destitute for centuries to come. Our kings were effectually seconded by the persons in office, in whom the highest degree of civilization and knowledge is concentrated, and will be so, while they are not changed into servants removable at pleasure. The people every where co-operated, with correct judgment and good-will, and all reap, besides the advantages they have gained at home, daily more praise from impartial observers abroad. We are not vain on this account; we know (as I have often said) that one kind of bark does not grow on all trees; but a tree of liberty, without bark, is, and remains, a dry stick, though I deck it with ribbons of one or of many colours.

Limerick, August 22d, 1835.

You are, doubtless, tired of these reflections, and ask for my own travelling observations. Very well. Yet they will sound almost the same strings. In Belfast, some figures passed me in the evening, attired as I had never seen any. In England I had looked almost in vain for poverty; and in Scotland I found only, according to the custom of the country, some women and children barefooted. There was, therefore, in Belfast, a carnival joke, or some had plundered a paper-mill, and, in their wantonness, displayed all the rags in tokens of victory. Lisburn and Newry, two thriving towns, seemed to confirm my hypothesis; and the distressed appearance of Drogheda I connected with the ancient misdeeds of that hypocrite of liberty—Cromwell.

On the river Boyne a new feeling came over me. Germany justly considers the victory of William III. as a happy event, as a deliverance from a foreign yoke. But can the Irish participate in this opinion, so long as the yoke of the laws connected with it is not removed? They fought, under Charles I., for that which is now considered as legitimate and conservative; and yet Charles II. confirmed the confiscations of the republic, which

were not confined to the leading chiefs, but extended to the wholly innocent tenants. By this title-deed, the Conservatives of our day prove that no Irishman has a right to the soil of his country; but that the absentee possesses it exclusively, and without modification, to all eternity. Under James II., the Irish again fought for what was legitimate and conservative; and, for that reason, the Conservative Tories, at present, will have nothing to do with them. The Whigs, on the other hand, say—very late, indeed, yet they do say—*Pater, peccavi.*

Dublin.—A large city: the streets like those in the west end of London; the public buildings in a good style, apparently all agreeing, and of one piece. I say *apparently*, for the English, Scotch, and Irish, the Catholic and Protestant, come here in too hostile collision to grow up, and blend, and flourish together; and to this painful feeling were added scenes such as I never beheld. On Sunday, while crowds of well-dressed people gaily paraded the streets, they were thronged by equally numerous crowds of beggars—and what beggars were these! Such spectres remain elsewhere in their dens, till the light of day has vanished, and the darkness of night has set in. Here the sun must testify that Europe too, has its parias. No, not Europe, but Ireland alone!—for, compared with these miserable phantoms, all the beggary that I saw in Switzerland, the Papal dominions, and even in southern Italy, was a mere trifle.

On Monday the 17th, the son of our consul, Mr. W——, very politely took me about the city; and invited me to dine with him in a very agreeable party, where many Irish matters were considered and discussed, in the point of view which prevails here. How different is this point of view from that in Germany!

On my way to Mr. W——, I saw, at a distance, a crowd of people: I thought I should see another street-preacher; it was, however, no Scotch edification, but, as somebody told me, an Irish amusement. Two fellows, stripped to the waist, were engaged in a combat, not like the noble Greeks in Olympia, or even like well-trained boxers, but a desperate buffeting. After they had beaten each other black and blue, were covered with blood and half flayed, one of them fell almost senseless into the kennel. To take him by the arms and legs, lay him on a dry spot, pull his mouth open, pour in half a quart of whiskey, and throw a pail of water over his body was the work of a minute. Then the furious adversaries were again set upon each other like mad dogs; at the same time, the seconds, or *maîtres des plaisirs*, displayed incessant and astonishing activity. In order to clear the ground, they struck the spectators with large whips, so that nobody in the three first rows escaped without the severest cuts, one of which I should not have got over in four weeks. Here it seemed to make no more impression than when, among us, somebody says, "Be so good as stand a little on one side."

On Tuesday the 18th, in hopes of fine weather, I mounted the

roof of the coach, and not to have the wind and sun in my face, chose the backward seat at the back of the coach. On my right hand was an old woman; opposite to her, her grand-daughter; and next to the latter, another woman, about thirty years of age, and her son. Only the place on my left hand was still vacant; and now a man mounted the ladder, so dressed, that the expression "dropped from the gallows" might have been very well applied to him; and he certainly would have been refused admittance on any German stage. On the supposition that the man was well skilled in entomology, I drew as closely as possible to the old lady, my neighbour. *Mutantur tempora, et nos mutamur in illis.* The sky became clouded, it began to rain faster and faster, and my large umbrella was the only one in the company; so the two younger persons crouched at our feet, and the other four put their faces so close to the stick of the umbrella, that their noses almost met; in particular, the head of the old woman rested on my right, and that of the gentleman on my left, shoulder. Through this water ordeal we became in a very short time friends and acquaintances, and I reaped much praise for my civility and humanity.

The cultivation of the land, as I have already observed, was of a mixed character—here admirable, and there neglected. The Wicklow and Wexford mountains adorn the county on the side. At Kilkenny there is an old castle, and innumerable beggars. My second hypothesis, that only the capital could produce such beggars, was likewise refuted by the crowds in the small towns. The coach is besieged by them, and their cries resound from all sides, and in all gradations of old and young voices. In order to gain air and room, I threw from my elevated seat some pence among the crowd. Two girls, about eighteen years of age, had picked up the best share, and thanked me, like the female dancers at Berlin, when they are applauded by the public, kicking up their legs behind—what is to be seen on such occasions you know: there is a difference here, the costume of the fair of Kilkenny being in a more airy style. I was in a mood to be diverted at all this, when I saw a mother pick up the gooseberry skins which one of the travellers had spit out, and put them into the mouth of her child. I never saw any thing like this even at Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples.

"Is there room on the top?" asked a man. Though we were crowded, the coachman called out, "An excellent place—the finest fresh air!" The man ascended the ladder, seated himself on the pyramid of trunks, with both his legs hanging in the fresh air; but this position appearing to him too dangerous, he turned one leg inwards, and planted it between my shoulders. This was lucky for me, for he covered the iron edge of a trunk; and instead of a hole in my coat, I got only a spot of dirt.

Callen.—A wretched hole, which its owner (Lord C——, as I hear), probably for that reason, never visits; but all round are the most fertile fields, and the richest produce. By famine is every where understood, want of a sufficiency of corn. In Ireland the

people are starving in the midst of abundance. It is exported to Liverpool, where compassionate Englishmen purchase it, send it back to Ireland for the indigent, and procure them in insufficient quantities, what perverse and hard-hearted legislators refuse them on a large scale.

The evening and night of the 18th I passed at Clonmel. For the first time, I saw in the inn no carpets, and a ragged towel, but a larger and better bed than anywhere in Germany. It is only in our country that the erroneous notion prevails, that a man has no more need to turn in bed than in his coffin: hence the wretched, narrow cribs into which all classes suffer themselves to be squeezed.

On Wednesday, the 19th, Hermann's birthday, when I went down stairs in the morning, profound peace reigned among the persons assembled in the room on the ground-floor. God knows what spark fell into this powder-barrel; for at once there was such a storm of punches in the ribs, blows, and boxes on the ear, which succeeded each other so rapidly, and in such numbers, that it was impossible to see and count them. Two minutes afterwards, perfect tranquillity again prevailed. This amusement of the Catholics in Clonmel, and the Protestants in Dublin, show at least that there are some similar points of contact between the two parties.

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The coach stopped, early in the morning, before a hut, which, if you please, you may call a house. A sow—the Irish sphinx—lay with her hind quarters buried in black mud, while she rested on her fore feet, and addressed me in a very remarkable speech. The house-cock flew from within to the hole in the mud wall, the only window in the house, and attempted to clap his wings. The hole being too small, he was obliged to drop them, stretched his neck, and said something, which I did not understand so well as the speech of the sow; at the same time the door opened, and, like Alceste from the gloom of Erebus, the very strikingly draped, or undraped, mistress advanced into the foreground with her two children, on which two sucking pigs immediately ran to salute their playfellows. This scene of the golden age drew my attention so much, that I had nearly overlooked the master of the house, who was sitting on one side upon some fragments of turf. In attempting to put on his breeches, he had unhappily missed the legitimate way, and had passed his leg through a large, revolutionary, radical hole, so that he found it very difficult to remedy the mistake, still keeping the rags together.

I hope that some of our painters in this line will make use of these hints in the next exhibition, and know how to give dignity to the subject; and send me at least a copy of their works, in return for my picturesque description.

But what said the sow? Things bitter, unexpected, remarkable. She began—"Wretched mortal, who hang suspended between Heaven and earth, as on the gallows, if you came down I would let you know what punishment you deserve, for disturbing the

last prophetic sphinx of Ireland in her repose. You ramble about the world to no purpose, rummage among old papers treating of old women, and pride yourself in your stupid impartiality. Why do you direct your eyes to the wretched creatures who here call themselves men, and have no notion what a greater people deserve your attention in Ireland—the people, the swine?"

I know not how the sphinx might have continued, had not the cock, the woman, and the sucking pigs interrupted her. She only added a few words to inform me (as a reward for my good-will, of which she was well aware) of the existence of the most remarkable fragment of the history of ancient times, and where I might find it.

This fragment contains (after the manner of Persia) the annals of the state of the swine, and is divided into two principal heads, the times of the *Boaries* and the *Pigs*, In the sequel, vain men (like the Roman consuls and emperors) applied these names to themselves; but being ignorant of their origin, have corrupted them, by means of absurd etymologies, into *Tories* and *Whigs*. In ancient times, those, the boars or boaries were the sole lords and masters of the country; it was the time of noble freedom and independence, till weak and degenerate descendants stigmatized it as an age of club or snout law, and gave this first heroic age the name of *Wild Swinery*. I cannot give to-day the eventful history of this feudal aristocracy, but pass at once to the time when the *Pigs* appeared as a second party, and *Piggism*, or *Tame Swinery*, found greater and more numerous advocates.

This happened in the following manner: when the race of men, who call themselves, by way of distinction, the Old Irish, came to the island, a dreadful struggle began between them and the boars, the ancient rulers of the land. The increasing distress and danger suggested the idea of entering into an agreement, and of concluding a perpetual peace. Deputies of both parties met, and drew up a convention, of which I select the following articles as the most important:—

1. The boars, who have hitherto lived in the woods, shall be received with their families into the houses of the Irish, and be treated like children of the house.

2. From the moment that the peace is concluded, no boar shall be bound to do any work, or take the least care to provide for his own subsistence. All are, on the contrary, resolved to devote themselves henceforward to a contemplative mode of life.

3. If there should not be provisions enough, the swine are to be first taken care of, and then the children.

4. For all these great advantages, and others, which are passed over for the sake of brevity, the Irish obtain the right of *slaughtering* their new inmates.

When these conditions came to be discussed in the house of the boars, the majority (composed of the old wild forest boars) opposed the last objectionable article in particular with so much warmth

and eloquence, that the treaty was rejected by a large majority, and it was resolved to make no change in the state of things handed down from their ancestors. Meantime, the war with the Irish took a very unfavourable turn; and the pigs, the advocates of reform, adduced more powerful arguments in support of their opinion. They detailed the advantages of improved civilization; of constant peace; of exemption from the cares of life; of agreeable society; and of a philosophic mode of existence, with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that in the new diet which was convoked, the boaries themselves could not deny the weight of the argument. The *fourth* article alone was still violently opposed: then one of the most eloquent of the pigs rose, and incontrovertibly proved that all swine, whether wild or tame, must die; that the time of death was uncertain, and lasted but a moment; that, on the other hand, the whole life would derive new and increased value by the proposed change from boarism to piggism. Lastly, that there was no ground for the apprehension that the tame swine were threatened with an earlier death, for even the wild sucking-pigs were not spared; and to die in youth, before the sufferings of age and disease, was a great happiness, as the poets had proved, and sung in the cases of Achilles, Balder, and Siegfried, which are also applicable to tame swine.

When the boaries saw that the pigs triumphed, those who were called ultra-bories withdrew to the country and the forests; and the convention, which founded and confirmed the new tame swinery, was carried by a great majority. Only two additional articles were proposed by the pigs, and acceded to by the Irish: first, the slaughtering shall be only at that time of the year when life is a burden, namely, winter: secondly, the pigs are free to squeak when they are slaughtered, and this shall not be considered as a want of the old heroic courage, but rather as the dying song of the swine.

This treaty was observed for centuries to the satisfaction of both parties, till in later times a change took place, which materially affected the Irish. The English, a new victorious race of men (passionately fond of the literal interpretation, and the maintenance of rights and laws) discovered that it was stated in the original convention, that the Irish had a right to *kill* the swine, but it was not added that they had a right to *eat* pork. Thus it has been brought about by various means that the Irish dare not eat meat, but must send it to Liverpool, where all the Irish boaries and pigs, without respect to person, are consumed by the English Tories and Whigs in honour of right and justice; and that even the swine in Ireland think this unjust, and give a different interpretation of their original contract with the Irish, has hitherto not been of any avail to the latter.

Dublin, 23d August.

On the 19th of August I went from Clonmel to Cork. At first there was a wooded valley, then the monotonous desert valley of the Suire, military barracks in Fermoy, and a handsome approach

by the side of the river or bay to Cork. The city is more bustling, more purely Irish, than Dublin; the hills to the sea, and toward the interior of the country, ornamented in a most diversified and pleasing manner with country houses; in the green meadows along the road-side there were quiet sheep, instead of the grunting swine, which elsewhere are the only domestic animals to be seen. I looked at the theatre with as much indifference as if I had never been a friend to theatrical amusements; and, the evening being fine, preferred a walk in the environs. From one house I heard the German waltz, *Ach du lieber Augustin.*

On the 20th I went to Killarney, and hastened to Ross Castle, in order to enjoy the prospect of the picturesque mountains and lakes. I the more willingly refrain from comparisons, because the weather all at once became extremely unfavourable, and compelled me to give up the plan of seeing the whole. I returned to Dublin by way of Limerick, through fertile tracts, tedious bogs, and barren heaths, the rain pouring down all the time. You must be satisfied with this bare enumeration; and, if you desire descriptions of scenery, you may read over again what I wrote last year, about the same time, from Switzerland. My mind is filled with one thought—I can entertain no other—it is that of the inexpressible wretchedness of so many thousands. In England I looked in vain for misery, and all the complaints that I heard seemed to me to be partial and exaggerated: here, no words can express the frightful truth which every where meets the eye. To form an idea of it you must see these houses—not houses, but huts—not huts, but hovels, mostly without windows or apertures; the same entrance—the same narrow space for men and hogs—the latter lively, sleek, and well fed, the former covered with rags, or rather hung with fragments of rags in a manner which it is impossible to conceive. If I except the respectable people in the towns, I did not see upon thousands of Irish a whole coat, a whole shirt, a whole cloak, but all in tatters, and tatters such as are nowhere else to be seen.

The ruins of ancient castles were pointed out to me; but how could I take any pleasure in them while the desolate ruined huts surrounded me, and testified the distress of the present times more loudly than the others did the grandeur of the past? But then the lords were of the same race—of the same language; they were on the spot, and the people certainly not so wretched as since the confiscations of the English conquerors. Other huts were half fallen down, but the occupants crept into the remaining half, which was not larger than a coffin for the wretched family.

When I recollect the well-fed rogues and thieves in the English prisons, I admire, notwithstanding the very natural increase of Irish criminals, the power of morality—I wonder that the whole nation does not go over and steal, in order to enjoy a new and happier existence. And then the English boast of the good treatment of their countrymen, while the innocent Irish are obliged to live worse than their cattle. In Parliament they talk for years together whe-

ther it is necessary and becoming to leave 100,000 dollars annually (15,000*l.*) in the hands of the pastors of 526 Protestants, or 10,759 dollars to the pastors of 3 Protestants; while there are thousands here who scarcely know they have a soul, and know nothing of their body, except that it suffers hunger, thirst, and cold.

Which of these ages is the dark and barbarous—the former, when mendicant monks distributed their goods to the poor, and, in their way, gave them the most rational comfort; or the latter, when rich (or bankrupt) aristocrats can see the weal of the church and of religion (or of their relations) only in retaining possession of that which was taken and obtained by violence?

All the blame is thrown on agitators, and discontent produced by artificial means. What absurdity! Every falling hut causes agitation, and every tattered pair of breeches a *sans-culotte*. Since I have seen Ireland I admire the patience and moderation of the people, that they do not (what would be more excusable in them than in distinguished revolutionists, authors, journalists, Benthamites, baptized and unbaptized Jews) drive out the devil through Beelzebub the prince of the devils.

Thrice-happy Prussia, with its free proprietary peasantry, its agricultural nobles, its contented and tolerant clergy, its well-educated youth!

I endeavoured to discover the original race of the ancient Irish and the beauty of the women. But how could I venture to give an opinion! Take the loveliest of the English maidens from the saloons of the Duke of Devonshire or the Marquis of Lansdowne, carry her—not for life, but for one short season, into an Irish hovel,—feed her on water and potatoes, clothe her in rags, expose her blooming cheek and alabaster neck to the scorching beams of the sun, and the drenching torrents of rain, let her wade with naked feet through marshy bogs, with her delicate hands pick up the dung that lies in the road, and carefully stow it by the side of her mud resting-place, give her a hog to share this with her—to all this add no consolatory remembrance of the past, no cheering hope of the future—nothing but misery—a misery which blunts and stupifies the mind—a misery of the past, the present, and the future;—would the traveller, should this image of wo crawl from out of her muddy hovel, and imploringly extend her shrivelled hand, recognize the noble maiden whom a few short weeks before he admired as the model of English beauty?

And yet the children, with their black hair and dark eyes, so gay and playful in their tatters—created in the image of God—are in a few years, by the fault of man and the government, so worn out, without advantage to themselves or others, that the very beasts of the field might look down on them with scorn.

Is what I have said exaggerated, or, perhaps, merely an unseasonable and indecorous fiction? or should I have suppressed it, because it may offend certain parties? What have I to do with O'Connell and his opponents? I have nothing either to hope or to

fear from any of them; but to declare what I saw, thought, and felt is my privilege and my duty. *Discite justitiam, moniti, et non temnere divos!*

Liverpool, August 24, 1835.

Thank God, I am again in England, though not with the same feelings that I left it! Last night, as I quitted Dublin in the steam-boat, the dark clouds traversed the sky in rapid confusion, and when the sun burst through them, the mountains on the right and left threw their long shadows towards England. This shadow spreads in my fancy over the lately so glowing scene, and the more I endeavour to efface it, the more indelible does it appear, like the blood stains to Lady Macbeth. I have read and written much on the sufferings of different ages and nations, and wrote and read with sympathy; but it is a far different thing to see them; to see them in their gigantic form in our highly-extolled times, denied and extenuated—nay, acknowledged and justified by those who, like the French, fancy that they are at the head of all human civilization. No wonder if the native Irish, like the prophet of old by the waters of Babylon, sit down and weep, if I, a stranger, am compelled to reckon the few days I passed among them as the most melancholy of my life. Of other, and I trust more cheering matters, in my next.

LETTER LXIII.

Return to England—Liverpool—Iron Rail-road—Manchester—Children—Workhouse—Schools in Manchester—England and Germany—Birmingham—Wolverhampton—Dissenters—Peculiarities of the Cities—King and People—Prussian Constitution.

Manchester, 21st August.

The continued bad weather defeated my plan of proceeding from Dublin to Holyhead, and thence through North Wales to Liverpool; but I should not have been able to see anything, for the rain still continues.

The rough weather increased my apprehensions of sea-sickness. The ladies soon disappeared from deck; and one, who had taken refuge in her travelling carriage, was carried half dead into the cabin by four persons. Some gentlemen, who lingered a little longer, set me a very bad example; and only a sprightly lady's maid, who mounted the deck with great boldness, persevered for a long time in the vicinity of the paddles, and gazed upon the foaming waves. I went up to her, in the hope of some conversation; but, attracted by the wonders of nature, it was some time before she turned her head, and when she did—oh! the misery of sea-sickness! I cannot conceive how I have escaped without even the slightest attack. It is perhaps owing to my love of music. I certainly kept correct time with the motion of the ship; so that the greater the rising and sinking, the more agreeable it was to me. I hope I shall not have to suffer the more on my passage to Hamburg.

Owing to the density of the fog I did not see Liverpool till I reached it. No city of England, nay of Europe, has increased so rapidly in wealth and extent within a short period, a result of its favourable situation, and likewise of extraordinary industry and activity. How could Bristol have otherwise remained behind? The whole of Lancashire, however, is an example of amazing improvements. The population of the county in 1700 amounted to 166,000 inhabitants; in 1750, to 297,000; in 1800, to 672,000; in 1831, to 1,336,000. The docks and warehouses in Liverpool surpass in size even those of London; and the city is extending with much taste and regularity, though Edinburgh leaves all others far in the rear in this respect. The Exchange is equal to those of London and Paris, and the Town Hall is superior to the Mansion House in London; the interior arrangements, too, are grand and simple, much better than Buckingham House. A bronze monument in honour of Nelson, which has been set up between the Exchange and the Town Hall, would be deserving of commendation, were it not for the skeleton which appears beneath the mantle. Surely the motto, "England expects every man to do his duty,"—the attitude of the falling hero,—the laurel wreath held over his head by the Goddess of Victory,—all this is surely sufficiently expressive and emblematic. Wherefore, then, this hideous addition? Had I any voice in Liverpool, I should certainly propose to draw the mantle over the skeleton, and entirely to conceal it. The purchase of Roscoe's library reflects honour on the city; and we must hope that it will be enriched by many additions.

After the Prussian consul, Mr. G., had shown me every civility in his power, I, of course, went on the iron rail-road from Liverpool to Manchester. In spite of all that one may have heard and read on the subject, it makes a peculiar impression, to see this long row of wagons, loaded with so many passengers and goods, hasten along with unparalleled velocity, merely by the agency of a little water and fire. It is commendable that Germany desires to participate in the wonderfully far increased facilities of intercourse. But let us take care not to throw away large sums, if unfavourable circumstances should prevail. There is a noble enthusiasm which will not remain below what is attainable; but there is also a vain-gloriousness which vaunts of impossibilities, and treats practicable and useful enterprises with very unjust disdain. The construction of the iron rail-road from Liverpool to Manchester, which is thirty English miles in length, cost above five and a half millions of dollars. Such a capital cannot yield sufficient interest, except where two very large cities lie at a short distance from each other, of which the one imports and the other exports an immense quantity of goods. Such a state of things is scarcely to be met with a second time in the world. No rocks can be blasted, and no valleys raised, for the sake of a few individuals, who would like to travel more rapidly for their pleasure. Nothing but an extraordinary traffic makes such an enterprize practicable and useful.

Manchester, 28th August.

It is very polite and agreeable if a rich man invites to his table a stranger who has been introduced to him; but he does still more when he gives up his time to him, takes him about, procures him introductions, &c. All these attentions are so liberally bestowed on me in this town also, that I protract my stay longer than my limited time seems to justify. Messrs. Ph., Sh., H., and A. have done everything in their power to make my visit both useful and agreeable. Without letters of introduction, this is, of course, not to be expected; but these letters may be too partial. A gentleman, to whom I delivered one of them, immediately entered into conversation about poor laws; and as I am not unacquainted with this subject, I was able to keep it up. But when he said that I had written a work on the management of the poor, I was obliged to decline this honour; and when he drew out the letter of introduction, by way of justification, I saw that he had read that I was the most celebrated historical writer of the *Poor*, instead of *Europe*. We were both alarmed at the great hyperbole; and I was thankful that he had not read that I was a *poor* historical writer.

I saw here the very extensive manufactory of machinery of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts, where I had everything explained to me by a young countryman of mine; the cotton-yarn manufactory of Messrs. Connell; and the calico-printing of Mr. Nield, &c. You do not expect me to make superficial observations on things which have been thoroughly discussed, and with competent knowledge of the subject, by others. But I find here a confirmation of certain notions, which I have already stated; on which I add some remarks.

The English workmen (I do not speak of the children) receive in proportion higher wages, and live better, than those in Germany. In the manufactory of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts, for instance, the average weekly wages is about thirty shillings, and the principal necessaries of life, food, clothing, and fuel, are now no dearer here than with us. The breakfast of the workmen consisted, as I saw, of the finest wheat bread, cheese of the best quality, and a considerable portion of ale or porter. Some save part of their wages, but the greater part spend all they get: and thus, considering the very great numbers of workmen, there arises, in case of a falling off of trade, much greater danger for England than for Germany. But, at the present moment, the market in England is so extended, that nothing is to be feared. Gradual changes must be guided, and sudden ones (such as war) bring with them a kind of relief, and turn forces that might be dangerous into other channels. In no case can an artificial boundary be set to the development of commerce and manufactures, or hundreds of thousands of men be compelled to economy.

A very absurd remnant of the old system is the prohibition to export certain kinds of machinery. England would outstrip all other nations in this species of manufacture; whereas now no secret can be kept beyond a few years, and then other countries supply

themselves. It is also very erroneous to imagine that the successful progress of manufactures depends only on the possession of certain machines.

I paid particular attention to the condition of the children in the cotton manufactories. To what I have already said on the subject, I can add the following particulars:—Many of the complaints were exaggerated: many a reproach (for instance, a constrained, unnatural position of the body) has been removed by the improvement of the machinery. The Factory Bill had a salutary effect, inasmuch as it turned the general attention to the subject, confirmed kind-hearted manufacturers in their laudable conduct, and brought the harsh into a right course. The work is, almost without exception, extremely easy and simple. The lowest wages (here four shillings a week) is indeed but little; but without it the children could not live at all.

This is one side of the picture: on the other, it cannot be denied that the easiest labour, continued twelve hours in the day, is too much for any children; that they learn for their whole life a mechanical dexterity; that their mind remains uncultivated; and that they have neither time nor strength remaining to attend school. Almost every improvement of machinery makes the harder and dearer labour of grown-up persons less necessary, and increases the demand for children. Thus there arises (thank Heaven, not in all England, but only in the manufacturing districts) a constant employment—nay, a slavery for them, such as has no parallel in the history of the world. Legislation can by no means prevent this course of improvement; but it can regulate it more than hitherto, and do more for the education of the mind and the heart, which is still far too much neglected. The state of things in our country is certainly more simple—more natural and healthful; and if we do not produce so much dimity or muslin, we produce the more thoughts and feelings; and the poetry of childhood is not yet wholly banished from among us by the rattling of machinery. A manufacturer observing to me that the children were all satisfied, a boy shook his head. As they soon afterwards went away to dinner, I spoke to him in the street, and asked him why he shook his head. "I shook my head for myself, and not for the others," said he; "for," continued he, on my questioning him further, "I was born in the country, and when I was ten years old was obliged to keep the swine; but, having heard a great deal of the town, I ran away, and immediately obtained employment in this manufactory. At first I was full of joy and wonder; but I cannot tell you, Sir, how much I long to be back with my swine. I could talk with each of them in my own way, and each gave me a different answer. I could speak, halloo, whistle, strike to the right or to the left, drive them out, drive them home, go slowly, or run—always something new. Here, on the contrary, the same work all day long; calling and whistling avail nothing. To give way to impatience by striking is forbidden; and to speak to the other work-people impossible, for

the noise. The squeaking of the swine vexed me often enough; but what would I now give if a spinning machine could utter so many expressive sounds as the swine! Then, too, I heard the birds sing, saw the sun rise and set, looked at the passing clouds, rejoiced to see every thing grow and blossom, and had the prospect of leaving the swine for the cows and horses, to drive, sow, reap, and many other things. Here I must, for my whole life, tie threads together, and pick flocks of cotton. I assure you, Sir, I am now more stupid than my swine, and perhaps I should not even be able to attend them as I ought."

So much for the idyllic poetry of a factory life!

I yesterday visited the poor-house, and send some particulars from the last year's report for your information. There were in the House 233 men, 256 women, 83 boys, and 77 girls; 9 of the men, and 39 of the women, were between 80 and 90 years of age. The weekly expense for every person is—

	s.	*d.*
Food . . .	2	$0\frac{3}{4}$
Clothing . . .	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total . .	2	$6\frac{1}{4}$

Their breakfast consists of rice and milk, oat-meal porridge; their dinner, two days in the week, of meat and vegetables; and the remaining five days they have soup, or potato soup, with a sufficient quantity of bread. This institution, which is under the direction of Mr. Robinson, is deserving of great praise, and proves that, at a very small expense, certain general objects can be accomplished even in England. This gives us the more reason to regret that, in London, and some other places, criminals fare much better than the innocent poor here. But if I compare even this economical establishment, its apartments, beds, clothing and food, with what I saw in Ireland, I see only royal magnificence and Asiatic profusion.

The rapid improvements and the increasing opulence of Manchester are very striking. Only such a city could spend above 700,000 dollars in the improvement of a single street. On the other hand, the annual expenditure for the poor of every description amounts to 230,000 dollars. These are contrasts more marked than among us. But the poor Irish, who throng to this place, cost annually about 12,000 dollars; and yet this fact seems to excite more disgust than pity: it ought to prove the necessity of general and wholly different measures. But, whenever Ireland is mentioned, the feelings of the English, otherwise so noble and generous, seem blunted, and they appear determined not to see the causes which have for centuries continued to operate so hatefully.

Manchester, August 28.

The English make it a subject of congratulation that their government does not interfere in many things, and, doubtless, a constant intermeddling of government may be injurious. But I still see instances of this (not to speak of earlier times of religious oaths,

&c.,) in England: for example, the corn-laws, the protecting duties for manufactures, &c. On the other hand, government interferes too little here; and it is not true that everything can go on freely of itself, and without general direction and assistance. If, in consequence of the English laws, the ship-builders must buy timber, the consumer corn, at an exorbitant price, or the manufacturer of machines is not allowed to export them, most people here say that this is useful and necessary. On the other hand, if with us the children are kept to school (and this, in truth, *without compulsion*, entirely by admirable regulations), this is denominated tyranny. I, on the contrary, find tyranny in the former measures, and in the latter the basis of the highest intellectual freedom.

Manchester affords an instructive example of the state of education in most of the towns in England. The town contains about 50,000 children between the ages of 5 and 15. Of these, the attendance is—

In day and evening schools, about . . .	10,000
In day and Sunday schools	10,000
In Sunday schools	23,000
Total	43,000

If we reflect that the Sunday and evening schools afford but a very few hours of instruction during the week, we may reckon the number of children who are educated in the German manner at 20,000: from which it results, that three-fifths of the children receive no education whatever. That I may not appear too severe in my conclusions, I will confine myself to what a numerous, well-disposed, and impartial Commission have stated in their Report of 1835.

A great part of the schools are conducted by women, and old men of no education, where nothing is taught but reading and needlework. They are, generally, in the most deplorable condition; in confined, dirty, unwholesome rooms, or cellars, without benches, chairs, or any other suitable arrangement; and, with the most, two or three books between all the pupils. According to the opinion of the Commissioners, it cannot be affirmed that 4722 children, who attend these schools, are in any way instructed or educated. The same account is given of the day and evening schools; and the Sunday schools, in spite of all their defects, are pronounced to be the most useful. Passing over several other facts, I send you only the general and most important results of the investigation.

"In the first place," says the Report, "the number of children stated to attend school gives a very imperfect and deceiving indication of the real state of education.

"*Secondly.*—The existing means of education for the lower classes in Manchester are wholly inadequate, and, besides, very little calculated to produce a favourable result.

"*Thirdly.*—The children who attend the dame schools may be said to receive no instruction at all, and even that which is given

to about 7000 children in the day-schools is scarcely deserving of the name. A main cause of this evil—the ignorance and incapacity of the teachers—cannot be remedied till seminaries are established for their instruction; and the error is renounced, that the business of schoolmasters is the only one that does not require knowledge or capability.

"*Fourthly.*—If we may justly assume that Manchester affords a fair average of the state of education in England, we find a painful and mortifying contrast to some states on the continent; whether we consider the number of children who regularly attend school, or the kind and efficiency of the instruction which they receive.

"While in Prussia, and some other German states, all the children between the ages of 7 and 14, of every class, are bound by the law to attend school, and really do attend, not two-thirds of those in Manchester receive even nominal instruction. Whereas, in the above-mentioned countries, schools are carefully established in every place, and confided to the care of a teacher, who is brought up to the profession, and is not allowed to undertake it till he has undergone a strict investigation of his qualifications and knowledge,—the education of the lower classes, in this country, is, with few exceptions, in the hands of ignorant and uneducated men, who are often destitute of all fitness for the employment, and have entered upon it only as an easy mode of getting money, or in consequence of some accidental circumstances, or bodily infirmity. In those countries we also find the substance of the instruction far better than in England, for there the scholars in every elementary school are instructed in religion, the German language, the first principles of arithmetic, of drawing, and natural history; geography, general history (especially that of their own country); singing, writing, gymnastic exercises, and simple handicraft trades. No school is considered complete which does not give instruction in all these various departments; in many schools, this is really done; and none are tolerated but where, at least, religion, reading, writing, and singing are taught in an efficient manner. In Manchester, and in England, in general, the education of the lower classes is, on the other hand, considered as finished if they learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. But even these are often very imperfectly taught; while the true cultivation of the mental powers, the amelioration of morals, the elevation of the character, instruction in the truths of morality and religion, in a word, the more valuable objects of education are wholly neglected and forgotten."

I have the more pleasure in communicating to you this testimony of foreign and impartial judges, to the excellence and growth of the highest intelligence, the mental freedom and energy, in our country, because all, from the king to the child at school, have cause to rejoice at it. If among thousands of teachers, and hundred thousands of scholars and students, there should be here and there one who, in the superabundance of joy at his new liberty, jumps too high, and falls upon his nose, let him be set upon his legs

and admonished—the complaints of the mice and moles, on the other hand, that people walk and dance on their head, may be quietly laid *ad acta*, or let them be advised to seek safer dwellings, where everybody lives under ground in the dark. The dangerous principles of Jacobins and Radicals originate in ignorance, or false over-refinement; genuine education of the mind and heart is the the best, the most comprehensive, and, in the end, the only effectual remedy against these destructive evils. They will never be subdued by negative remedies.

Some persons think that the freedom of the press affords the best education, and supplies its place without trouble. I cannot by any means agree to this opinion. In the first place, it is assumed, and very unjustly, that every man can read; and, secondly, that only what is worth reading will be printed, and put in the hands of the people. Without a right education, however, the judgment formed of what has been read will often prove incorrect, and what is objectionable would obtain a greater ascendancy than that which is good. The liberty of the press, too, chiefly concerns journals and newspapers, which by no means contain the whole stock of wisdom and virtue. What numerous and just complaints are made, for instance, in England, of the scandalous unstamped newspapers! —nay, even those of a better class frequently indulge, without restraint, in the passions of the moment. If the House of Commons passes a law which displeases the editor of a high Tory paper, he very coolly calculates the strength which his party would have for a civil war, and designates this devilish remedy as natural and useful. If the House of Lords does not please the Radicals, their papers talk of expelling all the Lords, nay, even the king, and of the desired overthrow of all existing institutions. This proves that freedom of the press certainly exists in this sense, that every one can print what he pleases; but if the idea of freedom is not perfect, except where it leads to no abuses, then even the English are not yet possessed of this highest degree of liberty of the press. With the spread of education and knowledge, the false excitement of those abuses will subside, and true freedom will be established, developed, and confirmed by the press better than before.

Birmingham, 29th August.

Dr. H——'s friendly invitation induced me to stay a day longer in Manchester. Accompanied by him, I still saw many objects of interest, and then drove to his very beautiful country-house. In the evening Dr. H—— took me back to the town. I was not quite a stranger to him, as he had in his library a copy of my Hohenstaufen.

Yesterday I travelled from Manchester to this place, through a country which may be compared, in all respects, with what I described in the beginning of my tour. Only about Wolverhampton, trees, grass, and every trace of verdure disappear. As far as the eye can reach all is black, with coal mines and iron works; and from this gloomy desert rise countless slender pyramidal chimneys,

whose flames illumine the earth, while their smoke darkens the heavens: the whole is exceedingly striking, probably unique in its kind; but the interest of the movement would quickly vanish if I were obliged to prolong my stay in this Vulcan's forge.

I was seated on the stage-coach between two very clever and intelligent Englishmen, who (contrary to the general rule) entered so easily and unhesitatingly into a conversation on various subjects, that I could not have desired more agreeable companions. One of them, however, was such a violent ultra-Radical, and such a decided Dissenter, that I fancied myself at this moment a representative of the Duke of Newcastle and the Bishop of Exeter, and might be a leader of the temporal and spiritual high Tories. I fought bravely, but as I was obliged to speak English to an Englishman, both the attack and the defence were of course inconvenient to me. In order, in the English fashion, to gain a majority, my opponent at length appealed to a young puppy, who was sitting on the coach-box, who demonstrated to me, in the same manner, that, from the year 300 to the time of John Knox, the world had remained as black and gloomy as a chimney at Wolverhampton. I answered like Spontini, when old Mistress Schechner attempted to instruct him—"Madame, I, too, know a little music," but had the less reason to mention my name, as nobody in the company would have learnt more of me than they knew before—namely, nothing. The old threadbare questions were repeated—"Cannot your king impose taxes as he likes?" "Cannot he hang and torture at his pleasure?" &c. As the examiner had just before maintained that the House of Commons alone was omnipotent, he made it easy for me to answer him; and thus we came to a very moderate result, which endangered neither church nor state.

This hatred of the Dissenters to all church government, their commendation of the voluntary system, is chiefly produced because the English claims to be a dominant church. If treated with more moderation, their zeal would be partly cooled. Churches and schools, without any foundation or form, go to ruin, or at least do not flourish. The former happened in France, where the volunteers declared they needed neither clergy nor churches. England proves it, with respect to the schools, as we have just seen in the case of Manchester.

I might send you long descriptions of every English town I saw, merely by aid of an itinerary; but why should I trouble myself with what has been sufficiently done by others? Besides, every one has his own tastes and inclinations, which it is perhaps the wisest to follow.

Notwithstanding the great interest which I took in all that was pointed out to me in the different towns by obliging friends, a certain similarity and repetition of what I had seen, from exchanges to prisons, and from soft cotton to hard iron, was unavoidable.

Every one will return a different answer to the question, what it is that makes a place agreeable?—the artist, the merchant, the

man of learning, do not think alike. But setting aside all decided predilections, we may yet discover a common standard of opinion for all other spectators. Those commercial towns, which do nothing but accumulate and export goods already manufactured, may please and strike us by the extent of their traffic, but they are altogether destitute of interest to all but a merchant. Thus Leghorn, though the most flourishing, is, at the same time, the most tedious city in Italy. Manufacturing towns, which create and transform, afford more subjects for contemplation and instruction, but must necessarily bear great similarity to each other.

Wherein, then, consists the more durable, decided interest of a town. I think, in the peculiarity of its features, and in its being, as it were, a positive living person. In the same manner as the individual who has no decided, distinct character, is lost in the mass of the people; so a town, without any decided physiognomy, without a distinct character, is confounded with the crowd of many similar towns. If, in this point of view, I compare a series of English and German towns, the former are far superior to the latter in extent, wealth, activity, and population, but inferior in peculiarity of character and decided contrast. The coal-dealing towns of Newcastle and Sunderland are as different from the cotton manufacturing towns of Glasgow and Manchester as black and white. Yet how similar and uniform do all appear when we compare them with the variety in Germany; for instance, on the one hand, Dusseldorf, Cologne, Bonn, Mayence, Francfort, &c.; on the other, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipsig, Dresden, Nuremburg, Munich, Salzburg, &c. Oxford and Edinburgh alone are remarkable exceptions.

Oxford, Sunday, August 30, 1835.

It was my intention to go from Birmingham to Woodstock, and to see Blenheim; but when I reached Woodstock on Saturday afternoon, I was told that the place not being shown on Sundays, I should have to wait two whole days before this sanctuary would be opened, and being a determined enemy to all delay, I hastened on to Oxford. The country from Birmingham to this place is well cultivated, and bears the character of English scenery, without being distinguished by any particular beauty. Stratford on Avon is a very inconsiderable place, and there is nothing striking in the country round. The genius of Shakspeare is not to be inferred from these externals; it is the offspring of mind.

I write down various scraps as they occur to me. At Newcastle-on-Tyne I had to pay two shillings for my dinner, which consisted of some cold meat, and a few potatoes boiled in the peel.

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On the box sat a young damsel, who frequently cast her languishing gazelle eyes towards me; not, however, at my worthless heart, but (as I imagined) at my comfortable seat and travelling cushion—for the coachman nearly elbowed her off the box; but I soon found that this was a mistake, for she presently became such

good friends with her elegant companion, that he soon sung her an air in c major, 2-4 time, in a most dulcet, coachman-like tone. No sooner did these sounds reach the ears of an urchin of three years old, who was seated next to me with his mother, than he began a dirge in D minor, 3-8, which produced combinations and harmonies such as I had never before heard. From time to time the driver observed that his attention had been too long diverted from his horses; he therefore suddenly changed his key, and sang or whistled to them, in the coarse, rude tones of his profession, bolder discords and transitions than even Beethoven would have ventured upon.

"Your king," said an Englishman to me, "is the coachman, and you are the horses. We, on the contrary, are the coachmen, and harness and rein-in our king as we please." What a vulgar, incorrect comparison! Were the case really so in England, the many coachmen would soon drive the horses to death, then hurl each other from the seat, harass and worry each other to death, till the last driver would be obliged to draw the coach himself. If the whole of public life, the abstract of social existence, is to be reduced to this one alternative, to whip or to be whipped, then not merely colonies of bees and ants, but even herds of wild beasts, are superior to an association of men.

"You are slaves," said another Englishman, "for, with his standing army, your king can yoke and drive you as he pleases." Though the English are better informed on some points than many other people, yet there are among them individuals who are more ignorant on other subjects, and venture to give the most positive opinion, without taking the least trouble to obtain even a superficial knowledge of them. Thus they know of no difference in the military regulations of the continent, from Naples to Petersburg; and the majority are altogether unacquainted with the peculiarity and excellence of the Prussian system, respecting which even the French have written and spoken with so much judgment and commendation. With us the annoying and injurious contrast between the civil and military orders has been abolished; all are citizens—all are soldiers. There is no opposition of feeling and duty; no condition unalterably fixed for life by the arbitrary decision of the ballot; no unjust partiality towards the rich, by allowing them to furnish bad substitutes; civil occupation is made compatible with military preparation and education; the most extensive measures of defence, united to a comparatively trifling expense; every soldier is treated as a man of honour, and every officer disciplined and qualified for his rank, not by purchase, but by science. That our military regulations, our army, our civil officers, not removable at pleasure, are powerful guarantees for true German freedom, is an undeniable truth to every person acquainted with the subject, however paradoxical it may appear to the French and English. The former, so numerous, powerful, secure, and invincible, so long as they do not rouse the spirit of their more peaceful neighbours

by a love of tyranny and conquest, might and should be the first to reduce the military establishments in time of peace: the insular situation of England is attended with immense advantages in saving time, money, and strength for military objects. But an army, whose soldiers are recruited and flogged, whose officers can attain their rank by purchase, is altogether so different from a Prussian army of the present day, nay, it has so little connexion with the mass of the people, and is employed in Ireland chiefly for the enforcement of unjust laws, that it is impossible it should be national or popular. I will, therefore, readily excuse every Englishman who cannot at first understand that, among us, the army and the nation have been identified, and a peaceful or warlike life have been (like body and soul) brought to perfect unity and community. No doubt there are, among us, some single officers who would wish to restore the old system of caste; some few men of wealth, the doctrine of hired substitutes and privileges; some cowards and idlers, entire exemption from military service. The advantages of the new system, however, are so evident and preponderating, that it is to be hoped its carping opponents will never be able to destroy it. At least, there can be no doubt that, from that moment, Prussia, both as a military power and a people, would fall from the elevation to which it raised itself in 1813 by the aid of those institutions.

London, 31*st August*.

I had numerous letters of introduction for Oxford, but found only Messrs. C—— and P—— there. I, therefore, shortened my stay, especially as I was anxious to return to London, the centre of all public transactions, and to the State-Paper Office, where I hoped to make considerable accessions to my treasures during the three succeeding weeks. The road from Birmingham to London is agreeable enough, but is certainly inferior to that by way of Wakefield, both in point of cultivation, variety and beauty. Of Oxford in my next letter.

LETTER LXIV.

Oxford—Colleges—University—Religion—Dissenters—Christianity in England and Germany—London University—King's College—Inns of Court—Cambridge—Prussian Administration—Police Passports—Students.

London, 1*st September*, 1835.

No person should give an opinion of Oxford, its scientific, political, and ecclesiastical position, who has not seen it. Much that appears inexplicable then becomes intelligible, and a severe judgment is softened into equity. In many other towns we see an old church, or the ruins of an ancient castle; but they stand alone, not harmonizing with what surrounds them, and subordinate—nay, they are, for the most part, hidden by the greater number of modern erections of a wholly different character. Here, the reverse is the

case: a whole city full of the noblest, the most astonishing, monuments of an ancient period, and every thing modern is but an insignificant accessory. That former period is not an age that is passed away, and powerless, but is living, present and prevailing in all its vigour. Even the stones from the Colosseum at Rome were removed to erect other buildings, for it was already half fallen into ruin; but here, it seems a breach of duty to remove a pinnacle, a battlement, or a corbel, and a sacrilege committed on the sacred relics of art. Must not this daily impression, this irresistible feeling, become incorporated and combined with opinions relative to the state, church, and science? It would be contrary to all the laws of nature not to expect such a result.

Huts built upon sand may be easily, and thoughtlessly, taken down, removed, and built up again; but the halls of Oxford are founded for eternity, and the tenants will not suffer themselves to be driven out by the first comer who might take a fancy to erect, in or near them, a noisy machine. Shall we help to pull down the venerable monuments of those ages, because they are not painted with the fashionable colour? Far be this from us: only he who approaches them with reverence will be able to discover where there is any part that requires repair.

We extol and admire the latest productions of our days—railroads and warehouses, power-looms and steam-engines. But what is the distinctive mark of their general tendency?—that they provide for the body, and that their object is gain. The men of those dark ages, on the contrary, founded astonishing institutions, disinterestedly, without a view to external advantages, and only for the mind. Undoubtedly, it may be said of cotton and iron, that they influence the mind, and that the body is never entirely separated from the mind; but *mens agitat molem*—it ought to be the director and ruler, not the servant and follower.

When the Parliament of the richest nation in the world grants 20,000*l.* for the improvement of the mind, how mean, and paltry, and unworthy of mention, is such a trifle, compared with what the founder of a single college in Oxford has done. It is answered—the government is, with reason, determined to leave every thing, as at that time, to the influence and exertions of private persons only. With reason!—as at that time!—In what code can you show the right of government to give laws only for the body, to banish the mind into the highway, till some compassionate Samaritan comes and takes pity on it? As at that time!—Where, then are the modern foundations that can be compared to the ancient ones? Is it the Sunday-schools, which would give the mind some drops of the elixir of life, in half an hour, to the mind which has been blunted by six days' stupifying labour? or a penitentiary, where men are educated, by stopping their mouths for years together? Would that be the right regeneration of Oxford, if radical philanthropists converted its colleges into penitentiaries, or workhouses for stout and idle vagabonds? It is the privilege and duty of Oxford to de-

fend the mind against the body, spirituality against materialism, science against love of gain: whether it duly exercises this right, and this duty, I shall discuss in the sequel.

The philosophy of the middle ages, and of the schoolmen, which has been so thoughtlessly despised, had its centre and vivifying principle in the doctrine of God, and the relation of man to his creator and preserver. The objects of sense, their nature and their use, retired before the supremacy of the soul and of the mind. Bacon's merit was, that he vindicated the rights of nature and of experience; but, by neglecting, nay, despising, the ancient tendency for the sake of the new, we could not fail to come to the empiricism of Locke, of Condillac, and, lastly, of Bentham. The profound theology of ancient times gave way to a new worship of nature, where fire, water, and steam, act a principal part. That the German philosophy, notwithstanding some strange phantasies, always finds its way to spiritualism, always places at the head the doctrine of mind, always feels the want of this illumination and sanctification, is an infinite advantage, and gives it an energy for time and eternity, which reaches far beyond steam-engines and hydraulic presses.

London, September 2d.

Were thirty equally magnificent buildings erected by the side of the Berlin University, and richly endowed for the promotion of education and instruction, could we be surprised if the former gradually lost its exclusive importance, and became, in some measure, subordinate to the latter? This is precisely the case with Oxford and its colleges; the accessory has become the principal, and forced the latter into the background. If this leads to a false state of things, it should be corrected; but the principal should not be destroyed, in rash anger, with the erroneous accessories. If I set out with assuming that the German principle for gymnasia and universities is the only correct one, the English institutions must certainly appear quite absurd and incomprehensible. The best, therefore, will be to begin with the important consideration of some points in which the English system possesses advantages, even though they cannot be introduced into other countries.

Firstly.—The very rich and numerous colleges afford the greatest external resources for instruction, and the possibility of enabling many persons to devote themselves to learning without depending on it.

Secondly.—The tutors have a superintendence over the industry and conduct of the students, which does not exist in Germany.

Thirdly.—By repeated examinations, prize questions, &c., the young men are excited to greater diligence, and a more accurate and useful knowledge of their progress is obtained.

Fourthly.—The connexion of the colleges with the university facilitates the transition from the gymnasium to the university, which, in Germany, is often dangerous.

I must presume that you are acquainted with the fundamental

regulations of the English universities. I will, therefore, add only a few words to explain what precedes, and what I have yet to add. After a slight examination, and the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles, the student is admitted into a college, and matriculated. But he does not actually attend the university lectures till after the expiration of a certain time, and after having passed through certain examinations. The colleges, must, therefore, be compared with gymnasia, where the scholars both reside, and are under superintendence.

If we now return to those points which seem to indicate certain superior advantages, they are, however, liable to many objections.

Firstly.—The great resources have by no means led to comprehensive instruction; and the often high-paid tutors are far from being always eminent for their learning.

Secondly.—In cases where domestic and public education cannot be carried on at the same time, gymnasia, and colleges in which the scholars reside, are a useful substitute. Experience, however, shows that no superintendence suffices to prevent many improprieties; that the temptations to go astray often increase with the numbers; nay, that the character easily acquires a tendency to arrogance and narrowmindedness, which is better restrained by domestic education.

Thirdly.—The examinations are, in some points of view, useful; but, even at school, they do not afford the only correct standard, and are attended, in the universities, with still greater difficulties. Further, prize questions are part of the becoming luxury of a university; but often lead to a confined sphere of study, and a waste of time upon one subject, while the successful candidate, perhaps, remains totally ignorant of other more necessary things.

Fourthly.—Much might certainly be done in Germany to facilitate the transition from the gymnasium to the university, to have more influence on the course of study, and to introduce a better superintendence over the industry of the students. For it is possible, among us, that the student may be alway idle (certainly a defect in the formal arrangements); and the testimonies of the professors (with the exception of a few lectures) prove, on the whole, nothing with respect to the progress or non-progress of the students: on the other hand, however, the more unremitting vigilance of the school must, at some period or other, have an end, and the youth be left to act on his own responsibility. I do not see that a greater proportion go astray in Germany than in England. The establishment of colleges like those at Oxford would cost millions, and not attain the object. Besides, certain changes in life necessarily include in them a sudden transition; for instance, the choice of a profession, the acceptance of an office, marriage, &c.

If we assume (which is, however, denied) that the Oxford colleges fulfil all the requirements of a moral education, they are, nevertheless, from personal and substantial grounds, far inferior to our gymnasia, in a scientific point of view. In the first place, only

two or three tutors are appointed to every college; from which it naturally results, in the second place, that they are not qualified to give thorough instruction in every branch of knowledge. Besides, this instruction is almost wholly confined to religion, Greek, Latin, ancient history, and mathematics; a course of study altogether inadequate to the just demands of the present times. The answer, that (conformably to many original foundations) nothing is intended but the education of divines, is not sufficient—because these, too, need a very different preparatory education; and a great number of scholars are received and instructed in the same manner, who certainly have no intention of devoting themselves to the ecclesiastical profession.

Nor can I admit another justification of this confined system of instruction:—this is, that materialism has in our days a mischievous preponderance, and is everywhere brought forward and promoted in such a manner, that Oxford ought to produce a counterbalance, and counteract the total neglect of a more spiritual formation of the mind: our real variation is to instruct in the latter, not in the former. I answer,—when the world takes a tendency so important, so fruitful in consequences, as that just indicated, he will always have the disadvantage, who would wholly withdraw himself from it, or merely endeavour to counteract it.

The higher task is to make ourselves masters of this new tendency—to take the lead, to guide, and to command it. Because the colleges and universities disdain to do this, mere naturalism becomes too powerful for them; and in spite of innumerable isolated improvements, a general natural philosophy is still wanting in England. He who has learnt in this manner, and has convinced himself that mind, that God reveals himself in nature, can no longer be satisfied with mere atomism or molecular philosophy.

But if that justification of Oxford is well founded, it is deviating from the character assumed, and inconsistent, to admit mathematics alone into the course of studies.

Lastly.—It is totally inexcusable that the study of history is neglected at Oxford, as in all the schools of Great Britain, in a manner without a parallel in the countries of Europe;—nay, that, in fact, it is not taught at all—for some isolated, for the most part unsuccessful, attempts only prove that they do not know even how to follow the guide to the right road.

As our gymnasia, considered as learned establishments, are superior to the colleges at Oxford, so also are our universities. The faculties of medicine and jurisprudence are, properly speaking, entirely wanting in Oxford; and those of divinity and philosophy are by no means completely filled, in comparison with the German universities. To this it must be added, that the professors give so few lectures, and during so short a period of the year, that these appear, in comparison with the colleges, to be only a trifling addition, and subordinate matters. No English university is a *Universitas Literaria*, in the German sense of the term; and improve-

ments are both necessary and possible, without affecting what is really good and commendable.

With respect to the colleges, for instance, the superintendence, the living together, the connexion with the university, the system of examinations, the appointment of tutors, &c., may remain on the same footing as hitherto; but the mode of instruction, and the circle of things taught, might be changed and enlarged in a manner suitable to the present times. I am far from meaning that a general law on this subject is possible, necessary, or useful. It is, on the contrary, good if each college (partly according to the personal character of the tutors) follows in preference one or another course, and that, for instance, one attends more to philology, the other to mathematics. Each college may, of itself, resolve upon and introduce such changes. The objection, that the will of the founders, which must be held sacred, does not allow this, is, in the first place, not general, because everything in this respect is not strictly prescribed. Besides, in my opinion, the foundation must be understood *cum grano salis*, and according to the meaning of the founder. If he, for instance, directed, in the sixteenth century, that the best Greek grammar then existing should serve as the basis of instruction, it would certainly not be acting in conformity with his wishes to retain it after it has become the worst! If a friend of astronomy had ordered, in the middle ages, that it should be taught on the Ptolemaic system, would he approve, if this direction were now obeyed? And in cases much more doubtful and open to objection, have not bold changes been made, and Catholicism been changed into Protestantism?

In a word, it is equally wrong to indulge in rash innovations, and obstinately to abide by what is antiquated. If a judicious middle course is adopted, general approbation will, in the end, follow, and nobody will be hereby deterred from founding new establishments in future.

May, then, (this question is unavoidable) may the general legislation, in this case the Parliament, interfere in these matters, or not? Theory and the experience of thousands of years prove, that no object of private right, and private property, either has been, or can be, unconditionally withdrawn from its power. But it does not follow, from this general position, that every interference was always necessary and wise, and the opposition of private persons to it always unfounded and blameable. Every individual case requires, on the contrary, to be impartially examined and decided according to its own merits. That no human resolution and ordinance should extend beyond death (as the St. Simonist would have it,) is an erroneous principle, which severs the salutary connexion, and animating union of the several generations, both in families and the state. But it is equally mistaken precipitately to concede to an individual, or to individuals, in a given time, unlimited power to subject all posterity to their discretion. Therefore the system and method of popular education cannot be prescribed by any individual,

or any legislative assembly, for all succeeding ages; and where an individual does not think himself authorized to depart from the directions of the earlier founders, he may apply to the superior legislative power, state his doubts, and obtain a satisfactory sanction for his proposals. He, however, who is able really to help himself, need not apply to others for assistance.

Granting (which I cannot accede to) that the colleges of Oxford were entirely exempt from all superintendence and influence of the legislature,—that they were wholly independent states, in the British system of education,—the same can by no means be affirmed of the university. Or those who went so far would certainly be inconsistent, if they at the same time opposed the establishment of new national universities, and endeavoured to maintain a monopoly for their private establishment. Till the University of Oxford has a complete establishment of professors for all sciences, and till lectures are diligently delivered upon them, nobody can well assert that it satisfies all the just and natural demands of our times. Instead of resisting these claims, Oxford itself ought most earnestly to enforce them, (purified from all partiality and exaggeration,) and raising itself from its antiquated and subordinate condition, place itself at the head of all intellectual pursuits. The resources possessed by it and the colleges are greater than those allotted to scientific purposes in any other city. But with these resources more might be done. At least, greater things have been effected in Germany, with inferior means; more is taught in our country, and through the oral instruction of the professors more learnt, than at Oxford.

London, 5th September, 1835.

As one principal advantage, it is alleged by the defenders of Oxford, that the religious education given there is more general and complete than in any similar institution. We will grant that there is a more frequent attendance at prayers and at church, yet this compulsory regulation does not necessarily imply a real religious feeling; nay, experience has often proved that what is forced upon the mind frequently does not take such deep root as what it has collected and comprehended by its own efforts. Entirely, however, setting aside this objection, there is not the slightest ground to consider the religious instruction given by our clergy to the scholars in the Gymnasia as inferior in quantity or quality to that which is given at Oxford by the tutors, or in a few university lectures. But if this instruction is so very excellent;—if the system of divinity drawn up in the reign of Queen Elizabeth contains all true Christianity for all eternity—if the Oxford mode of proof is so inimitable,—why are the Dissenters enviously or cowardly excluded from the university? Why is the decline of the doctrine of the Church feared, instead of hoping for its propagation? Why is the hope renounced, that the many who are said to be in possession of the only true doctrine should draw to themselves, and convert, the few adherents of error? The subscription of the Thirty-nine Ar-

ticles is considered as the only means to obtain their admission. In this manner the converters of the heathens never began their work; and Christ said—"Suffer little children to come unto me;" whereas Oxford says,—"I will have nothing to do with these children." The subscription that is demanded is an evil, whether carelessly given, or obstinately refused; it is an entirely superficial, unsatisfactory means to inspire or to confirm conviction; and, besides, the too modest apprehension that some dissenting schoolboys may overthrow the whole edifice of English divinity, with the stress arrogantly laid on some points of difference, as if the whole Christian world was in error, with the exception of an orthodox corner in England. For since all religious oaths have been abolished in Great Britain, the subscription has lost its importance; and it appears only ridiculous, that a man may become member of parliament, admiral, or commander-in-chief, but not a scholar on the fifth form, without the Thirty-nine Articles. Those who are excluded justly complain that they must, for instance, go to Germany to obtain a doctor's degree, or that they are expected to found schools for their children at an enormous expense.

That it is possible and useful to educate Catholics, Protestants, and Jews together in schools and universities is now proved, in so many Protestant and Catholic countries, that the opposition of Oxford has no weight, and the less so, as those valuable results of experience are next to unknown, or are here and there rejected with the offensive and false remark, that impiety has been introduced in this manner. Let us hear an orthodox defender of the Oxford principles respecting the preservation of the pure doctrine, and of true Christianity. In a pamphlet against the Dissenters, Mr. Sewell uses the following language:—"I wholly and utterly deny the right of liberty of conscience: I deny the right of any sect to deviate even one atom from the rule which I consider as true Christianity."

In truth no pope of Rome has ever spoken like this Oxford professor. Soon after, the same man confesses that learning and science are by no means the great object of our efforts and our ambition; our doctors' degrees give indeed very insufficient proof of knowledge, &c.

That many of the advocates of the old system at Oxford are chiefly actuated by self-interest, and are afraid that any change will diminish their comforts and income, is so often and so positively asserted here, that I cannot avoid mentioning it; but remembering the words—"judge not"—I will not venture to give any opinion of my own upon the subject.

With respect to religion and divinity, Germany and England are in a very different situation, and in a very different way, to which the equalling of the great parties in the peace of Westphalia, and the subjection of all the parties in Great Britain to a single one, have essentially contributed.—Hence the parties here consider it as the main point and imperative duty to hold fast the points in

which they differ; hence the Presbyterian sees his Christianity in that by which he is distinguished from the Episcopalian; the Episcopalian in that which distinguishes him from the Dissenter; the Catholic in his hostility to all heretics. All these are but positions and views of self-love, presumption, dissension, and hatred. They forget that the greatest and most sincere exertions never have, and never will, produce entirely coincident conviction; that eternal truth does and may reflect itself differently in the minds of men: that one person is more excited by the doctrines; a second by the morals; a third by the miracles; a fourth by the simplicity; a fifth by the artificial splendour of public worship. Why should people accuse and persecute, exclude and condemn each other for these natural and indelible differences?

The possession of equal rights by Catholics and Protestants in Germany—their living so mingled together—has not entirely done away with the recognition and examination of the contrasts and differences, but has rendered the love of war subordinate to the love of peace. The essence of Christianity is sought and found in that in which all parties agree; and where differences prevail (as between Lutherans and Calvinists), they have not been tyrannically maintained or set aside, but that is left to the head and heart of the individual which no compulsory law can prescribe, and really produce. Thus the school, instead of implanting germs of hatred, founds among the boys of different religions a friendship, which they preserve through life. Thus it has been found possible to introduce in the same universities (Breslau, Bonn, and Tubingen) a faculty of Catholic, and a faculty of Protestant divinity, and to place more confidence in the free development of the mind and in Divine Providence than in a monopoly of the Articles of Trent, Augsburg, and England. In this manner charity illustrates faith, and faith is a testimony of mental freedom and maturity,—not the stepping-stone to school-honours, and school-offices,—to private or public privileges.

If that is indifference, &c., may God long preserve to the Germans these advantages! and love and concord, and not hatred, prevail in our country, as the essential basis of Christianity. What is the issue of the opposite way of intolerance, is proved by the whole of ecclesiastical history for the past, Ireland for the present, and Mr. Sewell's confession of faith for the future.

With such views, said some person to me, you must be an unconditional advocate of the London University, which admits every one, without reference to his religious opinions, and is sensible of the necessity of enlarging the system of education, and adapting it to the wants of our times;—two undeniably excellent principles. But principles alone do not constitute a university. If private individuals in our country were to come forward with such large sums for the promotion of science, they would have received the general thanks of their fellow-citizens, and been supported in every possible way by the government. Almost the very reverse

took place here; and thus the whole undertaking, if not a total failure, is however very imperfect. First of all, it wants a secure, independent, and sufficient foundation; and though the whole is not taken up as a commercial speculation, yet a well-meant, but voluntary and precarious co-operation cannot produce an indestructible germ for centuries to come. What has been further alleged against the London University, founded on the monopoly of Oxford and Cambridge, and on intolerance, merits, it is true, no attention; but the institution can by no means be considered as a university in the extensive German meaning of the word; and never can attain that rank, so long as certain principles are held in England. For, first and chiefly, divinity is entirely wanting, and jurisprudence is taught in a very insufficient manner, wholly inadequate to the claims of general science. Competent judges make many objections even to the medical department, which is placed in the foreground; and what we call the philosophical faculty is far from complete. Thus, philosophy, in the higher sense of the term, is not taught; nor are there any lectures on history,—for that a Mr. —— once attempted to comprise the whole of the middle ages in twelve lectures, is a double proof of neglect. The number of students in 1835 was, in medicine, 371,—in law and philosophy, 137,—a poor miserable handful for a city like London, which endeavours to reinforce itself with 408 pupils in a school connected with it. Every student has to pay annually in fees from 25*l.* to 28*l.*, a sum so large, that it indicates the insufficiency of the funds of the institution.

In order to overthrow the London University, the friends of the Established Church founded King's College for the professors of their doctrine; considered as a university, a most imperfect institution, with one professor of divinity, one of law, none of philosophy, none of history, &c.

You will tell me, that for law there exist in London the Inns of Court. So I thought too; and took it for a joke when somebody told me that the only obligation of the members of these institutions was, to take a certain number of dinners there in the course of the year. This, however, is literally true, and no instruction whatever in law is given there; nay, properly speaking, there is not in all England any scientific academical instruction in this branch of knowledge; and all is left to private industry and practice, without any general theory. Thus, the English knowledge of law is chiefly confined to innumerable particularities and precedents, as the French is often to general positions and abstractions; and yet the scientific knowledge of general principles, and the practical acquaintance of the relations of times and places, are essentially connected with each other.

If the London University, King's College, the Inns of Court, and the medical institutions, were united in one great whole, and properly and judiciously organized, they would make the most comprehensive scientific establishment in the world. At present

all is mere patchwork, and will long continue so, because this very state of things has, on many accounts, the warmest advocates.

You already know, that Cambridge has declared itself more tolerant, in respect to theology, and that the university is not so subordinate to the colleges as Oxford. It is not my business to enter into a fuller investigation of their differences. I think that I have already sufficiently indicated the main differences between the German and two principal English universities.

* * * * *

Your letters give me occasion to make some unconnected remarks.

Next to the making of laws is the application of them. For this reason I lay so much stress on the administration and executive officers. If these were consulted, as with us, about the laws to be promulgated, so much the better. A division of powers, on the French system, never produced good fruit: in reason, we should speak only of members of the same whole. But our administration will not remain at the elevation which is so justly praised, unless mistakes and errors are most carefully avoided. As such I would reckon:

1. Insufficiency of the examinations. A person who is to be appointed to an office for life is justly bound to give the most satisfactory proofs of his ability. I would, however, add some scientific persons to the men of business appointed as examiners, in order that theory and practice might both be attended to. Practical men, in advanced years, seldom know the state of the science with sufficient accuracy; and in their examination generally touch only on things that were taught in the universities in their days. Merely scientific examiners, on the other hand, pay too little attention to what practice requires, or procure themselves a monopoly for their lectures. A prudent combination of both would be equally advantageous to science and the state.

2. A man who has not studied and been examined in the usual way, may have more talent, and be more useful, than hundreds who have advanced in the usual manner; but the rare exception must not abolish the rule, and still less must high birth be admitted as a substitute for a certificate.

3. The number of persons in office is in proportion very great in Prussia; and yet, for the most part, they have more to do than elsewhere. The principal cause of this is, that the provincial governments and the ministerial departments busy themselves about far too many things, require far too many Reports, and issue too many decisions. The number of papers annually received might, without any detriment to the progress of business, certainly be reduced to one-half. In general, every body makes these complaints of the much writing of his superiors, but (from false conscientiousness or bad habit) follows their evil example as soon as he succeeds to their office.

4. The English have reduced, with more rigour than elsewhere,

not only the mere sinecures, but also the number of the really working but unnecessary officers, and have entirely dispensed with whole departments,—for instance, the passport office and the censorship.

5. Labour and expense have been increased by some late regulations; among these I reckon the breaking up or division of the department of finance, and that of the minister of justice, which are not easy to be justified in theory, or likely to prove beneficial in practice.

I spoke of passports; there is nothing of which Englishmen visiting the Continent complain so much as of the annoyances connected with them, and which are wholly unknown in their country. It would be unfair to deny the different position of this insular kingdom, and all at once to give to every vagabond, whether of high or low birth, only one passport, namely, a general free passport. But as the interrogatories at the city-gates, which were long considered as indispensable, have been abolished, without any bad consequences whatever, many useless annoyances might doubtless be done away with, which seem to have been introduced, only that certain insignificant personages might give themselves an air of importance. The prying after coffee, so much complained of and ridiculed during the time of Frederic II., and of the French *Regie*, is happily at an end; but in its place a prying into the characters of men appears to be here and there coming into vogue, which is still less to be generally justified. The ancient principle, *quisquis præsumitur bonus*, is converted into the opposite, *quisquis præsumitur malus;* and as it is notorious that by the fall of Adam all men are really infected with sin, the friends of the new system of presumption make no difficulty in finding the proof everywhere, if you will only leave them time enough to inspect and to examine the reverse and dark side of every individual. Nay, some classes,—for instance, the students,—are treated according to the *formula concordiæ* (which does not allow any man to have a particle of good in him), and many zealous administrators of the police prosecute all, as if descendants of those at the Wartburg, even unto the tenth generation, though those who are now living are not the representatives of the others, either by descent or by adoption. Certainly there are among the students (the youth) coxcombs and fools, who fancy that they could take the world upon their shoulders and gallop away with it; but on the other hand, among their adversaries, (the aged,) people who would have the sun stand still in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, because they find walking troublesome.

No great states can now do without a public, well-regulated police, and even the Londoners are now sensible of the great use of theirs. The French have always done too much in this way, and the English to little. Let us hope that Germany will keep a just medium, and that no government, out of hatred to the French, will follow their example. Germany cannot and must not be in

any wise governed and organized on the French model. This is sometimes forgotten by the absolutists, and oftener by the ultra-liberals; and with the perpetual transition of the French from the one extreme to the other, which would be the true model? Or shall we pass through all these monthly changes, these ebbs and flows, in a spirit of imitation, which must be doubly absurd, unnatural, and mischievous?

With respect to the censorship, which I mentioned with the police, do not you, a burnt child, you exclaim to me, dread the fire? Make yourself easy; I meant to praise our censorship. The form of the three instances is good and liberal enough, had not an excessive anxiousness seized the persons, whence arises the defect, that we have remained for years on the same spot, and have not been educated gradually (the only salutary method) for freedom. And this anxiousness extends even to criticisms on actors and singers. Is that praise? you ask. Undoubtedly: for how trifling do these reproaches appear in comparison with those which we must make the French. First, unrestrained freedom, and boundless abuse of it, in a licentious press, and an infamous sinful theatre, and now a sudden leap into the other extreme, as if it were not possible to sail between Scylla and Charybdis. At present, the greater part (that is, the majority of the two chambers) are convinced that the measures adopted are necessary and salutary; but the number of those who approve will diminish every year, nay, every day; what has now been conceded (merely from an invincible love of change) will be stigmatized as an intolerable return towards barbarism. Then comes a new explosion, a new *salto mortale*, and licentiousness springing up in the soil of restraint, and so *ad infinitum*.

From all this every German may learn, if he is not as blind as a beetle, that we must educate ourselves, and must not bespeak political instructers from France, or imitate their mode of proceeding. It is true I have often said this before, but it cannot be too often repeated.

Enough for to-day—Farewell.

LETTER LXV.

FINANCES.

London, September 8th, 1835.

"In all parts of the world men must die and pay taxes." This expression of Franklin does not, however, exclude the existence, and the usefulness of the sciences of medicine and finance; on the contrary, it affords a consolation, and a certain freedom, to alleviate the bitterness of necessity. The quack shortens life, the man of science prolongs it; the former disregards measure, place, and time, and the latter attains his objects with the smallest means,

and in the shortest way. Hippocrates is universally considered as the father of genuine medicine; but whom we are to place at the head of all finances, it might not be so easy to determine. The Sabbatical year and Jubilee of Moses, and the Agrarian Law of Lycurgus, are only ineffectual, very harsh experiments. It is in the laws of Solon and Servius Tullius, as I have already observed, that we first discover more vigorous and active thought; and the Athenian manifests, in this respect also, his genius and ability. Rome gradually transferred all burdens to the conquered, and forgot that a people who are not always ready to stake their own lives and fortunes, in the end necessarily become enervated, and go to ruin.

Financial distress is as old as history. Or was it not, for instance, a cruel and unjust system of finance, when the Helots were excluded from the possession of land, and yet bound to the heaviest contributions? The Gracchi, with all their ambition, were animated by sentiments of humanity. They wished to put an end to the monopoly of the great with respect to the people, and of the Romans with respect to the allies; and with the new political system to introduce also another mode of taxation. Their attempt failed; partly in consequence of selfish opposition, and partly because their means were too mechanical, and aimed rather at an external equality, which cannot be maintained, than an ever active resource, which a judicious system of finance alone can afford. All that we see of this kind in the old world, after the fall of the Gracchi, is only tyrannical extortion, or servile concession, till a general material and intellectual bankruptcy could no longer be denied, and the German tribes kicked down all the trumpery, and exclaimed *va banque*. It is remarkable, that in the ancient world (before the establishment of national credit) political revolutions were connected with private bankruptcies, and the pecuniary embarrassments of individuals, as in modern times, with public bankruptcies and the financial embarrassments of government. Thus the legislation of Solon, of the Decemvirs, and of the Gracchi, arose from the insupportable distress of individuals—the Danish, English, and French revolutions, on the contrary, from the distress of the governments.

The art of finance, in the middle ages, was if I may say so, of a negative kind. It appears admirable that the states and nations, for the most part, did without the complex financial means of earlier and later times. All the great articles of expenditure of our days are wanting, for churches, army, civil list, national debt, &c. They had, at that time, no money, and yet often did more than in modern times, because they effected every thing without money, and now we cannot stir an inch without money. The golden blood, which almost alone produces circulation in modern states, was unknown in the middle ages; their life and soul did not depend on this blood, this metallic element. Every individual gained, without the medium of money, what he wanted; and the whole was entirely

kept together by ideas. When their power was lost in the feudal system, and ecclesiastical system, the artificial edifice broke down, and we have had to seek, since Machiavelli, as well as a new public law, a new science of finance.

Every nation, every age, fancied that it had discovered it, and fondled its own bantling with superstitious predilection. Yet none has ever attained such growth, none like an evil destructive spirit, has traversed so many countries, and tormented so many nations, as that which bears the name of Colbert. And yet many still kneel before this European idol, and worship it. Sir Henry Parnell says, with great reason, "The statesmen who invented, supported, and still support, the prohibitory system, deserve to be reckoned among the greatest enemies of mankind."

But enough by way of preface. The transition to England from the point last touched upon is very easy. Permit me to begin with former times. During the reigns of Henry V. and VI. the annual revenue amounted to between 60,000*l.* and 70,000*l.* It rose, under Edward IV. and Richard III., to about 100,000*l.* Henry VII.'s knowledge of the value of money led him to adopt rigorous measures of finance; but his son, Henry VIII., not only spent the enormous treasure, for that time, of 1,800,000*l.*, but plundered, and then squandered, the property of the churches and monasteries. Reprehensible as this is in itself, this bad management contributed to make the king dependent on the parliament; a covetous king like Henry VII., after the acquisition of the entire property of the church, might easily have made himself an independent tyrant. Under Henry VIII.'s reign, we find a poll-tax, increasing from 4*d.* to ten marks; forced loans, in proportion to property, a depreciation of the currency, and other equivocal or blameable financial measures. Edward VI. left debts to the amount of 240,000*l.*, and paid 14 per cent. interest for the money that he borrowed. Under Queen Mary, much of the church property was restored, but many of the crown domains were sold to meet the expenditure. The popularity of Queen Elizabeth chiefly arose from her being a very good manager, never burdening the people with excessive demands. She left more outstanding claims than debts; and her annual income amounted to about 500,000*l.* When well-founded complaints were made of the innumerable, injudicious, commercial monopolies, (for instance, of salt, iron, gunpowder, potashes, brandy, starch, brimstone, leather, &c.,) the queen very prudently adopted a better system.

After the king's *own* revenues, from the diminished domains, were scarcely sufficient for himself, much less for the public expenditure, the necessity for grants of taxes became daily more evident, and, under James I., began the struggle about the limits of the wants, and the right or the duty of granting money. The rebellion under Charles I. had its first and strongest root in the complaints of the king's arbitrary financial proceedings. Just resistance degenerated into unjust attack; and the financial history of the Long Parliament under Cromwell proves that revolutions cost the

people very dear. In the time of the Long Parliament, we find the first land-tax, the first excise on liquor, bread, flour, and salt; an augmentation of the tolls, and postage; sequestration of the tithes; seizure of innumerable estates; the obligation to quarter and maintain soldiers; the sale of the crown and church property, &c. And with these violent measures we find proposals and ordinances which, in our times, would be only laughed at; for instance, that every one should eat one meal less every week, and pay into the treasury what was saved by it. In nineteen years, which, according to the early scale of expenditure, would have required about 20,000,000*l.*, the revolutionary government levied and spent 83,000,000*l.* The leaders, too, took good care of themselves. Bradshaw, for instance, the president of the tribunal which condemned the king, had 1000*l.* a year and a royal palace; Lenthal, the speaker, 6000*l.*; the saints, as they were called, received above 679,000*l.*; and the spies cost the Protector 60,000*l.* a year.

Under Charles II., the annual revenue and expenditure was above a million, or from—

The Domains	£100,000	The expenditure amounted to—	
Customs	400,000	The internal administration	£460,000
Window-tax	5,000	Navy	300,000
Post-office	26,000	Army	212,000
Excise	274,000	Ordnance	40,000
Hearth-money	170,000	Royal debts	100,000
Tithes and first-fruits	18,000	Sundries	37,000
Mint	12,000		
Wine licenses	20,000	Total	£1,149,000
Sundries	54,000		
Total	£1,081,000		

All feudal payments were abolished in this period, a measure which was naturally produced by the gradual advance of the age. But that the indemnity for them was, for the most part, raised by taxes, which bore heavier, in proportion, on the lower than on the higher classes, who were essential gainers by the change, this was, at the same time, a great error and an injustice, fruitful in consequences.

Under the reign of William III., the annual expenditure, in time of peace, was about 1,900,000*l.*;* and the total amount of the revenue during his whole reign about—

* [The statement at pages 491, 492, respecting Queen Anne's revenue and expenditure, appears to be quite erroneous: if a year of peace cost only 2,000,000*l.* and a year of war only 4,336,000*l.*, she could not have spent 122,000,000*l.* in twelve years (had they even been all years of war, the expenditure ought to have been less than 53,000,000*l.*,) and her 62,000,000*l.* revenue would have been 10,000,000*l.* more than enough, so that she needed not loans of 59,000,000*l.* In page 498, there must be a mistake about the reduction of the interest of the debt; for if a reduction of the funded debt of nearly 70,000,000*l.* produced a diminution of the interest of less than 5,000,000*l.*, it is quite impossible with such sums that the diminution of the unfunded debt by 15,000,000*l.* should effect a reduction of 2,500,000*l.* in the interest.]—*Translator.*

From Customs	£13,000,000	From Births, marriages, burials, and	
Excise	13,000,000	bachelors	£275,000
Land-tax	19,000,000	Loans &c.	9,700,000
Poll-tax	2,500,000	Temporary loans	13,300,000

In round numbers, about 72,000,000.

The poll-tax rose from 1*s.* to 1*l.* 5*s.*

	s.	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*		*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*
The tax on burials from	4	0	to 50	0	Marriages	2	6	to 50	0
Births	2	0	to 30	0	Bachelors	1	0	to 12	10

To the poll-tax all non-jurors paid double.

Under William III., the Bank was founded, and the first funded debt arose. Under the reign of Queen Anne, a year of peace cost 2,000,000; and a year of war, 4,336,000. During her twelve years' reign—

The Customs	£15,000,000	The expenditure amounted to,—	
Raised excise	20,000,000	For the Civil List	£7,500,000
Land-tax	12,000,000	Navy	23,500,000
Post, stamps, &c.	5,000,000	Army	33,000,000
	62,000,000	Ordnance	2,000,000
Temporary loans	59,000,000	Repaid loans	31,500,000
		Interest of debt	22,500,000
Total	£122,000,000	Sundries	2,000,000
		Total	£122,000,000

Under George I. the civil list was fixed at 700,000*l.*; the peace establishment was about 2,500,000*l.*; and many taxes on the export of home produce and manufactures abolished. The land-tax levied on Roman Catholics was still higher than on Protestants. Under George II., the revenue, during the thirty-three years of his reign (independent of the loans,) amounted to about 217,000,000*l.* While the national debt, during the same time, caused an expenditure of 93,000,000*l.*, other things appear quite trifling and petty: for instance, 152,000*l.* for the clergy; 45,000*l.* for London Bridge; 22,000*l.* for public rewards, &c.

Under George III., every thing was on a greater scale: the revenue amounted in the year

1761	£8,800,000	1811	65,000,000
1771	9,600,000	1813	68,800,000
1781	12,400,000	1815	72,210,000
1791	16,600,000	1833	46,271,000
1801	34,000,000		

In the same proportion, the expenses of the army increased: for instance, in

1780	£6,500,000	1811	21,000,000
1795	11,500,000	1813	33,000,000 &c.
1805	18,500,000		

From 1688 to 1788, according to Sinclair,

The Civil List cost	£80,000,000	
Navy "	244,000,000	510,000,000
Army "	340,000,000	
Ordnance "	30,000,000	
Sundries "	14,000,000	
Debts and interest	390,000,000	
In round numbers	1,000,000,000	

Including the loans, there were paid into the Treasury, in—

1801 - - - -	£95,000,000	1813 - - - -	176,000,000
1811 - - - -	133,000,000	1815 - - - -	170,000,000

The debt amounted, at the close of the government of—

William III., to	£16,000,000	1783 - -	238,000,000
Anne - -	54,000,000	1793 - -	233,000,000
George I. - .	52,000,000	1803 - -	528,000,000
1748 - -	78,000,000	1816 - -	860,000,000
1762 - -	146,000,000		

London, September 10, 1835.

Though the details which I have here given you are, on the one hand, very scanty and insufficient, yet, on the other hand, the features of the picture are drawn so marked and strong, that, like many Englishmen, you may, perhaps, be alarmed at the enormous burthen of the taxes and debt, and exclaim, "If Great Britain can be cured of all other disorders, here is one that is incurable—which leads, with rapid strides, to death, and must have already produced a state of complete exhaustion. Interest to the amount of 30,000,000*l.* per annum, far more than half of the public revenue; more than four years' revenue of the whole Prussian monarchy! How long can a country bear such an enormous, useless expense, without being completely ruined?" Allow me to interrupt this dirge, and to answer boldly, if the state of things is so very bad, and the danger so great, well then England must become bankrupt, and annihilate at once the public debt and the interest of it. If you affirm that the remedy is worse than the disease, and would produce a degree of distress that must far exceed that which is now complained of, then you at least allow, indirectly, that the expenditure is not useless, but necessary and salutary. All public debts are, besides, the property of individuals; and I affirm that there are cases in which this private property cannot remain inviolate and sacred without sacrificing the whole. In this case, a reduction or annihilation of the debt must take place. This is proved by the experience of all ages from Solon's *Seisachtheia*, to the Vienna redemption bonds. It must be allowed that this is not a healthy state of things, and there is just reason to accuse those who have produced it; but, I repeat, he is the worst surgeon who, when there is no other remedy at hand, rather suffers the diseased limb to be seized with mortification than amputate it. If England, therefore, were really reduced to such a state, it might continue to live after the amputation, as well as Athens, Rome, Austria, France, and other states. It is, therefore, a mistake to designate the evil as absolutely mortal.

How far England is from the necessity of becoming bankrupt will appear below; I will here but just mention a circumstance which might excuse a reduction of the debt, while, at the same time, it proves the great powers of vitality that England possesses, and the impropriety of such a step. The greater part of the loans was contracted in stock, according to its current value. The government submitted to the low price, if the interest of the new

debt did not appear to be too burthensome. It would, perhaps, have been better to have granted higher interest, and to have irrevocably fixed the amount of the principal for all future times. What has happened?

In the first place, notwithstanding the asserted desperate state of affairs, the price of stocks has risen enormously; so that the debt contracted between 1775 and 1816 is now worth from 180,000,000*l.* to 200,000,000*l.* more than in unfavourable years.

Secondly. The repayment of the principal, and the payment of the interest, are no longer made in a depreciated paper currency, but in coin, whence the greatest advantages accrue to the lender and the receiver. Supposing, for instance, the difference of the value between paper and gold to be only 1 per cent., the national debt is increased to 8,000,000*l.* if 3 per cent., to 24,000,000*l.*, and if 25 per cent. to 200,000,000*l.* Some persons say, he who a certain number of years ago purchased land for 60*l.*, possesses at present only a value of 45*l.*, whereas the property of him who bought stocks at 60*l.* is increased to 90*l.*, while, at the same time, all prices, and the interest of money otherwise invested, have declined. Take another example:—At the time when the funds were at the lowest, 150 guineas were worth 192*l.*; with this stock was purchased at 61 per cent., and the purchaser became a public creditor for 315*l.* This stock rose to 90 per cent., and produced above 6 per cent. interest, and the 150 guineas at last became 268 guineas. (Browning, p. 468.) If, therefore, the interest and principal were reduced to a certain point, the smaller sums would still amount to fully as much as the original loan and the original interest, only the profit of the operation, or the speculation, would be lost. Out of all the reasons which might, notwithstanding, be adduced against such a measure, I will mention only one, but that is decisive: the last holder would bear the whole loss, and be ruined.

I return to some more general observations:—Every state, like an individual, ought to make shift with its revenue, and contract no debts. It should rather lay by something for extraordinary expenses, which always occur, or take care, in some way or other, to bring them into account. There are, however, exceptions to this rule: the borrowed capital may, for instance, be employed to advantage —may produce great interest—deliver a state from impending danger, &c. The idea of funding debts, that is to say, of immediately providing only for the payment of the interest, has, undoubtedly, facilitated some extraordinary exertions, and produced extraordinary effects; but in leaving the main burthen to posterity, to whom every day will bring its own care, I act selfishly and unnaturally. This feeling, or this conviction, led to the plan proposed by Walpole, and carried into effect by Pitt, constantly to diminish the debt by a sinking fund. But even in Pitt's time, this means appeared insufficient, and his income-tax compelled the living generation to make greater exertions. But since 1829, all operations through a special sinking fund have ceased. This measure, say some, is indiscreet, or foolish, or both together.

If we more closely examine this objection, we cannot deny, in general, the truth of the old proverb, "He who pays his debts improves his fortune." He, however, who pays on one hand, while he borrows on the other, and borrows, perhaps, at a higher interest, is very far from improving his circumstances. And this happened in England several times, so that the sinking fund did not improve the public fortune, on one hand, so much as it was reduced upon the other. Properly speaking, the fear of a careless, prodigal administration of the finances produced the idea of tying the hands of the government by a sacred, inviolable sinking fund; it bound itself as it were by a voluntary vow. But this availed just as much as if a man should make a vow not to go and drink at a public-house, but have the liquor brought home to him. Every payment of debts rests upon a surplus of income above the expenditure; if this surplus is wanting, every other measure is but a delusion. Whether the finances have been improved without a sinking fund and vows, will appear in the sequel.

The inquiry, whether the loans were judiciously contracted and employed,—whether the wars carried on by their means were necessary,—whether the whole was saved by the sacrifice of a part, &c.,—is far too complex for me to enter upon here. However, I will concede more than any person can reasonably require; namely, that all the sums borrowed were injudiciously employed, and that the disbursement of them, considered in a financial point of view, is a total loss. How, then, does the matter stand now, at this moment? Is there not for every debtor a creditor? for every expense a receipt? Are not, for the most part, the same persons both debtors and creditors?—the former, inasmuch as they contribute to the taxes for the payment of the interest; the latter, inasmuch as they receive the interest. The whole principal of the national debt may, if you please, have been scattered in the air, or sunk in the sea,—been worn out in shoes and clothes, or consumed in meat and bread;—considered in another point of view, it still exists,—is wealth and property yielding a revenue. We may therefore as well rejoice that England has such immense capital, as lament that it is burthened with so many debts; for every debt is here a capital. If these debts were of such little value, that this value (namely, the price of stocks) indicated the loss sustained, instead of a great profit; if the interest could only be paid by new loans; if the debts were in the country, and the proprietors of the capital out of the country;—the state of affairs would be very different, and as deplorable as in many parts of Europe. But if all the national debt and the payment of the interest were to be annihilated to-morrow, there would, properly speaking, be no change at all, for the *whole* country, its wealth or its poverty, would remain the same as they are; and if the fundholders lost a revenue of 30,000,000*l.* (that is, the interest of the funds), on the other hand, taxes to the amount of 30,000,000*l.* would be abolished. If any person had exactly as much to receive in interest as he has to contribute in taxes for the payment of the interest, the annihilation of the national debt and the

simultaneous remission of taxes would not make the slightest difference; and the monster might be destroyed by a single stroke of the pen. It is only because the proportions of payment and receipt are very different in the cases of individuals, that the present machinery must remain, and give to every one his due. It is certainly more complex and expensive than if every individual could settle with his neighbour; but, on the other hand, it affords a convenient opportunity to individuals to invest any surplus of their income, and it is also an inducement to save. At all events, it is sufficiently clear, from what I have said, that the English national debt is by no means a mortal disease, or a proof of poverty and misery. It is a proof of wealth and of strength, which is certainly far from being exhausted.

But if you will not come into my views, I will show you, in the sequel, what has been done to reduce the amount of the national debt.

In the year 1731 the numbers of persons receiving interest in the funds were—

Not above	£5	58,000		Not above	300	3,000	
„ „	10	29,000		„ „	500	2,000	
„ „	50	64,000		„ „	1,000	1,000	
„ „	100	16,000		„ „	2,000	283	
„ „	200	9,000		Above	2,000	104	

In the year 1830 the interest was paid to 275,000 persons, whence we may at least discover that the capital of the national debt is not in the hands of a few excessively rich individuals. But the possessors, that is, the creditors, are certainly to be considered as the rich, when we compare them with the debtors, that is, with those who must find means for paying the interest of the national debt by the taxes imposed upon them. If the above-made consideration of both parts divided the light and shade equally, or balanced the gain with the loss, the national debt appears, on the other hand, to be a great evil for the tax-payers who receive no part of the interest. On this account complaints arose, that almost every article of produce and consumption was heavily taxed, while the fundholder, as such, was wholly free. The income arising from agriculture and manufactures, it was alleged, bore alone the burthens for the poor, repair of the roads, &c., and this all in an increasing proportion; and at a time too when those great branches of industry were less productive than before: whereas the fundholder had, during this time, acquired an enormous increase of his capital and property, and daily continues to gain, by his exemption from taxes.

For these and similar reasons, Lord Althorp proposed, in February, 1831, to levy a stamp-duty on every transfer in the funds. Against this it was objected, in the first place, that nearly 600,000,000 always remain in the same hands, and only the smaller remaining portion fluctuates: for which reason, if it was resolved really to tax the public creditor, some other mode must be adopted. But it was argued further, that the plan was contrary to the law,

and to the promises given, and to prudence: it would ruin public credit, drive capital out of the country, would deter people from saving money, and in fact lay a tax upon industry, skill and economy. This opposition induced the minister to give up his plan; and the public creditor is only taxed indirectly, when the general lowering of the rate of interest obliges him to be satisfied with less per cent. than he received before.

The English have not unfrequently boasted, that they avoid oppressing the poor by taxing the principal necessaries of life; yet it may be proved, that their system of taxation unquestionably takes from the poor man more per cent. of his income than from the rich man. Besides, the above assertion is true only with respect to meat: for all kinds of liquors were excessively taxed; and the corn-laws for a long time included such a tax on bread, that our tax on flour appears like nothing, and wholly disappears in the fluctuation of the market-prices. For these reasons many persons have required that the whole of the existing system of taxation shall be abolished, and a general tax on income and property be introduced in its stead. They insisted that such a tax alone would be correct and equitable, would put an end to all injustice, would lead to nature and simplicity, and make no claim except when the payment would be attended with no difficulty. To refute these assertions, it has been alleged, how odious that tax was during the war, and how eagerly the abolition of it was demanded, nay extorted,—to what endless examinations it led,—how impossible it was to obtain correct statements,—how many premeditated untruths and false oaths it occasioned, &c. Besides, every total change in a system of taxation was accompanied with innumerable difficulties, and with unjust gain or loss to individuals. This revenue should, therefore, be reserved for extraordinary emergencies in time of war.

In spite of all these practical objections to the income and property tax, it has always been presumed, nay expressly asserted, to be perfect in theory. But I would ask, can theory be so separated from practice? If theory approves of any thing on truly scientific grounds, the difficulties which practice throws in the way cannot be insuperable; or, if this is the case, we may affirm, that the theory is superficial and insufficient. I will set aside all the weighty considerations which arise on an income and property tax; for instance, the various kinds of income, the gradations of payment, property which yields or does not yield a profit, &c.; and will touch only on one point, which, to my knowledge, was never discussed, and yet is of decisive importance. All parties lay down, as an incontrovertible principle, that every man is able to pay taxes in proportion to his income; but they never inquire after his expenditure; and yet a correct result is not to be obtained till these two points, which are necessarily connected, can be ascertained. Properly speaking, only the surplus income above the necessary expenditure, or equal income with equal taxes, should be liable to taxation. But if I levy the tax solely according to the income, and pay no regard to the expenditure of the tax-payer, the abstract

equality of the burthen disappears before the power of circumstances; and the harshness and injustice are as evident as in every other mode of taxation. Two persons in office, for instance, having an equal salary, are equally rated to the income-tax; but if one is unmarried, and the other has ten children to provide for, is this apparent equality (which pays no attention to expenditure) the real theoretical equality which is so much boasted of?

Perhaps you tell me that I speak too long, and too diffusely of secondary things, probably because there is not much of importance to say respecting the main question. On the contrary, I have saved these agreeable main reasons for the last.

		1835.
On the 5th January, 1816, the funded debt was	£816,311,939	£743,675,000
The unfunded debt	43,937,707	28,521,550
Total	860,249,646	772,186,550
Deduct	772,186,550	
Now less	88,063,096	
The interest was of the funded debt	28,563,914	23,742,647
Unfunded debt	3,187,702	691,294
Total	31,751,616	24,433,941
Deduct	24,433,941	
Now less	7,317,675	

These results are rendered more advantageous by two important facts:—

First, That in 1816 the usual interest of Exchequer bills was 5*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*, but now only (per cent.) 2*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

Secondly, That in 1816 the annuities were, to the permanent debt, as one to sixteen; now, on the other hand, as one to six: whence it follows that the interest diminishes indeed less than if no part of the funded debt had been converted into annuities, but that both principal and interest are now in a much more rapid progress towards payment. But stopping only at what has been above stated, England, notwithstanding the increase of annuities, has, since the peace, reduced the amount of the annual interest in round numbers by 51,210,000 dollars, and the principal of the debt 616,000,000. What state in Europe can boast of a similar progress? Have not most of them increased their debt since the peace, instead of diminishing it? Are they not thereby proceeding, in a revolutionary manner, to bankruptcy?

If this bugbear, the national debt, has lost much of its terrors on closer examination, does not the other face of this Janus-head, the taxes, appear the more ruinous? Whatever complaints and prophecies are now uttered in this respect, cannot surpass what was said by Davenant on the same subject more than a hundred years ago. "Our gold and silver diminishes; the revenue decreases; wool falls in price; the number of ships declines; the country-seats will tumble into ruins; industry will vanish; in a word, we bear in ourselves all the indications of a nation hastening to decay." Like him, many political economists, looking only at the naked figures, assert that England is taxed ten times as high as Poland

for instance, because every tax-payer has to pay a sum ten times as large. But if the Englishman, in spite of this nominally tenfold amount of his taxes, eats, drinks, lodges, and is clothed better, obtains more enjoyments for the mind and body, and in the end has far more left than the Pole, where is the taxation the highest and most oppressive?

So far as the English mode of taxation rested on the system of prohibition, it naturally suffered from all the evils resulting from it; but since the greatest monopolies have been abolished, namely, slavery, the act of navigation, the exclusive trade to India, the inferior evils and errors may be corrected; at least, it appears sooner than in France, where more regard is paid to the interest of individuals than to that of the nation in general. In England even the influence of such a body as the East India Company was unable to check the progress of salutary reform; but in France, if the possessor of an iron-work presents himself with his *æs triplex circa pectus* before the minister of commerce, the latter looks upon him as invincible, and loses all his courage. The Merchants of London, Glasgow, and other cities have declared, with equal earnestness and soundness of reasoning, against the above erroneous system, and where science and experience so combine, a correct result and improvement cannot long be wanting. Sir Henry Parnell justly lays down a theoretical principle, but which, in spite of all contradiction, was carried through in Prussia above fifteen years ago, and actually put in practice, to the general advantage. "It would be injudicious (he says) to put off the removal of these evils till we can persuade other nations to do the same. We renounce the possibility and the advantage of helping ourselves. All protecting duties of manufactures are, at the long run, useless, nay, prejudicial. They ought to be reduced to ten per cent., and be levied solely for the increase of the public revenue, but not to establish a monopoly."

When the smuggler can insure his trade at from 10 to 15 per cent., then every tax which exceeds this rate must of course produce and increase the evil; but innumerable articles were, and still are, taxed much higher, according to the old and new tariffs. Thus, for instance:—Cotton goods paid on 100*l.* value, 20*l.*; glass, 30*l.*; leather, 30*l.*; linen, 40*l.*; blacklead pencils, 40*l.*; cider, per ton, 21*l.* The duty on borax was 50 per cent. of its value; on coffee, from 100 to 150; pepper, 400; brandy, above 500; tobacco, from 900 to 1000. An annual expenditure of 700,000*l.*, for the suppression of the contraband trade, could not have so much effect as a judicious reduction of the duties of custom. Such reduction often led to an increased consumption, so that the revenue was rather augmented than diminished by it. Thus, for example, in the year 1825, the gallon of wine paid 11*s.* 5*d.*, and 106,000*l.* were paid on 183,000 gallons; in the year 1829, however, the duty was 6*s.*, and 115,000*l.* were paid on 380,000 gallons. In 1808, the duty on coffee was 2*s.* a pound, and the receipts amounted to 144,000*l.* In 1829, the duty was only 6*d.*, and the total receipts 378,000*l.* The consumption had increased from 4,000,000 to above 16,000,000 of lbs. The reduction of taxes, which by arithmetical calculation should

have produced a falling off of more than 9,000,000 between the years 1823-27, ended with the loss of 3,000,000.

Besides the high rate of duty, the English custom-house laws make far too many distinctions in individual articles, and extend to a number of things, which bring in so little, that they ought to be struck out, and the trouble of collecting saved. In the same manner, as nobody now thinks that all articles of consumption ought to be subject to an excise duty, the folly of subjecting all things to custom-house duty should be at length renounced. As a proof of these assertions let it suffice to say that, under the article *skins*, there are 91 items; under the article *wood* 143 items are mentioned as subject to a different mode of taxation and treatment. Of 567 principal articles, 18 produced a receipt of 100,000*l.*, and above; 19 from 50,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*; 20 from 10,000*l.* to 25,000*l.*; 510 less than 10,000*l.*

It would certainly be better to retain the duty on the first three classes only, and the savings in the management would most probably make up for the deficiency. A similar simplification has been attempted in the excise. Thus the abolished tax on perry and cider brought in only 37,000*l.*; on stone jars, 3000*l.*

By far the greater part of all the public revenue in England is raised in the shape of custom-house duties and excise. These amounted, in the year 1827, in two almost equal parts, to 36,000,000 in round numbers. Of this about 6,000,000 fell on raw materials; 2,000,000 on manufactures; 800,000 on corn; and 27,000,000 on articles of luxury, or at least not of absolute necessity. A tax on raw materials cannot be justified either on the old, or on the new system; and a tax on manufactures, unless it is very productive, is liable to manifold difficulties. The English government has acknowledged this in the changes which it has made within these few years.

London, 11th September, 1835.

I subjoin first some particulars, then more general results.

Timber.—In the year 1809, the duties on Baltic timber were so augmented, that Canada timber (and the North American which goes by this name) obtained a monopoly. In reliance on this monopoly, money was invested, and now it is considered as inviolate, though England has lost, according to an estimate that has been made, the sum of 20,000,000*l.* since that time; besides, the ships built of Canada timber last only half as long, and the houses go to decay. Thirteen North European ships sailed in one year to Canada, and their cargo of timber was brought to England as Canadian. Surely an almost incredible result of an absurd system. If England treats in this manner two of the chief export articles of Prussia, timber and corn, it can hardly insist on reciprocity.

Wine.—The consumption amounted in 1831 to—

Gallons—at 277 cubic inches per gallon, and 52½ gallons per hogshead.

Cape Wine	537,000	Rhenish	71,000
French Wine	337,000	Canary	105,000
Madeira	228,000	Fayal	2,000
Portuguese	2,933,000	Sicilian, and other kinds	259,000
Spanish	2,153,000		
			6,625,000
		Or, according to another estimate,	6,212,000

The duty which, in the year 1819, increased gradually from 7*s.* 7*d.* to 11*s.* 5½*d.* per gallon, was fixed, in the year 1831, at 5*s.* 6*d.* per gallon, on all wines without distinction; and in this case, therefore, a different system was adopted from that applied to tea, where three different gradations of duty are imposed in proportion to the value, namely, 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.* 2*d.*, and 3*s.* per pound. These duties on an article of such general consumption are still very high; but the prices are falling since the trade to India has become free, which will certainly produce an increased demand. It is intended that in August next year, those three gradations of duty shall, for important reasons, be abolished, and all kinds of tea be subject to the same duty.

Tobacco.—The cultivation of tobacco is prohibited in England and Scotland, and it was intended to extend the prohibition to Ireland, that it might be more easy to tax foreign tobacco. This is, undoubtedly, an arbitrary mode of proceeding, and it was still less to be approved that for Ireland, in particular, the duty rose, according to the difference of the sorts, from 600 to 1200 per cent. of the value. The result is, that notwithstanding the increasing population, the consumption declined from the year 1794 to 1833, from 9,400,000 lbs. to about 4,400,000 lbs.; but, meantime 3,500,000 lbs., or, as others say, three-fourths of the whole consumption, was smuggled. (Hansard, vol. ii. p. 330; vol. v. p. 730; Edinburgh Review, vol. li. p. 217.) On an average, a duty of 3*s.* per pound is still levied on tobacco.

Spirits.—The duty on spirits was, by degrees, very much increased, in the two-fold hope of augmenting the revenue, and of diminishing the passion for drinking. The expectation was disappointed in both respects—the revenue lost by smuggling, and the consumption became daily greater. When, in the year 1822, for instance, the duty per gallon was 5*s.* 6*d.*, it was paid in Ireland on 2,328,000 gallons, and in Scotland on 2,079,000; whereas, the actual consumption was estimated, in the former country, at 10,000,000, and in the latter at 6,000,000 gallons. Besides, as long as the duty in England is much higher than in Scotland, large quantities will probably be smuggled across the frontiers. At least, it is difficult to understand how the consumption in 1830 could be estimated per head—In England and Wales, at 4 3-7 pints; in Ireland, at 9 3-5; in Scotland, 20 1-11.

Others affirm that, by smuggling, expenses, &c., 70 per cent. of the actual revenue is lost; and that in Scotland, while 16,000,000 gallons pay duty, drawbacks were granted for 17,000,000; a mode of proceeding which reminds us of the folly of the bounties on the exportation of beet-root sugar in France. The reduction of the duty in all parts of the kingdom may certainly be justified, after which an equalization of it might succeed as the next step.

Glass.—Similar results appeared in the case of the duty on glass.

From 1789 to 1793, the duty on one kind of glass was 8*s.* per cwt., and 95,000 cwt. paid the duty.

From 1823 to 1825, the duty was 30*s.* per cwt., and 34,000 cwt. paid duty.

During the former period the duty on glass bottles was 4*s.* per cwt., and it was paid on 881,000 cwt.

In the latter period, the duty being 8*s.* per cwt., it was paid on 697,000 cwt.

Notwithstanding the reduction that has since taken place, the tax limited the consumption, the expense of collecting was very great, and the manufacturers were harassed by innumerable directions and regulations; for which reason the duty on flint glass has been reduced this year from 6*d.* to 2*d.* Similar complaints were made that, for the sake of taxation, the size of bricks and tiles was prescribed; or, that it was forbidden to manufacture wrapping paper of any material but tarred ropes. Such absurd and useless regulations and restrictions are still too numerous, as remnants of the ancient system which meddled in every thing. Under this head, nobody certainly will approve that the duty on paper rises to 200 per cent. on the value.

Salt was first taxed under William III., and the duty rose during the last war to 15*s.* per bushel, or, as some affirm, to forty times the cost of manufacture. Now the duty is entirely taken off, though it may be doubted whether this article might not bear a moderate duty better than many others.

Malt.—If we add together the taxes on malt, hops, and beer, no article in Great Britain was taxed higher for many years than this most favourite beverage. And to the burthen of these duties were added innumerable annoyances in the manufacture, and improper favours for the more wealthy, who brewed for their own consumption. In the year 1830 (when the malt duty was not so high as during the war) it was (instead of 34*s.* 8*d.* as before) 30*s.* 8*d.* per quarter; Beer tax, 31*s.* 11*d.*; Hop duty, 2*s.*; in all 54*s.* 7*d.* or, about 17*s.* on a barrel of beer, or 150 per cent. of the value of the malt used in it. This excessive duty naturally diminished the consumption of beer, and the remission of the beer-tax was equally just and judicious. The entire abolition of the malt duty is prevented by the difficulty of making up for the loss to the revenue, without an entire change in the system of taxation.

House and Window Tax.—These two taxes have been often vehemently attacked in Parliament: for instance, in 1833. They fall, it was alleged, on the poor and on trade; are in no due proportion to the expenses of building; and are often injurious to health, by diminishing the number of windows. London alone pays half the house tax, and together with the manufacturing counties of York, Lancaster, and Somerset, more than three-fourths of the whole amount. Their abolition will cause more houses to be built, will increase the consumption of timber, bricks, glass, &c.; and some means of making up for the deficiency in the revenue will be easily found. It was answered, that both taxes fell heavier on the rich than on the poor:—thus, for instance, a house, the rent of which is from 10*l.* to 12*l.* pays 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound; of 20*l.* to 40*l.*—2*s.* 3*d.*; 40*l.* and above—2*s.* 10*d.*

Houses, the rent of which is below 10*l.* a year, and which have fewer than eight windows, are entirely exempt. If a house has eight windows, 2*s.* are paid on each, and so the tax increases till,

on 40 windows, each pays 7*s.* 5*d.* (Edinburgh Review, vol. lvii. p. 437; Hansard, vol. xviii. p. 716.) The cost of collection is only 5*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* per cent. Smuggling is out of the question, and the tax has many of the advantages of an income-tax, without the difficulties. If the house-tax were to be charged, not according to the rent, but on a calculation of the value and of the cost of erection, much trouble and many errors would ensue. In the year 1831, there were in England, 2,233,000 houses; in Wales, 153,000; in Scotland, 369,000;—Total, 2,846,000. And of these only 430,000 were liable to the house-tax, and only 377,000 to the window-tax.

London, 17th September.

I weary you with details; but these examples will suffice to draw your attention to the light and dark sides of the British system of taxation. What has been done to diminish the latter? This is the main question. To this I reply, while all the other European governments have, since the conclusion of peace, either made no reduction at all in the taxes, or in a very trifling degree, the English government, besides the above-mentioned reduction of the national debt, has done so much in this respect as to surpass all expectation. Thus the duties of Custom were reduced, or entirely abolished, on the following articles:—Coals, slate, barilla, borax, cotton, silk, leather, wine, tobacco, coffee, iron, hemp, pot-ashes, flax, indigo, ivory, quicksilver, madder, rags, ostrich feathers, books, pepper, glass, porcelain, tar, watches, fustic, ginger, shumac, tamarinds, gum-lac, toys, aloes, bed-feathers, artificial flowers, paper, zaffer, sponge, rum, Peruvian bark, oranges, lemons, almonds, raisins, sugar, wax, mahogany, rapeseed, linseed, rhubarb, sago, opium, maccaroni, gum-arabic, smalts, hair, &c. The Excise duty has been reduced, or abolished, on malt, made-wines, brandy, wine, vinegar, cider, beer, leather, wire, candles, soap, stone bottles, printed calicoes, tiles, &c. The stamp-duty was reduced on legal writings, small bank-notes, playing cards, &c. The tax on windows, servants, carriages, horses, and dogs, was diminished. The house-tax and the income-tax were abolished. According to an official statement for the year 1832, the reductions up to that time were—

Duties of Custom - - - - - -	8,990,000
Excise - - - - - - -	14,078,000
Stamp - - - - - - - -	466,000
Income and Assessed Taxes - - -	18,680,000
Post - - - - - - - -	130,000
Total - - -	42,344,000
Newly imposed Taxes - - - -	5,836,000

Consequently the reduction for one year still amounted to £36,508,000

Mr. Spring Rice, in his latest speech on the public revenue, calculated that the present revenue of Great Britain is only 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.* more than the annual amount of the taxes taken off since the peace. The income for 1836 is estimated at 45,530,000*l.*, the expenditure at 44,715,000*l.*, and the amount of taxes taken off at 40,190,000*l.*, in one year.* If we further consider,

*There appears some mistake here.—*Translator.*

that the present reduced taxes are contributed by a far greater number of persons than the former high taxes, it appears that the diminution is more considerable than the Chancellor of the Exchequer represented it, or that the individual now pays less than the half of what he did before. Finally, if we reflect in what a degree the riches of Great Britain have increased since the peace, by the ample interest of the immense capital which remains in the hands of private persons, in consequence of the remission of the taxes, the rate per cent. of the present taxes decreases, in comparison with former times, in a far greater proportion. It results evidently, and beyond all doubt, that the ability of England is infinitely greater, and its financial position infinitely better and more brilliant, than adversaries abroad believe, and grumblers at home allow. The insular situation of England has certainly facilitated many reductions of expenditure; the expense of the war-department (chiefly in consequence of the injudicious treatment of Ireland) is certainly still much too high; but what European state has a right to look here for the mote, when it does not observe, or does not choose to observe, the beam in its own eye? Some persons were of opinion that no taxes ought to be taken off, but that the surplus should be applied to paying off a larger proportion of the debt. To this it was replied, that by so doing capital might be driven to foreign countries; that every reduction of taxes produced capital, which brought much higher interest to those who could employ it in trade, than the state saved by paying off the debt. At all events, England possesses such wealth, that the government, in case of need, is able quickly to raise the very largest sums by means of taxes and loans.

A very vehement attack was directed especially against the sinecures and useless offices. Many of the former were connected with no employment whatever, or were filled by deputies. Thus, Hume affirmed (Hansard, xvii. 295,) that Wyndham had held for fifty-three years a sinecure in Jamaica of the value of 4000*l.* per annum, and calculated that he had received, in principal and interest, above 200,000*l.* However this may be, a fixed remuneration for certain services and duties is better than all these round-about ways.

From 1828 to 1832 there were suppressed—

	Places.	Salaries.
In the Colonial and Foreign Department - -	2173 -	£226,145
In the Customs, within these 12 years - -	2742 -	273,984
In the Excise, from 1830 to 1832 - - -	507 -	68,000

In the higher offices of state, with salaries above 1000*l.*, a reduction of 40 per cent. was made. The whole saving of expenditure amounted to nearly 3,000,000*l.* sterling,—a very large sum, as it did not take place in interest of the debt and pensions, but only in the administration, on a total amount of 12,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* (Hansard, xix. 674.)

The evil must have been great, when such improvements were possible; nay, it might rather be asked, whether, out of zeal for economy, too much was not done, so that the public service suffered in consequence. Such sudden changes, too, would have reduced those fathers of families to distress who were not rich according to

the English estimate, or able to acquire money by some other means. Most of them, however, receive pensions according to certain principles.

No state in Europe is governed and administered at so small an expense, in proportion, as England. This advantage certainly proceeds, in part, from its insular position, and, as I have already said, will increase, when, in consequence of equitable laws, the employment of a military force in Ireland shall not be necessary, and the amount of pensions for officers, soldiers, &c. (the dead weight) rapidly decreases; but the advantage chiefly arises from the judicious arrangements which have been introduced within the last few years. Besides, the expense of collection necessarily decreases, when much may be collected and in a few places.

In the year 1832:—

	Gross Revenue.	Expense of Collection.
Customs	£19,684,000	£6 19 per cent.
Excise	18,849,000	6 " "
Stamps	7,420,000	2 12 " "
Assessed taxes	5,339,000	4 9 " "
Post Office	2,277,000	28 5 " "
Crown Lands	359,000	7 " "

Or, on an average upon the total gross revenue, about $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

I have, indeed, shown plainly enough, that the reduction of the revenue and expenditure of England has been essentially caused by the reduction of taxes, and economy in the administration; but should any body still affirm that it is rather in consequence of the diminution of property and of increasing distress, I will oppose some particulars, in addition to all that I have communicated in my preceding letters.

According to the Edinburgh Review, (lv. 429,) and Parnell, there were imported—

	1810.	1830.
Wool, lbs.	10,914,000	32,313,000
Cotton, lbs.	90,000,000	242,000,000
Coffee, lbs.	5,308,000	22,000,000
Wine, galls.	6,809,000	8,255,000
Teas, lbs.	22,000,000	30,000,000
Pepper, lbs.	1,117,000	2000,000
Raw Silk, lbs. (1814)	1,504,000	4,256,000
Tallow, cwts. (1790)	225,000	(1828) 1,110,000
Candles, lbs.	54,000	117,000
Soap, lbs.	45,000	115,000

Still more comprehensive and various are the facts which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, laid before the House in his last speech on the finances. The number of bankruptcies, for instance, had regularly diminished since 1830. The number of contributors to the savings banks increased during the last year by 36,415, and the capital of those banks (chiefly by the deposits of the lower classes) was increased by 1,032,323*l.* The official amount of exports amounted on an average,

In 1827—1830 to 65,000,000
1831—1834 " 78,000,000
1835— " 85,000,000
or a higher sum than ever.

The consumption of oil increased

From 1833, 1,131,000 gallons, Of tea, 1835, 35,580,000 lbs.
To 1835, 2,077,000 " Of cotton, " 320,210,000 "

A comparison of the average receipt of 1831—1834, with 1835 showed an increase, on auctions about 12 per cent., bricks 11, glass 14, hops 21, malt 3, paper 7, tea 18, wine vinegar 13, spirits 7.

What does all this prove, (some obstinate disputant may object,) except that luxury everywhere increases?—but all history proves, that in the same proportion a nation degenerates, and hastens to its ruin. I reply—first of all, this position is not at all true in such a general sense; or it is, at least, equally true, that a people whose enjoyments decrease approaches to its ruin; and that a people which knows no enjoyment is scarcely above the rudeness of an almost animal existence. So important a question cannot be decided by mere commonplaces: far more accurate researches and investigations are necessary to come near the truth. I add a few remarks.

In the first place, in those times in which we may consider luxury as the indication and consequence of decay—the population decreased, and the number of those who possessed enjoyments was limited to a few rich persons, while the oppression of the poorer classes and of the slaves was doubled. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the population increases, and the number of those who enjoy the comforts or luxuries of life increases in the same proportion. Nobody can prove that the masses of the people are worse off than twenty years ago, or that they have not greatly benefited by the remission of so many taxes. Nobody can believe that the lords alone, with their families, consume all the meat and bread, drink all the tea and coffee, &c. But does some Heautontimorumenos think that people should eat no meat, but locusts; drink no coffee, tea, or wine, but pure water from the spring?—let him live in this mode for a few years, and afterwards I will discuss the matter with him.

Secondly, to what end all vague talking about enjoyment? Who then enjoys the wool and cotton, tallow and bricks? The increasing consumption proves, first of all, an increase of activity and exertion. That in the end, every labour deserves and meets its reward follows of course, and is as advantageous as fortunate. People certainly desire to lodge in houses built of bricks, to convert cloth and cotton into clothing, flour into bread, malt into beer, &c. He who will not consider the fruit of human labour as fruit, who will deprive industry of its reward, and consequently of its charm, and decry all enjoyment as unnatural, must in the end conceive idleness, insensibility and indifference, to be the highest object of human existence.

Every people has its own peculiar mode of bodily and mental activity, as well as of bodily and mental enjoyment. But if I were to reproach the English with anything, it would certainly not be an excessive love of luxury, consuming the capital, but rather a too restless activity, which, like the balance of a watch, is never in repose, and values the possibility of many enjoyments more than

the real possession of a single one. However, there arises from this circumstance an incredible and incalculable increase of capital and power. Should the future position of this country require more warlike exertions, or should a greater love for the enjoyments of peace arise, at all events there are for either more resources, for a long series of years, than at any former period.

Do not censure as foolish and childish, that while I am writing to you about agriculture, manufactures, finances, taxes, and such dry matters, I am in the end filled with the most profound and joyful feelings. How many historical tragedies have filled my head and heart for years together! how many funerals of kings and states have I attended with grief! Do not then grudge it me, if, to my fancy, glorious blossoms for the present, and fruits for the future, appear to rise from the apparently barren soil of these figures and tables. I am only a stranger, and yet I will do more than the English require—nay, more than many approve—for I am not contented with one side or one point of view, but will comprehend, in one expression of affection, good-will to the old, the new, and the future England: they belong to and are connected with each other; and he who entirely rejects the one, or the other, commits a murder on himself and his country.

LETTER LXVI.

Concluding Observations—Municipal Reform—Lords and Commons—Political Rights—Future Reforms—State of Parties—Eulogium on England—Apprehensions and Hopes—Future Prospects—England and Germany.

September 14*th*, 1835.

Must I, indeed, write my last letter from England? There is something mysterious and tragical in the idea of a *last*, from the merest trifle to the most important concerns. That one must be the last at church or school, playhouse or Parliament—that in every battle one last shot must fall—every evening one last ray be shed upon the world—every human being draw one last breath—and many similar matters, might easily afford subject for divers serious reflections. My last letter, therefore, must be written—the regret which this task inspires is overbalanced by the agreeable nature of its contents, and the confirmation of my conjectures and hopes.

The municipal Reform Bill for England has passed; a law by the number and variety of its effects and consequences, more important perhaps than the Reform Bill, and, by its natural and moderate enactments, attended with scarcely any danger to individuals and the public. The different views of the Upper and Lower House led to disputes, and to an excitement which, especially at certain times, rose to unbecoming passion; but, if we set aside what took place out of Parliament, some few Radicals and ultra-Tories within its walls have, fortunately, also expressed themselves with vehemence. I say fortunately, for the English people has

sense enough to discover from these leaders what road it ought not to take, without equally losing its way on either side. The debates of the Upper House, of the polished aristocracy, who often had the advantage of greater moderation, self-command, and refined manners, in comparison with the bold and stormy debates in the Lower House, appeared to me to be less deserving of this praise on the present occasion. Lord John Russell complained, with reason, still more of the manner than of the matter; for the latter might proceed from honest conviction, but the ill-humour, the vexation, the acrimony, which marked most of the discussions of the Upper House, announced a false excitement, which the Lords should, above all things, avoid. By a more friendly spirit they would have made their task easier, and not have roused so many voices in the country against them. Hence has risen a louder call for a reform of the Upper House. In general, and *a priori*, it cannot be affirmed that it never needs a reform, and is not susceptible of reform, for by this it would be improperly placed below the improveable parts of the constitution, and condemned to immobility, nay, in the end, to death. Only a rash, useless, absurd transformation must in this case, as in every other, be opposed, and most of all, the poor insufficient scheme of a single, elective, and omnipotent chamber, or of two elective chambers. But some abuses, for instance the voting by proxy, ought not to be reckoned as essential and inviolable rights of the Upper House.

This time, in the debates on the Municipal Reform Bill, the principal members of the Lower House acted in a more exalted and noble style than many of the over-excited Lords. I reckon it among the greatest political enjoyments of my life to have seen and heard how men of the most different opinions, Russell and Peel, Spring Rice and O'Connell, kept in view, with the same moderation and prudence, only one, but that the highest, object,—the good of their country. All opinions, all passions were laid aside, in order, by noble, dignified concession, to avoid an open breach with the Upper House, and Heaven knows what misery for the country. And the Upper House followed the example; and England, after these transient clouds, stands more glorious than so many politicians would believe. My assertion, that (far otherwise than in France) the crisis here is the commencement of tranquillity, has been confirmed, also, on this occasion. Those who compared the Reformed Parliament to the French National Assemblies have, happily, been greatly mistaken in their calculations; otherwise, instead of the tranquillity and satisfaction in which England lives, the guillotine would be already at work.

I have already written to you on the ancient municipal regulations of England, and of the resemblance of the new ones to our law. I ought now, perhaps, to enter upon the points of difference between the Lords and Commons; but they are arranged: why should I embitter my own pleasure? I therefore confine myself to two observations.

In the first place, the Upper House has, in the whole discussion, kept in view, and advocated, private rights; the Lower House rather public rights. Both are necessarily united; but the practical

question, whether a public employment or right in a town belongs to the first or the second half, is, in general, very difficult to decide. For instance, if some person has founded an establishment, on the condition that one of his descendants shall always be a member of the magistracy; if any one possessed by contract an office for life, the state must be at liberty to restore the establishment, or to dissolve the contract; but, for the same reason, private rights must be indemnified. Thus our municipal ordinance allowed the dismissal of all officers before appointed for a long period, but obliged the town to indemnify them, if they were not re-elected. The attempt to represent all rights, offices, and functions, in all the towns, as eternal, inviolable private rights, and on that account to stigmatize every improvement as a robbery, could not but fail; and the middle course proposed by the Lower House was certainly the most correct. At least those persons do not act consistently, who deprive thousands of Irish of their right of voting at elections, and would preserve it here; and the less so, as the matter was much clearer there than here.

In the second place, a main point of difference related to the qualification. Undoubtedly nothing in the world is more important than that for every business duly qualified persons should be found; but the manner of doing it is attended with very great difficulties. The Indians and Egyptians thought that they had found the best way of removing all difficulties and mistakes, by unalterably determining the fate of a man for his whole life, according to his birth; the Greeks and the Romans, on the contrary, gradually broke through all such barriers, and fell at last, in consequence, into anarchy and tyranny. In the middle ages, the right of birth in the nobility, of their vocation in the clergy, of election in the third class, prevailed—undoubtedly a more ingenious and varied organization than any of the preceding. Our age lays a particular stress upon election; but as, notwithstanding all the commendations bestowed on this form, it does not entirely confide in it, the question of the qualification is brought forward. If the body of electors is prudently and judiciously constituted, the greatest liberty, in my opinion, may and should be given to it. But this liberty is often heightened and guaranteed by legal enactments; for instance, that a community shall choose for its clergyman only a candidate of divinity who has undergone his examination. Now every body looks for the political qualification in *money*. This method refers, however, only to an abstract number of dollars, francs, or pounds sterling. Dollars, francs, and pounds sterling are, doubtless, weighty matters, but they by no means determine the qualification and the value of a man in a sufficient and decisive manner; nay, they include a false respect for wealth—a superstitious regard for riches. Much money may be an indispensable qualification for a receiver of taxes, for instance; but is it indispensable for a clergyman, an officer, a judge, a burgomaster? Many of *our* towns have, with good reason, rejected rich men, who were willing to undertake a public office without remuneration, and preferred poorer persons, who possessed the necessary qualifications in a higher degree.

Palpable, besides, as money and property appear to be, it is

difficult to ascertain their real amount in most of the cases that come under this head. Nothing, for example, is more evident than the possession of a house; but the owner often has debts far exceeding the value of his house. It is still more easy to produce certain valuable papers, or receipts for taxes—to borrow them, &c., of which the French could produce innumerable instances. In particular, the proof from the payment of direct taxes operates like a false bounty. The payment of a large sum in indirect taxes is still less capable of proof, &c. In a word, the doctrine of a qualification by money alone is liable to great objections in theory, and great difficulties in practice. For this reason the proposal of Lord Lyndhurst for the formation of a fixed monied oligarchy was justly rejected, and altered by the Lower House.

The same happened with respect to the exemption from tolls—the aldermen for life, &c. However, as I said, I will not enter into particulars, but proceed to a general observation. It was, in my opinion, a great error in the zealous tories in the Upper House, when by their partial, unbending conduct they compelled Sir Robert Peel directly to oppose them: that he did this redounds to his honour, and promoted the truth, and so far I am glad of that mistake. From the moment that nobody in the Lower House represents, or is willing to represent, the principles of the high Tories, their power in the Upper House will vanish; and the mere majority of votes, without a broader foundation, cannot and will not resist in the long run. Sir Robert Peel's position is now more natural; he is free from the views and objects which, as I believe, have been forced upon him. But whether the long list of salutary measures lately given by him, which he would have carried into effect, contains a valuable truth, or a party expression and boast, will sufficiently appear in the next session of parliament. If he conducts himself in the same manner as in the debate on Municipal Reform, even those who are of a different opinion cannot refuse him their esteem.

Like the parliament and the corporations, the church and the clergy will not escape a reform; and he will triumph, who understands how to conciliate and to combine with the greatest skill the benefits of the past with the demands of the future. This will never be effected if the schools are neglected, and separated from the church—if they are characterized as merely secular objects; it will never succeed till sufficient provision is made from the property of the church, or the state, for both Catholics and Protestants, till all consider themselves as brothers of one family. The objection, that the Irish Catholics should provide for themselves, would have very great weight, if we could drink a copious draught from Lethe, and forget the history of Ireland. But suppose it forgotten, *can* the Irish Catholics raise the necessary sums? The Irish Catholics! Shall I, then, again exhibit the pictures of infinite wretchedness and misery, till the cold-blooded reasoners tremble in all their limbs, and are at length obliged to exclaim, "Lord, have mercy upon us miserable sinners!"

Here, in this place it will appear whether Peel is more than the

most dexterous political fencing-master in England, or whether he understands, not only how to make the best funeral oration over the departed, but also victoriously to chant the morning hymn, the harbinger of a new era. Now party is opposed to party; one accuses the other; and in the end, all are better than they are represented, either by themselves or their opponents. If I fancy myself, many centuries hence,—if I, in imagination, set myself the task of writing the History of England, what a different shape does everything then assume—how do the complaints and the discords die away! For must not he be prejudiced and narrow-minded who is unable equally to appreciate Pitt and Fox, Burke and Mackintosh? Do not the trophies of Wellington, the splendid ability of Peel, the energy of Russell, triumphing by its simplicity, the clear and well-directed understanding of Spring Rice, the enthusiastic struggle of O'Connell, belong to each other? Do they not, by their reciprocal action, promote what is right? Would not the picture be poorer, the result more confined, if I should take out, condemn, or throw aside the one or the other?

Perhaps this observation may draw upon me the reproach of a want of definite opinions, of indecision and weakness, and a confusion of ideas. Be it so. An Englishman may consider it his right and his duty to be a Whig or a Tory, a Churchman or a Dissenter, and to swear fidelity to one of these standards. My disposition, coinciding with my right and my duty, assigns me a place outside of all these narrow circles; and I deny that this position is less favourable for observation. Does not each of these parties see in those opposed to him only injustice and confusion? Would they not, if they had their own will, destroy and annihilate each other, till nothing was left of England? From my position, on the contrary, I do not see mere vortices of Descartes, but a well-ordered system of suns and planets, with only those interruptions which the free movements of the varied whole naturally and necessarily bring with them. But if these interruptions exceed the natural and necessary measure, real dangers undoubtedly arise; and I have often enough pointed out in what extreme, eccentric courses they are to be found.

All grounds for hatred or predilection are certainly far from me; and in this respect, at least, my praise and my blame are uninfluenced and impartial. This is by no means meant as a cover for the arrogant and foolish assertion, that I am perfectly wise, and above all error; only I may repel, without presumption, the reproach of conscious error, or premeditated falsehood.

Or do I even here labour under a deception? Every historian ought to be impartial with respect to all ages and nations. Why do I always feel myself, I would say, commensurable with the English and incommensurable with the French? Why, with the former, does every thing resolve itself into a simple *facit?* and why, with the latter, does there always remain a fraction, a *caput mortuum*, a dissonance—in a word, something uncomfortable, discordant, unresolved? Is the cause in myself, or in the things? I

boldly affirm, the latter; and I should not want for proofs, if this were the place to produce them.

I must, besides, fear the reproach of having spoken too much of politics in my letters to you; but here the whole atmosphere is impregnated with politics: you are obliged to draw them in with the air you breathe. Nor are politics here merely air and wind, as in many other states—but they are embodied in laws; and have accomplished so much of late years, since the peace, that Prussia alone may, in its way, be compared to England.

To be always talking politics without such events is, as I have often observed, a bad and enervating disease; nay, when true political wisdom has predominated, it is an advantage and a sign of health, when people think no more of the constitution, and forget politics. The head and heart are then at liberty to attend to innumerable objects which had hitherto been neglected or purposely set aside. Infinitely attractive and instructive as everything was that I saw and heard in Great Britain, I not unfrequently felt a longing for conversations on the history of former times, on speculative philosophy, the fine arts, music, the drama, and subjects of that nature. If it should be said that this is German pedantry, or love of trifles, I would answer, that the gravity and universality of historical and philosophical study is an antidote to pedantry; and that our conversations upon art, and theatrical reports, on distinguished actors and actresses, are surely not inferior to conversations on the sports of the field, and reports of horse-races and high-bred horses. *Suum cuique;* and these remarks were meant rather defensively than offensively, and properly only to recall to my mind the pleasures of home.

Undoubtedly, England is in very many respects different from Germany, but, in a more elevated and impartial review, the affinities and attractions appear far greater. While Italy still reposes on the laurels of its splendid two-fold existence in antiquity and the middle ages; while Spain, shaking off its compelled inactivity, is now torn to pieces by the fury of internal dissension; while France can never find permanent happiness, so long as it does not add to courage humility, to dominion self-control, to activity perseverance, and to talents morality,—where is the hope of the world, the guarantee for the future, the safeguard against the irruptions of barbarism? IT IS IN THE PRIMÆVAL SOUND STEM OF GERMANIC DEVELOPMENT, AND ITS TWO MAIN BRANCHES—GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN. If these two nations thoroughly comprehend their noble task, if they exert all their energies for its accomplishment, then, even the diseased portions of Europe will recover their health, the manifold harmonies of life will again resound, and the smallest quarter of the globe will, in spite of all defects, still take the lead in the advance of knowledge throughout the world.

THE END.

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